# ACTES du
# XIe Congrès International de Numismatique

*organisé à l'occasion du 150e anniversaire de la Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique*
*Bruxelles, 8-13 septembre 1991*

publiés avec le soutien financier de la Commission Internationale de Numismatique, de l'Association Internationale des Numismates Professionnels et de la Société Royale de Numismatique de Belgique

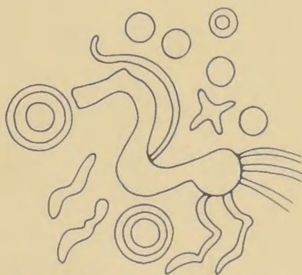
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# PROCEEDINGS of the
# XIth International Numismatic Congress

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VOLUME III



édités par le - edited by
Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc

sous la direction de - under the direction of
Tony HACKENS Ghislaine MOUCHARTE

avec la collaboration de - with the collaboration of
Catherine COURTOIS, Harry DEWIT, Véronique VAN DRIESSCHE, Raf VAN LAERE

Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993

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## VOLUME III

MONNAIES BYZANTINES, MONNAIES MÉDIÉVALES ET ORIENTALES

éditès par le - edited by
**Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc**
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### *Monnaies islamiques*



### *Monnaies de Chine*

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# PRÉFACE

Les *Actes* du XIe Congrès International de Numismatique tenu à Bruxelles en septembre 1991 paraissent grâce à un subside de la Commission Internationale de Numismatique et de l'Association Internationale des Numismates Professionnels. La Société royale de Numismatique de Belgique a pris le risque majeur de l'édition et a confié le travail à l'équipe du Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc de l'Université catholique de Louvain.

De commun accord, ces Institutions ont choisi un format optimisé, permettant d'illustrer abondamment. La composition a été réalisée ou reprise sur ordinateur par le Dr. Catherine Courtois, M. Harry Dewit, et surtout corrigée et uniformisée par Mlle Ghislaine Moucharte, qui a aussi réalisé la maquette et la mise en pages. Mme Véronique Godfrind-Van Driessche, aspirant FNRS, et M. Raf Van Laere ont relu les épreuves avec nous. Mme Linda Arnould-Barbieux, dessinatrice, a aidé à la mise au net de dessins, signes et monogrammes.

L'économie réalisée en amont dans la production a permis de faire confiance à l'imprimeur traditionnel, M. De Meester (Cultura, Wetteren), pour une réalisation de qualité. De plus, l'économie a permis de ne pas réduire les textes ou les illustrations essentielles à leur compréhension.

L'effort ainsi investi exprime notre volonté de donner à un congrès international une suite digne de son succès, de la confiance des collègues du monde entier : au total, nous publions 230 sur 339 communications et posters présentés. La publication constitue un fait majeur du forum de discussions que fut le Congrès. Les tables rondes ont déjà été publiées dans la *Revue belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie*, 138, 1992, p. LXXV-CIII.

Beaucoup de communications non reprises ici ont vu leur résumé publié dans le livre des résumés ou son supplément. D'autres sont publiés ailleurs. Ceci est signalé dans la mesure où nous en avions connaissance. Dans les volumes des Actes, les textes ont été regroupés en partie de façon à obtenir des quantités équilibrées de pages : notamment les sections de technologie, informatique, bibliographie et statistique ont été redistribuées par époques quand c'était possible et logique.

Cent ans après le premier Congrès International de Numismatique, tenu à Bruxelles en 1891, les Actes sont encore consultés. Nous souhaitons rendre hommage à nos prédécesseurs qui fondèrent la tradition et transmettre le flambeau aux générations futures. Nous leur souhaitons de tout coeur que les numismates belges ne changent pas dans leur générosité d'accueil pour leurs collègues de 2091 et dans leur coopération avec le Comité organisateur, qui a trouvé en 1991 un volontariat enthousiaste sans lequel ni le Congrès, ni les Actes n'étaient possibles.

C'est donc avec une profonde reconnaissance pour ce bilan positif que nous déposons aujourd'hui notre plume au service d'une communauté scientifique internationale et nationale qui nous a comblés.

Ghislaine Moucharte
Secrétaire Général du Congrès

Tony Hackens
Président

pour la Société royale de Numismatique de Belgique
et le Séminaire de Numismatique Marcel Hoc

## ABRÉVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ActaNum | Acta Numismatica |
| AIIA-Iassy | Anuarul Institului de Istorie şi Archeologie Iassy |
| AntJ | Antiquaries' Journal. Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London |
| ArhMoldovei | Arheologia Moldovei |
| BCEN | Bulletin du Cercle d'Études numismatiques |
| BiblÉcChartes | Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes |
| BlDeutscheLandesgesch | Blätter für Deutsche Landesgeschichte |
| BMQ | British Museum Quarterly |
| BN | Biuletyn Numizmatyczny |
| BNJ | British Numismatic Journal |
| BollCircNumNapoletano | Bolletino del Circolo Numismatico Napoletano |
| BSFN | Bulletin de la Société française de Numismatique |
| BullSocNatAntFrance | Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France |
| CahNum | Cahiers numismatiques. Bulletin de la Société d'Études numismatiques et archéologiques |
| Dumbarton OP | Dumbarton Oaks Papers |
| EconHistRev | Economic History Review |
| EpigIndica | Epigraphica Indica |
| EpigrVostok | Epigrafika Vostoka. Sbornik Stateĭ |
| Folia Arch | Folia Archeologica. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti Múzeumának Évkönyve |
| GacNum | Gaceta Numismatica |
| GN | Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten |
| HBN | Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik |
| IzBID | Izvestiîa na B'lgarskoto Istorichesko Druğestvo |
| JAINS | Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography |
| JASB | Journal of the Asiatic Society (Bengal) |
| JBS | Journal of Baltic Studies |
| JEGMP | Jaarboek van het Europees Genootschap voor Munten en Penningkunde |
| JESHO | Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient |
| JNG | Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte |
| JNSI | Journal of the Numismatic Society of India |
| MÖNG | Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft |
| MN | Museum Notes. American Numismatic Society |
| NAC | Quaderni Ticinesi. Numismatica e Antichità Classiche |
| NatA | Nationalmuseets Arbeidsmark |
| NC | Numismatic Chronicle |
| NE | Numizmatika i Epigrafika |
| NK | Numizmatikai Közlöny |
| NListy | Numismatické Listy |
| NNÅ | Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift. Scandinavian Numismatic Journal |
| NNUM | Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad |
| NomKhron | Nomismatika Khronika |
| NScavAnt | Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità |
| NumCirc | Numismatic Circular |
| NumSb-GIM | Numizmatičeskÿ Sbornik. Trudy Gosūdarstvennogo istoričeskogo mūzeja |
| NZ | Numismatische Zeitschrift |
| Post-Medieval Arch | Post-Medieval Archaeology |
| PracMat | Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi |
| RBN | Revue belge de Numismatique et de Sigillographie |

| | |
|---|---|
| RBPhH | Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire |
| RE | Real Encyclopäedie |
| RESEE | Revue des Études sud-est européennes |
| RN | Revue numismatique |
| RRoumaineHist | Revue roumaine d'Histoire |
| RSN | Revue suisse de Numismatique |
| RIN | Rivista Italiana di Numismatica |
| SA | Sovetskaîa Arkheologiîa |
| SAN | Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics |
| SborNárodMuzPrave | Sbornik Národhího Muzea v Praze |
| SCIVA | Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche şi Arheologie |
| SCN | Studii şi Cercetări de Numismatică |
| SlovNumiz | Slovenské Numizmatika |
| Trudy GErmitazh | Trudy Gosūdarstvennogo Ermitazha |
| VSWG | Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte |
| WN | Wiadomości Numizmatyczne |
| ZborNarodMuzBeogradu | Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja u Beogradu |
| ZborSlovNárodMuz | Zborník Slovenského Narodného Muzea |
| ZfN | Zeitschrift für Numismatik |

# Monnaies byzantines

# La cuestionable eficacia de la reforma de Anastasio I : estudio de los hallazgos monetarios en el *Macellum* de Gerasa (Jordania)

Teresa MAROT* y Manuel MARTIN-BUENO**

La reforma realizada por el emperador Anastasio I (498), marca el inicio de un nuevo sistema monetario basado en la acuñacion de múltiplos de *nummi*, con el propósito de acabar con la caótica situación monetaria arrastrada durante todo el siglo V.

No obstante, abundantes ejemplos arqueológicos cuestionan la eficacia de dicha reforma monetaria, quedando confirmada la perduración y la importancia en la circulación de *nummi* de cronología anterior.

*El contexto arqueológico : el* Macellum

El *macellum* de Gerasa (Jordania) es un edificio público construido durante la segunda mitad del siglo II d.C. en la zona monumental de dicha ciudad. Los trabajos de excavación, realizados por la Misión Arqueológica Española, han constatado su funcionalidad como un importante mercado dedicado a productos alimenticios en época romana, al igual que han desvelado su evolución y cambio funcional en tiempos bizantinos e incluso omeyas[1].

El edificio, de grande dimensiones, consta de un gran patio descubierto de forma octogonal, rematado por cuatro exedras semicirculares en los ángulos. Entre las exedras se intercalan unos espacios compartimentados interpretados como tabernas. Un monumental peristilo, soportado por columnas, flanquea el gran patio central.

El estudio que nos proponemos precisar valorar la evolución estratigráfica del yacimiento para posteriormente interpretar el comportamiento monetario de las emisiones de Anastasio I. Así pues, cabe destacar tres momentos claves en la vida del edificio.

En un momento temprano del período bizantino, el edificio sufre una serie de modificaciones estructurales basadas en la compartimentación de algunas estancias, y la adecuación de las canalizaciones. Más tarde, a principios del siglo VII un movimiento sísmico afectará gran parte del edificio, formando niveles de destrucción de gran interés arqueológico para nuestro estudio. Posteriormente, a medianos del siglo VII, con la ocupación omeya, el edificio sufre importantes cambios en su estructura con la consiguiente amortización de numerosos ámbitos.

*La reforma de Anastasio : razón y problemática*

En el transcurso del siglo V, el ineficaz sistema monetario de bronce provoca una grave situación inflacionista debido, básicamente, a su fuerte carácter fiduciario.

Anastasio I, se propone crear una serie de múltiplos de bronce con un valor estable (*M* : 40 *nummi*, *K* : 20 *nummi*, *I* : 10 *nummi* y ε : 5 *nummi*)[2]. La incorporación de

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** Universidad de Zaragoza.

1 Recientes trabajos analizan la evolución de uso de este edificio : M. MARTIN-BUENO, *Notes préliminaires sur le Macellum de Gerasa*, en *Syria*, 66, 1989, p. 177-199. Respecto a los trabajos realizados en la ciudad, VVAA, *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981-1983*, Amman, 1983.

2 El carácter y la importancia de la reforma de Anastasio I han sido analizados en abundantes trabajos : C. MORRISSON, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale, I : d'Anastase I à Justinien II (491-711)*, Paris, 1970; A.R. BELLINGER, *Catalogue of the Byzantine*

marcas de valor inscritas con letras numerales, junto al distintivo del taller se convierten en requisitos imprescindibles para garantizar la oficialidad de las monedas[3].

Anastasio I inicia dicha reforma con la emisión de una serie de *follis* acuñados a 36 a la libra. Alrededor del año 512[4], acuña una nueva serie dónde la relación metrológica se convierte a 18 a la libra, estableciéndose un cambio de peso del doble respecto a la primera serie.

Las repercusiones inmediatas de esta importante reforma monetaria plantean una problematica compleja : desde el inicio de una nueva política monetaria de aprovisionamiento hasta medidas estatales para incorporar estas nuevas emisiones en los circuitos y controlar su buen funcionamiento.

Un análisis de los conjuntos monetarios procedentes del *Macellum* de Gerasa, correspondientes a este período, nos permitirá conocer el comportamiento de las nuevas emisiones de Anastasio I una vez incorporadas en el circuito.

*Análisis del material*

Conposición y origen de las emisiones de Anastasio I

| | | M | K | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1a Serie (1/36) | | | | |
| | CONSTANTINOPOLIS | 11 | 3 | |
| | NICOMEDIA | 1 | 3 | |
| | Indet. | 1 | 2 | |
| | Subtotal | 13 | 8 | 21 |
| 2a Serie (1/18) | | | | |
| | CONSTANTINOPOLIS | 7 | - | |
| | NICOMEDIA | - | - | |
| | ANTIOQUIA | 1 | - | |
| | Indet. | 2 | - | |
| | Subtotal | 10 | - | 10 |
| | TOTAL | 23 | 8 | 31 |

La mayor representatividad de la primera serie en las monedas recuperadas en el *Macellum* no es un aspecto remarcable, si consideramos que los hallazgos de toda la ciudad guardan una proporción similar[5].

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*Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection I, Anastasius I to Maurice, 491-602*, Washington, 1966; D.M. METCALF, *The Origins of the Anastasian Currency Reform*, Amsterdam, 1969; J.-P. CALLU, *Le tarif d'Abydos et la réforme monétaire d'Anastase*, en *Actes du 9e Congrès International de Numismatique, Berne, 1979*, Luxembourg-Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982, p. 731-740.

3 El incremento de la producción de los *minimis* y la facilidad de su falsificación a finales del siglo V, provocan el intento estatal de estabilizar el sistema monetario garantizando el valor nominal de las monedas. Cfr n. 2 : C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 191. Fenómeno que tiene sus antecedentes en las emisiones vándalas, donde aparecen marcas de valor en las monedas de plata y de bronce.

4 C. MORRISSON, *La monnaie en Syrie Byzantine*, en *Archéologie et Histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement de l'Islam*, Saarbrücken, 1989, p. 191.

5 El estudio global de los antiguos hallazgos procedentes de la ciudad de Gerasa se recogen en A.R. BELLINGER, *Coins from Jerash. 1928-1934* (*NNM*, 81), New York, 1938, p. 95-97. Ver D.M. METCALF, *Organization of the Constantinople Mint for the Follis of the Anastasian Reforms*, en *NC*, s. 7, 1, 1961, p. 133. Destaca la abundancia de monedas de la primera serie procedente de los hallazgos de Gerasa.

Un fenomeno distintivo es la ausencia total del nominal medio *follis* de la segunda serie, considerando que el número de estos mismos pertenecientes a la primera serie es bastante abundante. Esta relativa rareza se relaciona con la hipótesis de que las viejas emisiones, más ligeras, podián haber circulado valiendo la mitad de su valor nominal. Las monedas de la primera serie acuñadas por Anastasio I disfrutan de una larga vida después de su fecha de emisión, y posiblemente siguen manteniéndose en circulación gracias a un parecido metrológico con el nuevo numerario incorporado, saciando la necesidad de numerario fraccionario.

Es durante el reinado de Anastasio I cuando el suministro de numerario en Gerasa sienta sus principales características, manteniéndose relativamente constante durante todo el período bizantino. El numerario procedente de Constantinopolis representa el aporte más importante, seguido por la ceca de Nicomedia que es el segundo taller con más representacíon, en detrimento del taller de Antioquía. Este último no sólo empieza a acuñar a partir de la segunda mitad del reinado de Anastasio, sino que su producción estará dedicada casi exclusivamente a la provincia de Siria, dejando a cargo de Nicomedia y Constantinopolis el aprovisionamiento de las provincias de Arabia y Palestina[6].

*Metrología*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1a Serie | *Follis* | peso medio : | 7,46 |
| | | peso máximo : | 11,01 |
| 2a Serie | *Follis* | peso medio : | 12,92 |
| | | peso máximo : | 15,08 |

Los pesos observados a las piezas analizadas son inferiores a los presentados en las grandes colecciones de moneda bizantina. Tomando como ejemplo el peso medio de las piezas de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris[7], observamos una similitud metrológica en la primera serie (BN : peso medio : 8,77, peso maximo : 11,6). Por el contrario, en la segunda seria observamos una separación más acusada, (BN : peso medio : 16,8, peso maximo : 19,89) sin duda, a causa de su mayor grado de desgaste por la larga perduración de esta serie en la circulación.

*Comportamiento y cronología de circulación de las emisiones de Anastasio I*

A partir del estudio contextualizado de la moneda se confirman una serie de fenómenos que difieren del comportamiento oficial de la circulación. Hemos seleccionado aquellos contextos donde la ausencia o presencia de las emisiones de Anastasio I, junto con otro material numismático y cerámico, nos permitan conocer la fecha de circulación de estas emisiones y poder establecer distintos horizontes cronológicos.

Los horizontes detectados estan estrechamente relacionados con la evolución y la estratigrafía del yacimiento. Así pues, los conjuntos monetarios hallados son el resultado de cambios, reformas estructurales, o amortizaciones de espacios del edificio. De este modo, la abundancia de conjuntos fechados a principios del siglo VII están relacionados con destrucciones a causa de un movimiento sísmico que afectó gravemente al edificio.

Es necesario distingir el contenido de los conjuntos monetarios procedentes de estratos de ocupación o relleno y su posterior interpretación, ya que nos ofrecen una imagen no siempre representativa o completa de la circulación monetaria del momento. Al contrario, el panorama numismático en un estrato de destrucción nos refleja una visión más fidedigna. No obstante, el estudio de la evolución monetaria en todos los conjuntos estratigráficos, nos ayuda a detectar el momento de incorporación o pérdida de un «tipo» monetario concreto, su índice de circulación prolongada o su posible reposición en los circuitos.

---

6 Cfr n. 4 : C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

7 Cfr n. 2 : C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*

*Horizontes de primera mitad del siglo VI*

En todos los horizontes analizados, percibimos la total ausencia de emisiones pertenecientes a la reforma de Anastasio I (Fig. 1). Las características de los conjuntos monetarios no difieren, en ningún caso, de los contextos fechados a finales del siglo V, con la presencia exclusiva de Æ-3, Æ-4 y *nummi*[8]. Solo el estudio cerámico nos permite obtener unas coordenadas cronológicas para estos niveles estratigráficos relacionados con algunos trabajos de adecuación en el *Macellum*[9].

Nos cuestionamos la eficiencia de las medidas tomadas con la finalidad de retirar a la circulación la moneda de módulo reducido. La circulación nos muestra una panorámica de fuerte tradición bajo-imperial. A pesar del intento de reacción de la reforma de Anastasio I frente al hundimiento de la moneda de bronce los *nummi* o piezas similares (Æ-3 o Æ-4 devaluados) siguen rigiendo la ley de la circulación monetaria.

*Horizontes de segunda mitad del siglo VI*

Todos los horizontes fechados durante este período, aunque no son muy abundantes, presentan un perfil similar : presencia de emisiones de Anastasio I junto con abundantes monedas de cronología posterior, sobretodo del reinado de Justino II, y la continua presencia de moneda bajo-imperial.

A partir de este período, Gerasa documenta la presencia de emisiones pertenecientes a la nueva politica monetaria (Fig. 1). No obstante, se percibe un tipo de aportación muy específica basada en la documentación exclusiva de *follis*, sin estar presente, en ningún caso, la moneda fraccionaria de Anastasio I. Un ejemplo de este modelo lo encontramos en el tesoro de Rafah (Palestina), formado exclusivamente por *follis* (327 ej.) desde la segunda serie de Anastasio I hasta las emissiones del año 578 de Justino II. No obstante, en este tesoro, cabe destacar la ausencia de *follis* del primer período[10], tratándose, sin duda, de un ocultamiento compuesto por material seleccionado de peso elevado.

Los *follis* de Anastasio ya sean de la primera o segunda serie, disfrutan de una circulación indiscriminada, aunque desconozcamos su valor nominal real al lado de abundante numerario a nombre de Justiniano I, y sobretodo de Justino II.

Un análisis metrológico de los *follis* aparecidos en estos conjuntos nos indica que la talla más representada en las piezas de 40 *nummi* es de 1/18 a 1/24 a la libra, quedando muy alejada del peso de los *follis* pertenecientes a la primera serie (1/36), igualmente documentados.

Observamos un arcaismo del numerario en circulación y una lentitud en la penetración de nuevas monedas. No sólo las monedas a nombre de Anastasio I y de Justiniano I disfrutan de una circulación prolongada, sino que incluso las emisiones bajo-imperiales siguen formando una parte importante de la masa monetaria.

Esta falta de alimentación de moneda fraccionaria es un fenómeno generalizado, pero no extensible a todo el territorio o tipos de hábitat. El tesoro B de Kenchreai[11] muestra un conjunto de moneda fraccionaria compuesto por emisiones, en su mayoría, del siglo VI siendo muy escasa la proporción de moneda residual procedente de emisiones del siglo IV o V.

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8 Fenómeno muy generalizado y analizado por T. MAROT - M. MARTIN-BUENO, *Circulación y pervivencia monetaria en Gerasa (Jordania) durante época Bajo-Imperial y Bizantina*, en *PACT 35. Vie et survie des monnaies anciennes, Ravello, octobre 1990*, (en prensa).

9 Los hallazgos cerámicos procedentes del edificio han sido objeto de una Tesis Doctoral : A. USCATESCU, *La cerámica tardorromana y bizantina del Macellum de Gerasa (Jerash, Jordania)*, Madrid, 1991.

10 A. SPAER, *The Rafah Hoard. Byzantine Sixth Century Folles*, en *NC*, 138, 1978, p. 66 -70.

11 R.L. HOHLFELDER, *A Sixth Century Hoard from Kekenchreai*, en *Hesperia*, 42, 1973, p. 89-101.

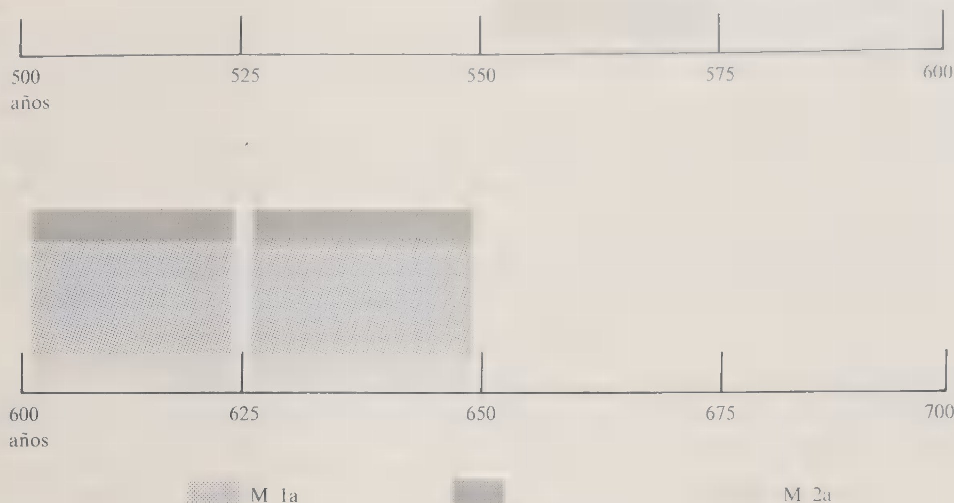



*Fig. 1.*

*Horizontes del primer cuarto del siglo VII*

Un movimiento sísmico afectará la zona de Gerasa a principios del siglo VII. En consecuencia se constatan demoliciones en diversas partes del edificio, formándose abundantes niveles de destrucción fechados durante la primera decada del siglo VII, y que nos mostraran la masa monetaria en circulación en un momento bastante preciso.

Una de las caractarísticas más relevantes es la desaparición casi definitiva de las pequeñas monedas de época bajo-imperial, tan abundantes hasta este momento[12].

La presencia abundante de emisiones a nombre de Focas en estos conjuntos, nos indica la rápida incorporación en la circulación de este numerario en la zona.

Las emisiones de Anastasio I siguen estando presentes aunque se aprecian algunos cambios respecto al horizonte anterior (Fig. 1) : disminuye la proporción de *follis* de la segunda serie, al tiempo que aumenta la presencia tanto de *follis* como de medio *follis* pertenecientes a la primera serie.

Este cambio en la proporción de las distintas series puede relacionarse con la disminución del peso del *follis* que en época de Focas pesa alrededor 11,5 g[13]. La posible adecuación de las piezas de Anastasio I a esta reducción metrológica supone una serie de

12 Cfr n. 8 : T. MAROT - M. MARTIN-BUENO, *op. cit.* y H. POTTIER, *Analyse d'un trésor de monnaies en bronze enfoui au VIe siècle en Syrie Byzantine. Contribution à la méthodologie numismatique* (*Cercle d'Études Numismatiques, Travaux*, 10), Bruselas, 1983. Se trata de un tesoro formado por diversos nominales : desde moneda bajo-imperial de módulo reducido, *nummi* vándalos y bizantinos hasta monedas del reinado de Mauricio Tiberio.

13 P. YANNOPOULOS, *Production monétaire à l'époque byzantine, avant l'an mil*, en *Rythmes de la production monétaire de l'Antiquité à nos jours. Actes du colloque international organisé à Paris, 10-12 janvier 1986, par la Monnaie de Paris, le CNRS et le Séminaire de numismatique M. Hoc de l'Université catholique de Louvain*, éd. G. DEPEYROT, T. HACKENS y Gh. MOUCHARTE, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987, p. 361.

cuestiones difíciles de resolver tales como la funcionalidad de la marca de valor inscrita en las monedas, o la presencia de *follis* de Justino II con un peso excesivamente elevado.

En consecuencia, en este período se observa una mayor diversidad nominal, casi ausente hasta este momento pero difícil de precisar debido a la importancia de la moneda residual. La composición heterogénea de la masa monetaria dificulta el análisis nominal de los conjuntos.

*Horizontes del segundo cuarto del siglo VII*

En estos horizontes, caracterizados por la presencia de moneda de Heraclio y Constante II, las emisiones de Anastasio I siguen estando presentes con idéntica proporción que en los horizontes inmediatamente anteriores (Fig. 1).

Siguen siendo abundantes los *follis* y medios *follis* de Justino II y se acentua aún más la polarización metrológica de las emisiones presentes : después de importantes disminuciones en el peso del *follis*, Heraclio centra la talla en 5 g, reduciéndose a 4 g durante el reinado de Constante II[14].

A este panorama de gran caos metrológico se suma la importante presencia de monedas irregulares a nombre de Constante II, caractarizadas por un peso muy bajo, cospeles recortados y una deficiente técnica de acuñación.

A partir de este momento, con la ocupación omeya del edificio, las emisiones de Anastasio I desaparecen del circuito, aunque algunas monedas bizantinas más tardías seguirán formando parte del stock utilizado durante los primeros años de la presencia islámica.

*Conclusiones*

Las emisiones de Anastasio I, según los datos obtenidos a partir de los hallazgos monetarios en el *Macellum* de Gerasa, presentan una cronología de circulación prolongada respecto a su fecha de acuñación.

En términos generales, no podemos acotar al momento final de uso hasta medianos del siglo VII con la presencia islámica en la zona (Fig. 2). No obstante, el fin de la circulación de las emisiones de Anastasio I no responde a un cambio político y cultural, sino probablemente a un desajuste metrológico con el nuevo numerario.

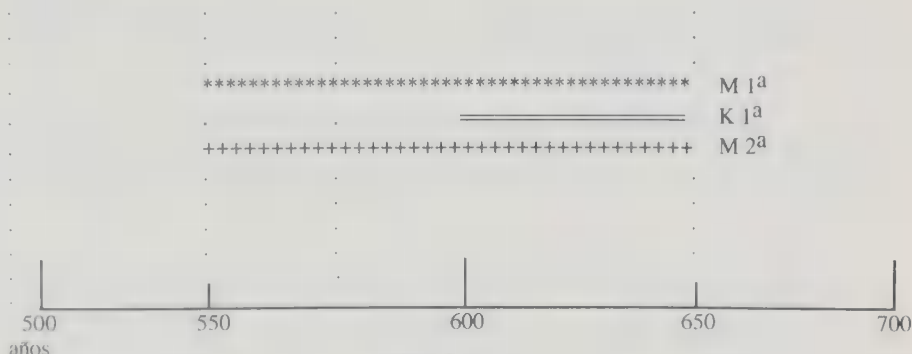



*Fig. 2.*

[14] *Ibidem*, p. 361.

El inicio de la presencia de las emisiones de Anastasio I en los circuitos, supone una situación más problemática. Desde los momentos inmediatamente posteriores a la reforma, hasta mitad del siglo VI no contamos con la presencia ni la pérdida de emisiones de Anastasio I en los contextos arqueológicos analizados (Fig. 1).

En este período, la masa monetaria presenta las mismas características que durante todo siglo V. La abundante moneda de módulo reducido (*minimis*) y de larga vida sigue siendo el único testimonio numismático presenta, sin conocer ninguna evidencia de las medidas introducidas con el nuevo sistema monetario creado por Anastasio I.

Durante el tercer cuarto del siglo VI comienza a documentarse la presencia de monedas de la reforma. Se detecta la presencia indiscriminada de *follis* de la primera y segunda serie, pero con la total ausencia de moneda fraccionaria.

En los abundantes conjuntos fechados a principios del siglo VII, aumenta el índice de pérdida de las emisiones de Anastasio I y, al mismo tiempo, se incorporan al circuito los medio *follis*.

En general, durante todo el periodo de circulación de las emisiones de Anastasio I, cabe destacar el aumento de pérdida de los *follis* de la primera serie, respecto a la disminución de presencia de la segunda serie. Probablemente, los primeros serán reutilizados como moneda fraccionaria, mientras que los segundos desaparecerán paulatinamente de los circuitos a causa de su peso excesivamente elavado respecto al nuevo numerario.

# Nummi Terunciani

John R. MELVILLE JONES*

The purpose of this paper[1] is to support an emendation of a word in a Latin text which was proposed almost four centuries ago, and to give it added credibility by explaining it in more detail than has been done previously. The interpretation which is offered here was previously offered (without supporting argumentation) by Harold Mattingly in 1927, but seems to have been ignored since that time[2].

The copper coinage of Anastasius I (A.D. 491-518) was reformed twice. The first reform, with which we are concerned here, is securely dated to A.D. 498 by an entry in a work of the 6th century A.D., the *Chronicle* of Count Marcellinus[3]. This tells us that in that year the emperor «removed a form of exchange which was pleasing to the common people» and introduced coins «marked with their own name» (i.e. with marks of denomination) which the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Constantinople called *follares*, and the Latin-speakers *terunciani*.

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1 I am indebted to Emeritus Professor James Willis and to Mr Brian Croke for helpful comments on palaeographical points and other matters.

2 H. MATTINGLY, *Sestertius and Denarius under Aurelian*, in *NC*, s. 5, 7, 1927, p. 219-232 at p. 224; the other principal modern sources dealing with this topic and with the relevant coins are as follows, in reverse order of publication : M.F. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 475 ff.; Ph. GRIERSON, *The Monetary Reforms of Anastasius I and their Economic Consequences*, in *International Numismatic Convention, Jerusalem 27-31 December 1963*, Jerusalem, 1976, p. 283-302 and ID., *Byzantine Coins*, California U.P., 1982, p. 59; C. MORRISSON, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale*, I, Paris, 1970, p. 15-16; W. HAHN, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, I, Vienna, 1973, p. 23-24; D.M. METCALF, *The Origins of the Anastasian Currency Reform*, Chicago, 1969, p. 13-14 and the review by Ph. GRIERSON, in *NC*, s. 7, 10, 1970, p. 350-354; A. BELLINGER, *Byzantine Notes I : the Copper of Anastasius I*, in *MN*, 12, 1966, p. 84-87; H.L. ADELSON and G.L. KUSTAS, *A Sixth Century Hoard of minimi from the Western Peloponnese*, in *MN*, 11, 1965, p. 159-205; R.P. BLAKE, *The Monetary Reform of Anastasius I and Its Economic Implications*, in *Studies in the History of Culture* (*American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies*), Menasha, Wisconsin, 1942, p. 84-97; W. WROTH, *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1908, vol. I, xiii-xiv; Th. MOMMSEN, *Die Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, Berlin, 1860, p. 803 and 807 (= *Histoire de la monnaie romaine*, Paris, 1865-1875, III, p. 100-101 and 108).

3 *VI Iohannis Scythae et Paulini (A.D. 498) : Nummis quos Romani terentianos (teruncianos) vocant, Graeci follares, Anastasius princeps suo nomine figuratis placibilem plebi commutationem distraxit*. The meaning of the last phrase is not of importance for the present study, but it might be helpful to put it on record that I believe that the interpretation accepted by Blake (see note above), that the introduction of the new coinage led, perhaps gradually, to the abandonment of whatever conventions had come to be accepted for the use of the wretched *nummi* which for some time had been the only copper coins produced, is reasonable. The dating, which combines a consular year (January-December 498) with an indictional year (September 497-August 498) is ambiguous. There is nothing elsewhere in the text of Marcellinus which shows whether he was assimilating one system to the other, or perhaps even thinking in periods of sixteen months, but I suspect that since the consular or calendar year became the standard one for all purposes as time went on, he has included mention of the indictional year for reasons of tradition but assimilated it to the consular year.
Two other literary sources refer to a coinage reform of Anastasius. But one (John Malalas, *Chronographia*, p. 400 Bonn) must refer to the later reform of A.D. 512 because it associates it with John the Paphlagonian, who was *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum* in that year, and the other (an anonymous Syriac chronicle, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum, Scriptores Syri*, III, 4, 2 (Versio) gives the same date, year 824 of the Seleucid era).

The reading of the manuscripts in this passage is *Terentianos*. The earliest scholars to produce separate editions of the text, Antonius van Schoonhoven (1546), Johann Cuspinian (published only in 1553 after his death in 1529), Onofrio Panvini (1558) and Jacques Sirmond (1619), all printed it without comment. The last named, however, failed to notice that the great classical scholar Joseph Scaliger had cast doubt upon the correctness of the word when he reprinted the text of Panvinius, together with other chronicles, most notably that of Eusebius, in his *Thesaurus Temporum* (Leyden, 1606), and had proposed *teruntios* as an improvement. Scaliger's proposal was incorporated as a marginal note by J. de la Baune, the editor of a reprinted edition of the works of Sirmond which appeared in 1696, who suggested in addition to *teruntios* that *teruntianos* might be a better reading. Most subsequent commentators have followed him in preferring the latter word, although they have preferred the more probable spelling *teruncianos*.

A notable exception was provided by Theodor Mommsen, when he edited the text in 1894 in the series *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*[4]. Mommsen had earlier defended the original text, claiming in his *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*[5] that it referred to the name of a mint magistrate called Terentius after whom the new coins must have been named. We have, however, no knowledge of any other issue of coins in the Roman world which was named after a mint magistrate, even those of the later Republic and the beginning of the Empire which actually bore magistrates' names, and the suggestion is inherently improbable.

The emendation *teruncianos*, on the other hand, is a great improvement. It is palaeographically easy, because the only major change which it requires is the substitution of a *u* for an *e*, the difference between a *c* and a *t* being very small in many mediaeval hands. It is true, as Mommsen pointed out, that elsewhere in this text these letters do not seem to have been confused, but that does not mean that the mistake could not have happened in this instance. Because of the similarity of pronunciation the confusion is particularly common in mediaeval manuscripts when *i* and another vowel follow (as, for example, between *negotium* and *negocium* or *contio* and *concio*). The word *teruncianus* is admittedly not known from any other source, and this fact might cause a little disquiet, but it is a perfectly legitimate adjectival formation from the well documented noun *teruncius*. The very fact that it is not found elsewhere is an argument in favour of its acceptance; if it was invented at this time for a specific purpose (and perhaps not normally used except in some official document defining the new coinage of Anastasius), it would be surprising, particularly in an age when Latin was being replaced by Greek as the language of administration, if its meaning was forgotten by most people. The explanation of it which follows should set any doubts at rest, and it will be necessary for anyone who finds it unconvincing to defend the manuscript reading, or to provide a better emendation.

Scaliger and de la Baune did not write explanatory notes to support their suggestions. It is perhaps for this reason that most modern numismatists who have accepted that the emended text is correct have come to believe that the word means «of one-third of an ounce», and have interpreted it as showing that the theoretical weight of the copper coins of Anastasius I which seem to be the product of his first coinage reform is therefore about 9 grammes, or one-third of a Roman ounce of 27 grammes[6]. It is easy to understand why they should have jumped to this conclusion. Many of the coins attributed to this reform do indeed weigh nine grammes or even a little more. But although the theory is plausible, it cannot be correct. Let us investigate the actual meaning of the Latin word.

The first meaning of the well documented noun *teruncius*, from which *teruncianus* is so easily derived, is «of three ounces», not «of one-third of an ounce». Like the

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4 *Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, XI, *Chronicorum Minorum Saec.* IV, V, VI, VII vol. II, p. 95.

5 Cfr n. 1 above.

6 M.F. HENDY, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

alternative *quadrans*, or «quarter», it signifies a weight of one-quarter of a Roman pound of twelve ounces. If we take the weight of a Roman pound as 324 grammes, the most convenient figure for most purposes, this suggests a weight of about 81 grammes. No coin of Anastasius is of this weight, and no Roman coin as heavy as this had been produced for several centuries. There must therefore be some other interpretation.

Surviving Latin texts do in fact show that another explanation is possible. In the keeping of accounts, or in presenting arithmetical fractions in legal documents, the word *teruncius* could, in addition to meaning a weight of three ounces, also be the name of a fraction of one-fortieth. The system of which this formed a part seems to have originated in the time of the Roman Republic, and a *terminus ante quem* of *c.* 140 B.C. for its introduction may be suggested. This is because it is based on a decimal system of values; its creation should therefore precede the date at which the relationship between the basic coins in the Roman Republican coinage system, the *as* and the denarius, was altered so that the denarius contained sixteen, not ten *asses*[7].

The earliest evidence for its existence is to be found in Varro's *De lingua Latina*[8]. From what Varro wrote we can extract the information that there was a unit of calculation called a *libella* or «little pound» which was one-tenth of a denarius. The statement that it was a silver coin may be ignored as a bad guess, inspired by the idea that it was one-tenth of a silver denarius. In fact, there was never a silver coin of this value. The half of a *libella* was called a *simbella* (i.e. a *semi-libella*), and the *ter(r)uncius*, which contained three ounces, was a quarter of this. The *simbella* and the *ter(r)uncius* were therefore a twentieth and a fortieth of a denarius. Another contemporary example of the use of the first and last of these terms is the remark made by Cicero in a letter to Atticus[9], in which he writes of the provisions of a will made and signed before witnesses by a mutual friend M. Curius that Atticus was an inheritor *ex libella*. From the passage of Varro which has just been quoted we can see that this meant that he was to inherit one-tenth of the estate. Cicero himself was an inheritor *ex ter(r)uncio*, which meant that he inherited one-quarter of a *libella* and was thus to receive one-fortieth.

The passages from Varro and Cicero which have been quoted above would not in themselves be enough to explain the workings of this system. But a much later work sets it out in full, namely the *Assis Distributio*[10] or Division of the Pound written in the time of Marcus Aurelius by the jurist Volusius Maecianus. Its writer held for a time the position of tutor for the young Caesar, and constructed these notes so that his pupil could understand an antiquated and arcane system of keeping accounts which was still sometimes used, although the relationship between the units on which it was based had long since changed. It was now employed to indicate the sums in bronze fractional coinage which might be left over when calculations had been made in units of silver coinage, showing the *aes excurrens* or «running-out bronze» in a way which

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7 The date of 140 B.C. was suggested by T.V. Buttrey in a neat analysis of the question, *On the retariffing of the Roman denarius*, in *MN*, 7, 1957, p. 57-65, and has been accepted by later students of the problem.

8 V, 174 : *Nummi denarii decuma libella, quod libram pondo as valebat et erat ex argento parva. Simbella, quod libellae dimidium, quod semis assis. Terruncius a tribus unciis, quod libellae ut haec quarta pars, sic quadrans assis.* The spelling *terruncius* seems to have been the more common one in Republican times, with *teruncius* replacing it by the time of Volusius Maecianus.

9 VII, ii, 3 : *Eius testamentum deporto ... fecit palam te ex libella, me ex terruncio.*

10 The text has been published twice independently, once by an anonymous editor at Rome in 1531 and by Theodor Mommsen at Leipzig in 1850. It was also included in J.F. Gronovius's work *De Sestertiis* (1656) and in the eleventh volume of J.F. Graevius's *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum* (Leyden, 1694-1699). It is now most readily available in S. Riccobono, *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*, Florence, 1941 or in one of the editions of P.E. Huschke's *Iurisprudentiae Anteiustinianae quae supersunt*, Leipzig, 1861 and later.

distinguished it from the more important sums in silver which had been entered using numerals of the ordinary kind[11].

The units in this system are the *semis* or half, the *libella* or tenth, the *singula* or twentieth and the *teruncius* or fortieth. Volusius Maecianus gives examples of ways in which they might be combined to express a number of other fractions. A quarter, for example, is defined as consisting of two *libellae* and a *singula*, or two tenths and a twentieth. If we were to express the same idea in decimal terms, we might say that 25 % is achieved by adding two units of 10 % and one of 5 %. Three-eighths is defined as consisting of three *libellae*, a *singula* and a *teruncius*, or three tenths, a twentieth and a fortieth. Again, if we wished to express this in terms of decimals, we would say that 37.5 % is made up of the sum of 30 %, 5 % and 2.5 %.

These fractions might also be expressed in symbols, which had the twin advantages of taking up less space, and of being even more impenetrable to anyone who had not been professionally trained in their use. Taking the fractions which have just been mentioned, a quarter would be written with two horizontal strokes one above the other, representing two *libellae* or tenths, followed by the Greek letter *sigma*, which indicated a *singula* or twentieth (= Σ). The Greek letter was used to distinguish the fraction from a *semis* or half, for which the Roman S was used. Three-eighths would be written with two horizontal strokes one above the other, followed by a third, placed at a level between them, the three of them representing three tenths or *libellae*. These were followed by a *sigma* and a T, indicating a *singula* and a *teruncius* (= – ΣT).

The first of these terms, *semis*, a half, needs no explanation. The second, *libella*, is more difficult. Varro in the passage quoted above defines it as a silver coin, one tenth of a denarius and worth an *as*. Volusius Maecianus begins by defining it as a tenth of a sestertius when reckonings are being kept in sesterces, but later adds that the same fractions can be used when reckoning in denarii, the only difference being that the account should begin with an indication of the unit in which they are being kept[12]. The thing which these statements have in common is the fact that a *libella* was a fraction of one-tenth. It is not immediately obvious why this should have been so. The word means literally only «little pound», and seems, as Volusius Maecianus says[13], to be a diminutive form of the more common *libra*. But it is possible to suggest a set of circumstances in which it might have been helpful to develop a special meaning for the word. When the denarius first became a standard unit of reckoning among the Romans in the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C. the *as* was its tenth. But it would sometimes have been difficult to use the word for a fraction of one-tenth, because it had always had the sense of «unit», (which is why it was given to the major unit in the first Roman bronze coinage). In legal language when property or sums of money were being distributed the person who received the *as* received the whole of the money or the property. The possibility of a confusion of meaning was therefore considerable. This difficulty could, however, be removed by the invention of another term to express a fraction of one-tenth, and this is probably the origin of the name *libella*, a word which (except in its other sense of a levelling tool) is found only as the name of this fraction, and never as a weight. It will have been called a «little pound» because the *as*, although greatly reduced in weight by the second century B.C., had originally weighed one pound or *libra*. If the creation of the word is to be explained in this way, it must have happened at a time when the *as* as a coin denomination was still one-tenth of a denarius.

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11 The only surviving instance of its use in practice, as opposed to the mentions of it in Latin literature, is on two waxed tablets from Dacia (*CIL*, III, 2, p. 953) which preserve lists of fractional reckonings calculated *ad denarium*.

12 *Ad sestertium ratio si conficiatur, semis hac nota scribitur -T : vocatur libella teruncius. Est autem libella sestertii decima pars, teruncius quadragesima; quae duae partes iunctae octavam sestertii, id est semissem, efficiunt. sive denariaria sive sestertiaria ratio conficeretur, isdem notis, id est libellarum et singularum et terunciorum praeposita nota denarii vel sestertii, ut erat ratio, aera exprimebantur.*

13 *Libella dicta creditur quasi pusilla libra.*

The remainig word of those used by Volusius Maecianus, *singula*, is more often found in one of the two forms *sembella* or *simbella*, and these give us a clue to its origin and meaning. It is a variant form of *semi-libella*, meaning half a *libella*, and is thus the name of a fraction of one-twentieth.

It should now be clear from the literary evidence quoted and explained above that in certain circumstances the word *teruncius* could in Latin be the name of a fraction of one-fortieth. In that case, it is not difficult to imagine that an adjectival form of the same word, *teruncianus*, (with *nummus* understood) might have been used or invented to describe the new coins which Anastasius issued in A.D. 498. But if these coins were fortieths, what were they fortieths of? In the context of Roman coinage the most natural explanation is to say that they were struck at forty to the pound. There is a great deal of evidence in ancient literature and from the coins themselves which suggests that it was normal to fix the weights of coins in this way, for example at 72, 84 and 96 to the pound. In that case the theoretical weight of the *terunciani* of Anastasius, at one-fortieth of a pound of 324 grammes, was about 8.1 grammes, and the name must have been given to the largest coins of his first reform. These coins actually bear the Greek numeral M (40) on them, but this is an irrelevant coincidence, because the presence of a K and an I on the smaller denominations of the same series shows that they were all multiples of a smaller unit, which was probably the *nummus* or *noummos*, rather than fractions of a larger one.

So far as the literary evidence is concerned, it seems that the problem can be satisfactorily explained. A major difficulty, however, remains. The average weights of such specimens in museum and private collections as have been published seems to be higher than the theoretical weight which has been suggested here, often approaching nine grammes even though none is in mint condition, and sometimes even exceeding ten grammes[14]. This is why modern scholars have been so willing to accept the idea that the coins were intended to weigh nine grammes or one-third of an ounce, in spite of the fact that a study of the meaning of the Latin word *teruncius* shows this to be impossible.

Is there any way of explaining why these coins seem to be heavier than they should be, if they are indeed fortieths of a pound? Here we must consider the nature of the evidence. They are of copper rather than of precious metal, and it is therefore unlikely that their weights would have been adjusted at the time of minting with the same care as would have been exercised in the striking of coins of pure silver or of gold. This is why the weights of base metal coins are often not published, even in the most carefully prepared catalogues, because it is thought that such information is not important in the case of individual specimens. We may therefore expect the weights of these copper coins to vary greatly. In addition, since the coins of Anastasius' first reform were the first since Republican times to bear numerals indicating their value unambiguously upon them, it might be thought that there was even less need for their weights to be accurately adjusted.

The weights of such specimens as have been published come from the catalogues of major collections or auctions, and it is very likely that this has had a distorting effect upon the figures. If we accept that it is likely that there was a considerable variation in the weights of these coins, it would not be surprising if those which have entered the better collections were sometimes selected for their imposing appearance, so that there will be a tendency for them to be the larger and better preserved specimens. The figures which are presented by those who expect to produce an average weight for these coins of about nine grammes are therefore not as compelling as they might seem at first sight. Selected specimens do not produce a good average.

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14 See for example the weights quoted by Morrisson in her Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue (n. 1 above).

# Theology and Coinage. The Name of Theoupolis on the Coins of Antioch

Maciej SALAMON*

The legends of coins minted in 6th century at Antioch contain, besides standard inscriptions, some unusual examples that defy interpretation. On occasion, we are faced with distorted or meaningless legends, but they do not seem to predominate[1]. Such unclear cases are mint marks containing the new city's name, particularly from the 540's on; still, we might try to explain the different versions of the mark.

In 528, Antioch acquired a new name, Theoupolis, i.e. City of God. This followed two particularly dangerous earthquakes[2]. As G. Downey writes, «It was hoped that the new name would place the city under the protection of the deity in a special way»[3]. The new name did not replace the old one, but it was used frequently, survived at least until the Arab conquest[4], and became exclusive in the mint mark on locally issued bronze coins[5]. At first (528/529), it was written in a Latin version as THEUP - THEUPo (Fig. 1, 2)[6]. Probably in 537 (dating according to W. Hahn), it appeared in Greek : ΘV̄ΠΟΛΣ, later ΘV̄ΠΟ (Fig. 3)[7], on half follis abbreviated to ΘV̄[8]. In 542/543, a new, more puzzling version came up : CH̄EUPO, in Latin characters (Fig. 4)[9]. The unusual shape of the letter C, clearly visible at least on some specimens, may bring to mind a cursive T/τ (Fig. 5)[10]; thus the meaning would remain unchanged (THEUPo), but the short bar over the H̄ an abbreviation mark, suggests that the inscription contained some new meaning. CH̄ alone, with the abbreviation mark, was put on half-follis (Fig. 6)[11]

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1 Cf. M. SALAMON, *Some Unique Obverse Legends on Bronze Coins of Maurice and Phocas from the Eastern Mints (589-610)*, in *Polish Numismatics News*, 4, 1986, p. 55-65.

2 Malalas, p. 419-421, 442-443 (Bonn). Cf. *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Melbourne, 1986, p. 238-241, 257-258; Theophanes, p. 172-173 (Boor); Procopius, *An.*, 18, 41; b.P. II, 14, 6-7 (Haury); Evagrius, *h.e.*, IV, 5-6; Marcellinus Comes, *s.a.*, 526; *Chronicle of Edessa*, ch. 97 (Raabe); E. HONIGMANN, *Theoupolis*, in *RE*, 2nd series, 6 A, col. 257; E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, Paris, 1949, p. 242; G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, Princeton, 1961, p. 519-530; P. ALLEN, *Evagrius Scholasticus, the Church Historian*, Leuven-Louvain, 1981, p. 177-180.

3 G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 529-530, 582; E. HONIGMANN, *op. cit.*, cf. *CJ*, I, 6; Procopius, *Aed.*, II, 10, 2; V, 5, 1; V, 9, 29; *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 626, 630 (Bonn).

5 Until the last year of Phocas (609/610), see W. HAHN, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini* (= *MIB*), Wien, 1973-1975-1981, II, Phocas 84, cf. p. 81; Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore Collections*, II, Washington, 1968, p. 39-40, 188-189, no. 90. 1-4. Later unofficial emissions or imitations, see *MIB*, III, p. 108-110; Heraclius, X, 30, 37-40, 43-44.

6 *MIB*, I, Justinianus,126-130 (follis), 134-135 (half-follis), 138 (decanummia), p. 62.

7 *MIB*, I, p. 62, Justinianus, 131, 143 (follis), 136 (half-follis), 139 (decanummia) ΘV̄ΠΟ-539/540. The letter E with a cross on pentanummia (141-142, 161) might refer to the name of God according to Hahn (*ibidem*).

8 *MIB*, I, Justinianus, 152 in 539/540.

9 *MIB*, I, p. 62, Justinianus, 144 (follis), 156 (decanummia).

10 C.M. KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917, p. 451-452; cf. inscriptions : E. POPESCU, *Inscripţiile din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România*, Bucureşti, 1976, no. 52; V. BESEVLIEV, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien*, Berlin, 1964, nos 18, 85, 169.

11 *MIB*, I, Justinianus, 153.



*Fig. 1.* *Follis, Justinian,* MIB *130 (532-537), F. Sternberg, Zürich, 19-20 Nov. 1990, 365.*
*Fig. 2.* *Half-follis, Justinian,* MIB*135 (537/538), Institute of Oriental Philology, Jagiellonian University.*
*Fig. 3.* *Follis, Justinian,* MIB *143 (539/540), H.J. Berk, V. England, New York, 7 Dec. 1989, 37.*
*Fig. 4.* *Follis, Justinian,* MIB *144 a (542/543), F. Sternberg, Zürich, 24-25 Nov. 1977, 1212.*
*Fig. 5.* *Follis, Justinian,* MIB *144 b (542/543),* MIB, *I, pl. 26.*
*Fig. 6.* *Half-follis, Justinian,* MIB *153 (542/543), H.J. Berk, V. England, New York, 7 Dec. 1989, 39.*
*Fig. 7.* *Follis, Justinian, a.* MIB *145 c ( 546/547),* MIB, *I, pl. 26; b.* MIB *145 a (547/548), F. Sternberg, Zürich, 24-25 Nov. 1977, 1213.*
*Fig. 8.* *Half-follis, Justinian,* MIB *154 a (548/549),* MIB, *I, pl. 28.*
*Fig. 9.* *Pentanummion, Justinian, a.* MIB *162*[2] *(enlarged); b.* MIB *162*[1]; MIB, *I, pl. 28.*
*Fig. 10.* *Follis, Justinian,* MIB *146 a (551/552),* MIB, *I, pl. 27.*
*Fig. 11.* *Half-follis, Justinian,* MIB *155 d (563/564), F. Sternberg, Zürich, 24-25 Nov. 1977, 1214.*
*Fig. 12.* *Follis, Maurice,* MIB *95 (587/588), Institute of Oriental Philology, Jagiellonian University.*
*Fig. 13.* *Half-follis, Maurice,* MIB *97*[2] *(589/590),* MIB, *II, pl. 25.*
*Fig. 14.* *Half-follis, Maurice,* MIB *100*[2] *(589/590),* MIB, *II, pl. 25.*
*Fig. 15.* *Half-follis, Maurice,* MIB *101 C (592/593),* MIB, *II, pl. 25.*
*Fig. 16.* *Half-follis, Maurice,* MIB *102 C (593/594),* MIB, *II, pl. 25.*

and this demonstrates that we are dealing with a word that could exist separately. CH may stand for Christ, though we know that this name was abbreviated to the Greek letter X even in Latin texts[12]. However, further development of the Antioch mint mark produces, some decades later, an inscription suggesting that X, short for Christ, may have substituted for the beginning of the city's name. In 578-582 (in Antioch until 589/590), Byzantine bronzes adopted Roman numerals as marks of value; half-follis had XX, decanummia X. A particularly interesting case is that of decanummia, in which the earlier abbreviation THEUP was replaced by ☧ , short for P(OLIS) after the X had appeared (Fig. 14)[13]. The combination of X (mark of value) and P (mint mark) must have been associated with the chrysmon ☧ , the sign for Christ[14]. It is characteristic that the earlier THEUP was returned to under Maurice, when reverses once again had a Greek mark of value, I (Fig. 16)[15]. Similar changes took place when the mark of value was modified under Phocas (602-610)[16]. On half-follis, the letters XX were also accompanied by the abbreviation ☧ (Fig. 13)[17], which was not a new phenomenon here, as we will see below. At any rate, fractional denominations of the late 6th to early 7th centuries prove that the name Theoupolis could also be rendered as Christoupolis with the letters X P read as XP(ICTOV) P(OLIS).

Thus the half-follis mint mark of 542/543 – CH̄ – allowed the name to be read also as Christoupolis[18]. The matter was different with the mint mark of the follis. Here, in C̄HEUPO, the letter E stood in way of such interpretation (Christoupolis with and E/I alteration[19]?), thus a double meaning should be assumed : CHRISTOU/THEOUPOLIS. This difficulty was out of the way in the mint mark without an E which was used from 551/552 (in Latin and Greek) : THU☧ (Fig. 10)[20], and from 554/555 (in Latin) : THU☧ [21]. A double meaning cannot be ruled out even here, as a cursive T may have been read as a C or T. Yet THEUP returned in 561/562 - 559/560, and from then on this notation remained for good (Fig. 12)[22], which proves that combined meanings in the mint mark were abandoned, at least in the follis mint mark.

This does not close the list of original versions of the mint mark. We have already mentioned the half-follis, on which THEUP almost totally disappeared after 546/547.

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12 C.M. KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

13 *MIB*, II, Tiberius, 57-60; Mauricius, 100.

14 Combination of mint marks and marks of value on Byzantine coins, see below, note 26.

15 *MIB*, II, Mauricius, 102. There are some transitional issues with the Latin letters X or XX and the long mint mark, THEUP. They appear at the beginning and at the end of the series : Tiberius, 50 (half-follis), 48 (30-nummia), Mauricius, 101 decanummia for the 11th year (Fig. 15). The letter Γ placed above the mint mark of Mauricius 101 or replacing the mint mark of Tiberius 51 b, 55 b is interpreted by Hahn as an officina number : Γ = 3 (*MIB*, II, p. 56, 70; III, p. 71-72). However, it might rather be a form of P or ☧ ligature. Such form of the letter P can be found in the legend of Maurice's obverses from Antioch (Mauricius 96) as well as in the inscriptions betraying an influence of the cursive script, cf. C.M. KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 451-452; E. POPESCU, *op. cit.*, no. 52.

16 *MIB*, II, Phocas, 87-88.

17 *MIB*, Tiberius, 51-55; Mauricius, 97, Phocas, 85-86.

18 The earthquake was stopped in the name of Christ according to a tradition derived from the Chronicle of Malalas, cf. *The Chronicle...*, p. 257, note; Theophanes, p. 178; E. HONIGMANN, *loc. cit.*, G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

19 For the alteration Christus-Chrestus, see : *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, III, Leipzig, 1978, col. 409, 9-12, 413, 12-18.

20 *MIB*, I, Justinianus, 146 a (follis), 158 (decanummia).

21 *MIB*, I, Justinianus, 147-149 (cfr *MIB*, II, p. 29), 146 b = 147 b (cf. *MIB*, III, p. 23 - follis), 159 (decanummia), struck incidentally still in 565/566 (*MIB*, II, Justinus II, 54 a-b, 61).

22 *MIB*, I, Justinianus, 150-151 (cf. *MIB*, II, p. 28) since 561/562, in 559/560 an incidental issue (follis), 62-63 (decanummia); Tiberius, 46-47 (follis), 48 (30-nummia), 50 (half-follis), 56 (decanummia); Mauricius, 95-96 (follis), 101-102 (decanummia); Phocas, 83-84 (follis).

Then in the lower part of the reverse, below the letter K (mark of value), a Greek monogram was placed of the word : ΠΟΛΙC : ☧ (Fig. 8)[23]. In 554/555, it was replaced by varying forms of a Latin monogram, from an elaborate ☧ (resembling the chrysmon) to the simple P (Fig. 11)[24]. For want of evidence that Antioch officially bore the sole name of *Polis* in the sense that Rome and Constantinople did (*Urbs-Polis*)[25], we can guess this to be a combination of a mint mark, P, and a mark of value, K. Sixth-century coinage supplies examples of similar combinations (e.g. the marks of Konstantinopolis, KYZikos, or NIKomedia[26]). Searching for words with a meaning similar to θεός or God, along the lines of Theos/Christos, we suggest understanding K as a short for Κύριος, or Lord. Let us note that the letter P, basically belonging to the abbreviation for Polis, allowed another combination : as a Greek P (rho) fused with K, it could justify reading the whole as a monogram KYPI(O)V made up of Greek letters. The complex version P (with a small o placed above the P) could even legitimize the reading KYPIOV (plus, as the second meaning of P - *Polis* in Latin characters). Without doubt, this possibility of combination helped make such a mint mark popular.

What may seem to be the most mysterious is the mint mark of Antioch follis and decanummia used from 546/547 : ϤHU☧ (Fig. 7)[27]. The Greek monogram at the end of the mint mark is easily deciphered as ΠΟΛΙ(C), although the first three letters may seem nonsensical. However, if we assume that the third letter is a Latin U or a Greek Y, and the first two are read as Y ( Ϥ ) and H, we get the word YHU or YHY = YH(O)Y which can be taken to be Greek υἡοῦ. Employing H as phonetically equivalent to I is commonplace in the Greek of the time. Thus, υἡοῦ phonetic for υἱοῦ is the genitive of the word «Son»[28], the name of Theoupolis being rendered here as Υἱούπολις - Hyioupolis, City of the Son. Here, too, we can guess that a double meaning was indicated by the somewhat odd form of the first letter, Ϥ. This may be a reference to the previous version of the mark, CHEUPo. Assuming that this unusual U is a sort of ligature of the letters C and I, we can admit a double meaning YHUΠΟΛΙ(C) and the CH(R)I(ST)UΠΟΛΙ(C), this time without the dubious E[29].

Of all versions and combinations of the Antioch-Theoupolis mint mark between 528 and 609/610, we have discerned four variants of the name : Theoupolis, Christoupolis, Hyioupolis, and Kyrioupolis, the City of God, of Christ, of the Son, of the Lord, respectively. Their introduction on the coin dies must have served to emphasize a theological point : the synonymity or close affinity of the four terms. The theological

23 *MIB*, I, Justinianus, 154 a-b, in 546/547-555/556.

24 *MIB*, Justinianus, 155 a-d; Justinus II 58-60; Tiberius 49; Mauricius 99.

25 E.A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 902, cf. the cautious remarks by E. FENSTER, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, München, 1968, p. 98-100.

26 Ph. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coins*, London, 1982, p. 20-22 : «(the die sinkers)... seem to have taken a certain satisfaction in making marks of value serve as mint-marks or parts of them...».

27 *MIB*, I, Justinianus, 145 a-d (follis), 157 (decanummia) in 546/547-550/551; also *MIB*, III, 145 e.

28 The standard abbreviation for υἱοῦ was YY, see : A. AVI-YONAH, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions*, Chicago, 1974, p. 107; Y.E. MEIMARIS, *Sacred Names, Saints, Martyrs and Church Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Pertaining to the Christian Church of Palestine*, Athens, 1986, p. 60-62 *et passim*. YHU is an almost unabridged version since U can stand for the Greek OV or the Latin U. Some other variants of the notation : ὑγηώς (V. BESEVLIEV, *op. cit.*, no. 119), ὑγειοῦ (*CIG*, IV, no. 8838), υἱοῦ (*ibidem*, no. 8685), ἡοῦ D. FEISSEL et A. PHILIPPIDIS-BRAAT, *Inventaire en vue d'un recueil des inscriptions historiques de Byzance*, III. *Travaux et Mémoires*, 9, Paris, 1985, p. 304, no. 45.

29 Hahn places c. 556/557 a pentanummion (*MIB*, I, Justinianus, 162) with the ligature of O and V. However, since the sign Ȣ is attested by inscriptions (M. AVI-YONAH, *op. cit.*, p. 74, 76) as an abbreviation for υἱο..., the pentanummion could be dated earlier, together with the mint mark YHU☧. A point placed in the middle of Ȣ (Fig. 9) is explained by Hahn (*Ibidem*, p. 63, n. 64) as a «Zentrierungspunkt», although it makes a double meaning : VO = Y(I)OV and ΘV = Θ(E)OV possible.

content, of course, is by no means original; such titles of God's Second Person are to be found in the so-called Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed accepted by the Chalcedonian Council : «ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ ... θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ...»[30]. In the 5th and 6th centuries, in the course of dispute between the Chalcedonians and their opponents, the relation of Christ's divinity and humanity was discussed. Within the so-called Neo-Chalcedonian theology, which reverted to the thought of St. Cyril of Alexandria, we see emphasis placed on the divine nature of Christ. John of Scythopolis wrote : «To say Christ is to say God»[31]. Here we come very close to the ideas expressed on the Antioch coins.

As a centre of Christian thought, Antioch was strongly involved in theological disputes. Its patriarch from 527 was Ephraim[32], author of series of mainly polemic works, a thinker who may not have been very original, but who played a role in Christological controversies. Although he can hardly be counted among Neo-Chalcedonian thinkers in the strict sense, some affinity to Leontius of Jerusalem is discernible in his writings. Ephraim defended the formulas by St. Cyril, who strongly stressed the divinity of Christ as he underscored their usefulness in fighting Nestorianism[33]. In his writings, he repeatedly stated the identity of Christ as the God, Lord, and the God's Son, e.g. : «... ἕνα τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν καὶ υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ θεὸν καὶ Κύριον εἶναι πιστεύει καὶ ἀραρότως εἰσδέχεται ...»[34]. This very man headed the Antioch Church in 528, at the time when the city was dubbed Theoupolis. The role he played in it was preponderant, and not only in matters of faith, for he was ordained bishop when he already held the position of the civilian governor of Syria as Comes Orientis[35]. It is easy to guess that Ephraim had an influence on the staff of the local mint, which was not exceptional in the early-Byzantine Antioch. He organized the restoration of the City after the earthquakes of 526-528[36], endeavoured to protect it during the Persian siege in 540, and played a leading role when Antioch was struck by bubonic plague in 542[37]. It was in 542 that a local church council presided by Ephraim was held[38]. Unfortunately, little is known about the issues discussed, but it cannot be merely accidental that starting that year it became customary to combine coin notations pointing to the oneness of God and Christ, a concept certainly in line with Ephraim's theological views. Next in the course of developments came the pontificate of patriarch Domnimus, who is known to have participated in the second Constantinopolitan Council (553), probably a supporter of the Neo-Chalcedonian Theology[39].

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30 J.N.D. KELLY, *Altchristliche Glaubensbekenntnisse*, Berlin, 1971, p. 295-297; see e.g. : *C.J.*, I, 6; I, 7.

31 Photius, *Bibliothèque*, Paris, 1959-1978, cod. 107; cf. P.T.R. GRAY, *The Deference of Chalcedon in the East (451-553)*, Leiden, 1979, p. 112-114.

32 JÜLICHER, *Ephraimios*, in *RE*,VI, col. 17; in *PLRE*, II, p. 394-396; E. STEIN, *op. cit.*, II, p. 242; G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 526.

33 P.T.R. GRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 54, 141-154; P. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 123, 180.

34 Photius, cod. 164, p. 228-229 (citing Cyril), cf. p. 166, 169, 148, 132 *et passim*.

35 Malalas, p. 416, 423-424, 443; *Chronicle of Edessa*, ch. 99; Theophanes, p. 173; Evagrius, IV, 6; Photius, cod. 228, p. 114; Ps.-Zachariah, *h.e.*, VIII, 4, E. STEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 240-241, n. 1; G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 519, 524, 526; P. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 179-180; *IGLS*, III/2, no. 1142. For his later collaboration with the secular authorities, see Nov. Just., 155, Ps-Zachariah, *h.e.*, X, 1.

36 Evagrius, *h.e.*, IV, 6; Zachariah, *h.e.*, X, 5; cf. G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 529, 533.

37 Ephraim's activity in 540, see : Procopius, *b.P.*, II, 7, 14-7; 6, 17-25; 8, 1; 9, 17-18; Evagrius, *h.e.*, IV, 25; E. STEIN, *op. cit.*, II, p. 488-489, m. 3; G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 536-539; B. RUBIN, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, I, Berlin, 1960, p. 326-327. His role in 542/543, see : Evagrius, *h.e.*, IV, 35; *AASS*, Mai, 24 May, p. 335-336, 434; Cf. P. ALLEN, *op. cit.*, p. 200; G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 553-557. It was a time of growing religiosity.

38 Mansi, IX, p. 23-24; cf. V. Sabae, ch. 85 (Schwartz); E. STEIN, *op. cit.*, II, p. 393-394; G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

39 Evagrius, IV, 7; E. STEIN, *op. cit.*, II, p. 656 f., 664; G. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 557. We know very little about his theological position. Probably he followed the model of his predecessor,

Unfortunately, we are not able to discover exactly how church officials influenced the work of the mint. There may have been direct influence, or perhaps only adjustment on the part of the mint authority to prevailing spirits in the city at a time of theological dispute and growing religious feeling spurred by calamity. Still, the way in which this religious devotion was displayed on coins could not have been independent of the position of the bishops, influential as they were in secular affairs as well[40].

It is odd that anything as technical as a mint mark on a coin should have been used to convey a religious message. This was caused by the mint's limited freedom in choosing a die imposed by the capital. Though limited, this freedom left the local mint some room for its own inventiveness. Characteristically, at the time when the mint mark was being transformed to suit local needs, it acquired elements of the Greek language and alphabet. This was assuredly not the result of a general drive to hellenize the die, but rather a practical move to reach for a closer language and alphabet – understandable all the better for the fact that it had to do with the Greek name of the city – and Greek had already appeared in mint marks before – and with religious expression, where Greek in any case predominated. Greek elements, however, intermingle with Latin ones, the latter remaining preponderant for a long time to come.

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although he seems to have been much more criticized by the people (cf. V. Symeonis Iun., *AASS*, May, 24 May, p. 335 f.).

40 A similar case under Maurice is discussed by M. SALAMON, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63.

# The Copper Coinage of Theodahad : a Reappraisal

Luciana CUPPO CSAKI*

To Pierre Bastien,
who taught me to seek truth
in history and numismatics

The 40-nummi coin of Theodahad has traditionally been interpreted as a gesture of defiance toward Justinian I and/or an affirmation of royalty signified by the crown on the king's head[1]. Rooted in nineteenth century scholarship, these views were accepted by some historians and numismatists of the twentieth, and the idea that Theodahad is wearing a crown is still with us, albeit in a more cautious form[2]. Wroth was the lonely voice that noted the incongruity of an anti-Byzantine coin issued or circulated while Theodahad was negotiating for peace with Constantinople, and explained this with duplicity on the part of a king who «portrayed himself as champion of his Goth and Roman subjects» while getting ready to sell off Italy to Justinian[3].

This interpretation overlooked two facts : first, that the chosen medium (copper) was traditionally meant for local circulation and aimed at a local audience, specifically Romans and Goths; second, that on the basis of archaeological finds, the «crown» worn by Theodahad turned out to be a helmet. Furthermore, contemporary texts must be taken into account for what they tell us on the situation in Rome when the coin was issued. The key texts in this respect are the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, yet they are cited only cursorily, while other authors of the same period are hardly cited at all[4]. For all these reasons, the 40-nummi coin is due for a reappraisal.

I propose in this essay that the 40-nummi coin of Theodahad, while quite possibly conveying an anti-Byzantine message, was destinated primarily to the population of Goths and Romans, and particularly to the Roman Senate, historically responsible for issues of bronze coins; and that the coin itself, far from being (as some have suggested) a gesture of deference toward the Senate, is clearly anti-senatorial in its obverse, reverse and denomination.

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1 Authors who accepted this theory are Ernst Stein and F.F. Kraus. Stein wrote : «Comme pour bien souligner la souveraineté du royaume, le sénat dut faire frapper de fort beaux *folles* à l'effigie du roi *en buste*, c'est-à-dire de la façon en usage pour les portraits des empereurs» (*Histoire du Bas Empire*, 2, Paris, 1949, p. 345). F.F. Kraus interprets Theodahad's coin as a provocation toward the East : «In der Bronzeprägung setzt Witigis das von Theodahad gegebene Beispiel, soweit wenigstens unsere Kenntnis reicht, nicht fort. In Einklang mit seinen mehrfachen Bemühungen um Wiederherstellung eines friedlichen Verhältnisses zu Ostrom, verzichtet er auf weitere Provokation und unterlässt jegliche Münzung mit seinem Bilde» (*Die Münzen Odovacars und des Ostgotenreiches*, Halle, 1928, p. 156).

2 Cf. W. HAHN, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, Bd. I, Wien, 1973, p. 90 : «Wenn wir vom Goldmedaillon Theoderichs absehen, ist dies [Theodahad's *follis*] die erste Portraitsdarstellung eines ostgothischen Konigs; sie zeigt Theodahad im Königsornat mit einer Art Krone» (Hereafter referred to as *MIB* ).

3 W. WROTH, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards in the British Museum*, London, 1911, p. XXXV (hereafter referred to as *BMC*). The author relied on the study of E. LEUTHOLD, *Untersuchungen zur ostgotischen Geschichte*, Jena, 1908.

4 Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, *Variarum Libri XII*, Turnholti MCMLXXIII (*CCSL*, XCVI), hereafter : *Variae*. No complete English translation of the *Variae* is available but selected letters, translated and annotated by Samuel Barnish, were published in 1992 (Liverpool University Press, Liverpool).
An example of omission of important contemporary sources is given by E. STEIN, *op. cit.* The *Breviarium* of Liberatus is not mentioned anywhere in connection with Theodahad.

*The Medium*

Had Theodahad chosen to convey a message to Justinian in defiance of his imperial authority, the appropriate medium would have been gold, international in character and traditionally reserved to the emperor. When the king of Franks issued *solidi* with his own portrait, this act was immediately perceived as an infringement of imperial prerogatives, and the reaction by Procopius was swift : «So as gentlemen of leisure they [the Franks] view the horse races at Arelatum, and also make a golden coin from the product of the mines in Gaul, not stamping the likeness of the Roman emperor on this stater, as is customary, but their own likeness. And yet, while the Persian king is accustomed to make silver coinage as he likes, still it is not considered right either for him or for any other sovereign in the whole barbarian world to imprint his own likeness on a gold stater, and that, too, though he has gold in his own kingdom; for they are unable to tender such a coin to those with whom they transact business, even though the parties concerned in the transaction happen to be barbarians»[5]. The depth of indignation in this passage must be savoured in order to appreciate the lack of comparable sentiments – indeed, the absence of any reaction at all – in the case of Theodahad's *follis*, a coin with which Procopius must have become familiar during the Italian campaign of Justinian's army.

While Procopius' passage is often cited, it has not been remarked that the Greek text uses two different words, *charakter* and *eikon*, both rendered in English as «likeness». Their meaning is not the same : while *eikon* indicates the «portrait image» of the emperor, *charakter* means generically «mark» or «imprint»; concerning coins, it may mean «type», inasmuch as the type may be the distinctive mark of a coin, but it does not necessarily refer to the imperial portrait. The monogram of Theodoric, which appears on some of his *solidi*, could have been such an imprint[6]. It could have set a precedent for Theodahad, yet the Gothic king chose not to follow it, for (so far) we know of no gold coin of Theodahad distinguishable from those of Justinian[7]. While Procopius was quite outspoken on the infringement of imperial rights by the Franks, he says nary a word against Theodahad's *folles*. If this is an indication, Theodahad's actions in regard to coinage did not offend Justinian; but, if the *follis* was not a statement against the emperor, the only possible target was the local population, the Romans and the Goths.

*The Crown*

Early numismatic texts unanimously defined Theodahad's headpiece as a «crown», and this interpretation is still present, to some extent, in modern works : according to Hahn, Theodahad's portrait comes «mit einer Art Krone»[8]. Archaeological finds, however, show that the «crown» is strikingly similar to the *Spangenhelme* worn by Germanic warriors, and thus is not a crown at all, but rather a *Spangenhelm*.

*Spangenhelme* were found in various locations throughout Europe : at Vid (ancient Narona - San Vito) in the year 1902, at Baldenheim (Alsace), at Montepagano near Potenza (Italy). The Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn has one such helmet found at

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5 Procopius, *Bell.*, VII, xxxiii, 5-6. The English translation is by H.B. DEWING, Loeb Classical Library, London, 1929, titled *The History of the Wars*.

6 According to E. LEUTHOLD, *Due monete inedite dei Goti*, in *Notizie del Chiostro del Monastero Maggiore*, Milano, 1967, p. 1-2, there are about 30 such *solidi* extant (*BMC*, p. 46, n° 3, pl. VI.28).

7 The gold coin attributed to Theodahad by Mario Brozzi is instead of Theodosius (communication of Amelio Tagliaferri to the author), cf. M. BROZZI, *Monete bizantine in tombe longobarde*, in *NAC*, 3, 1974, p. 223.

8 As early as 1740 Mazzoleni described the obverse as a crown : «D.N. THEODAHATVS REX, cum corona in capite & paludamento ad pectus gemmis ornato» (*In numismata aerea selectiora maximi moduli e museo Pisano, olim Corrario*, p. 233). Julius Friedländer agreed with this interpretation in his catalogue description of the coin : «Brustbild mit einer oben geschlossenen Krone, rechtshin, auf der Brust ein Kreuz» (*Die Münzen der Ostgothen*, Paris, 1844, p. 39). For W. HAHN, cf. above, note 2.

Morken (Erftkreis) and there is one at the Archdiocesan Museum in Cologne[9]. Finally, one *Spangenhelm* might be preserved at the Armory in Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome (confirmation by the curators is pending)[10].

For some of these finds the Ostrogothic provenance is assured : Narona was an Ostrogothic settlement, and Goths were present in the Montepagano area. Michel Abramic remarked that the two helmets found at Narona were decorated «con motivi classici, ma anche con simboli cristiani»[11]. The same holds true for the helmet of Montepagano. The other helmets seem to have some relationship to Ostrogothic culture. The catalogue description of the *Spangenhelm* in the Landesmuseum at Bonn defines it as an «Importstück aus dem byzantinischen Kulturkreis», thus excluding a local provenance. Several Ostrogothic gold coins were found in the tombs in the cathedral of Cologne together with the helmet, which for this reason was dated to the sixth century; in this case, too, the coins could indicate familiarity with Gothic imports.

The finds leave no doubt that the helmet on Theodahad's head is a realistic trait, not an idealized representation : to the Romans, who did not have an army, a clear symbol of power, and a reminder of the presence of the Gothic army near Rome.

*Contemporary Textual Sources : the* Variae

If the coin is destinated to Romans and conveys a clear message of power to the Roman population, it is necessary to examine contemporary texts written in or about Rome, to see if they reflect some sense of tension or hostility between the Gothic king and his subjects. The most important texts in this respect are the *Variae* of Cassiodorus, but other sources, although written from very different perspectives, attest to a state of tension, never resolved, between Theodahad and the Romans.

The *Variae* express the opinions of a member of the senatorial class and praetorian prefect of Rome who was also in the service of the Ostrogothic kings, and had thus gained an insider's view of both the king's court and the inclinations of the Roman Senate[12]. As governor of Rome, Cassiodorus must have been aware of the new coin struck for the king at the local mint, although he chooses to not mention it in the *Variae*. He does, however, note that Theodahad loves novelties[13].

Although rich in information on contemporary events, the *Variae* are not a chronicle, but a selection of official documents, carefully chosen and edited for publication[14]. The author's sentiments are shown implicitly (through the selection of texts), but also explicitly, whenever the writer speaks in his own person or states the general principles that should inspire administrative decisions. The purpose of the work

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9 For *Spangenhelme* in general, cf. J. WERNER, *Zur Herkunft der frühmittelalterlichen Spangenhelme*, in *Praehist. Zeitschrift*, 34-35, 1949-1950, p. 178-193; also ID., *Münzdatierte austrasische Grabfunde*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1935. The two helmets of Narona were published by M. ABRAMIC, *Gli Ostrogoti nell'antica Dalmazia*, in *I Goti in Occidente*, Spoleto, 1956, p. 37-41.

10 I owe this and other stimulating suggestions to P.J. Casey, to whom I am especially grateful for his role of *aduocatus diaboli* in testing some points I made in my communication at the XIth International Numismatic Congress in Brussels.

11 M. ABRAMIC, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

12 Cassiodorus wrote to Justinian in the name of the Roman Senate (*Var.*, XI, xiii). He was also active (as a Roman senator, not as a praetorian prefect) in ecclesiastical matters : Pope John II names him among the addresses of a letter *illustribus ac magnificis uiris Auieno, Senatori, Liberio, Seuerino, Fideli, Auito, Opilioni, Joanni, Siluerio, Clementiano et Ampelio.*

13 *Var.*, XII, xix, 16-17 : *Sic decet dominum suscipi, ut aliqua debeat nouitate gratulari.*

14 *Cum iam suscepti operis optato fine gauderem, meque duodecim uoluminibus iactatum quietus portus exciperet, ubi etsi non laudatus certe liberatus adueneram.* (*De anima*, I, 1-3).

is to hand down *exempla* to posterity, and to the mind of the ancient, they are of two kinds : good ones to be followed, bad ones to be eschewed[15].

Like the other letters in the collection, the ones by (Book X) or about Theodahad (Book XII) were carefully chosen; as a result, the portrayal of the king that emerges from these pages is not accidental, but planned as an *exemplum* for posterity. Some personal statements by Cassiodorus, in particular, are indicative of the situation of Roman senators under this ruler[16].

Book X contains 19 letters written during the reign of Theodahad alone, 9 of which concern foreign policy (letters to Justinian and Theodora). Letters to the Roman Senate and the people of Rome (6 in number) make up the lion's share among the remaining ten. Two additional letters delegate to Cassiodorus the important tasks of the administration (to provide food in times of scarcity), and only two contain a record of Theodahad's administrative decisions in regard to the government of Italy. These are as follows : the bronze elephants on the Via Sacra, near collapse because of their antiquity, should be restored, and Wisibad, a noble Goth who suffered from *podagra*, should undergo the prescribed cure at the mineral springs to regain his fitness[17]. Thus, according to Cassiodorus' representation, the administrative decisions by Theodahad concerning Italy amount to rather frivolous pursuits, while the king's main concern (quite likely symbolized by six, the perfect number) is the relations with the Roman Senate; in turn, central to such relations is the king's visit to Rome. We must now turn to these events, crucial for the interpretation of the 40-nummi coin.

*The Roman cycle in Book X*

The *Variae* are arranged in thematic as well as chronological order[18]. This is also true in the case of the six letters of Book X addressed to the Senate and the people of Rome (*Var*, X, xii, xiii, xiv, xvi, xvii, xviii). These letters comprise the Roman cycle, and their theme is the relations between Theodahad and his Roman subjects. Psychologically, the central concern is diffidence, escalating in tension and fear, of the Romans toward their king; in fact the central event is the visit of Theodahad to Rome, considered by the king as a «remedy» (*remedium*) to the unstable situation there.

The crescendo of tension and hostility between Theodahad and his Roman subjects is well documented in the cycle. The first letter of the group still contains flattery toward the Senate, presenting the wedding of Maximus Anicius into the king's extended family as a tribute to the whole senatorial class[19]. In *Var*. X, xiii and xiv, twin letters addressed respectively to the Senate and the people of Rome, Theodahad reproaches the senators for their suspicions, adding that this attitude may be dangerous : *Venientes ad nos aliqui rettulerunt ciuitatem Romanam adhuc inepta sollicitudine laborare et id agere, ut, nisi nostrae mansuetudinis interesset, pericula sibi potius certa ex dubiis suspicionibus concitaret* (*Var*, X, xiii, 5-8), and *Non uarium, non dolosum, nec seditionibus plenum populum decet esse Romanum* (*Var*, X, xiv, 12-13).

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15 *Quos [i.e. qui te dicente meruerunt illustres dignitates accipere] si celebrandos posteris tradas, abstulisti, consuetudine maiorum, morientibus decenter interitum.* (*Var*., praefatio 63-65).

16 *Magna uobis erit gloria et me securum reddere et tantorum bona iudicia meruisse* (*Var*., XII, xviii, 31-32); *Quia committi non potest casui, quod nostro periculo constat adscribi.* (*Var*., XII, xix, 34-36).

17 *Var*., X, xxix gives Wisibad leave to go to the mineral springs for therapy. *Var*., X, xxx entrusts Honorius with the task of restoring the bronze elephants.

18 The chronological order of the *Variae* was established by C. TANZI, *Studio sulla cronologia dei libri* «Variarum» *di Cassiodoro Senatore*, in *Archeografo triestino*, nuova serie, XIII, Trieste, 1887, p. 1-36.

19 *Quae preces a me exigere potuerunt, quod meus animus spontanea deliberatione concessit, ut uestri ordinis uiros parentes uere appellare possimus, qui nobis affinitatis claritate iungendi sunt?* (*Var*., X, xii, 32-35).

*Var.*, X, xvi and xvii (again, respectively to the Senate and the people of Rome) show that the situation is deteriorating : the Senate had demanded that Theodahad swear an oath, and the king resented their lack of confidence in his word alone[20]. To offset what he considered insubordination by his Roman subjects, the king implemented a number of countermeasures. First, he summoned certain Roman senators to his court, *nos enim quod praesentiam uestram expetiuimus, non uexationis iniuriam, sed utilitatis uestrae causas profunda cogitatione tractauimus, ut illud magis debuissetis efficere, quod uobis cognouimus expedire* (*Var.*, X, xiii, 29-32). Under Cassiodorus' adroit pen, the comment follows, *certe munus est uidere principem* (X, xiii, 33), where *munus* can mean «obligation» as well as «privilege».

*Var.* X, xiv contains an allusion to the planned visit to Rome with the Gothic army[21]. The official announcements follow in *Var.*, X, xviii. The letter also refers to some measures aimed to allay the Romans' fear : provisions for the army will be bought at market prices, the soldiers will not enter the city proper[22]. This last letter of the Roman cycle in Book X is the *trait d'union* to *Var.* XII, xviii and xix, which detail the preparations for Theodahad's visit to Rome, for which Cassiodorus bears full responsibility. These letters are remarkable for a number of reasons.

First, they belong to the small group of documents written by Cassiodorus himself during this praetorianship (because of his many responsibilities, he normally delegated writing tasks to Felix, his assistant)[23]. They must, therefore, be particularly important in the author's eyes.

Second, the letters show a high degree of personal involvement by Cassiodorus in the arrangements for the king's arrival : *Cogitate ergo, quod praesens facta uestra diiudico* (*Var.*, XII, xviii, 26). Preparations are detailed, even meticulous : mountain paths are to be made easily viable, roads must be improved, bridges built along the Via Flaminia[24]. Provisions for the army must be bought, and the king's victuals are the object of special care[25].

Most importantly, *Var.*, XII, xviii and xix show that Cassiodorus' involvement is due to fear of an unspecified, but grave danger, not only to himself, but to all Roman senators : *uniuersos affligit, qui regi aliqui necessarium subtrahit, quia, dum laetus optatur ab omnibus, cunctos contristat, si probetur offensus. Adde quod sic praeclarum est sub tanta senatorum occursione laudari*, etc. (*Var.*, XII, xix, 25-28). These letters leave no doubt as to the arbitrary nature of Theodahad's decisions : his satisfaction or discontent affects every senator. It is a tense situation, and Cassiodorus, writing in his

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20 *Intelligite, quantum nobis imponere uester uideatur affectus : fide uobis constringimur, qui uel solo uerbo promissa seruare sacris lectionibus ammonemur.* (*Var.*, X, xii, 16-19).

21 *Numquid uos noua gentis facie ulla deterruit? Cur expauistis, quos parentes hactenus nominastis? Qui relictis familiis ad uos uenire properabant, de uestra erant potius securitate solliciti.* (*Var.*, X, xiv, 22-25).

22 *Sed ne in aliquo uobis grauis existeret uel ipsa defensio, exercitui destinato ordinante illo annonas fecimus secundum forum rerum uenalium comparari, ut et illis tolleretur necessitas excedendi et uobis auferretur causa dispendii.* (*Var.*, X, xviii, 12-16).

23 *Sed ne quis forsitan possit offendi, quod in praetoriano culmine constitutus sic omnimodis actioso pauca dictauerim, accipiat uiri prudentissimi Felicis praesumptione factum, cuius participatus sum in omni causa consilium.* (*Var.*, XI, praefatio 27-31).

24 *Species praeterea, quae mensis regiis apparantur, exactas tota sedulitate perquirite. Nam quid proderit exercitui satisfacere, si uos contigerit in ipsa dominorum pastione peccare?* (*Var.*, XII, xviii, 20-23).

25 Inspections were normally the responsibility of Cassiodorus' staff. The travel through the provinces mentioned in the preface to the *Variae* is due to the preoccupation that food be available to towns in times of famine (536-537). *Hinc est quod cogimur animo per cunctas ire prouincias et iniuncta semper inquirere, quia non sufficit agenda militibus imperare, nisi haec iudicis assiduitas uideatur exigere.* (*Var.*, praefatio 26-29). These are extraordinary circumstances and fear plays no part in them.

own name and from a very different viewpoint than the one of Theodahad in Book X of the *Variae*, confirms the state of unrest deplored by the king.

*Liberatus Diaconus and Marcellinus Comes*

The allusions to danger in Books X and XII of the *Variae* are clarified by a text of Liberatus Diaconus, who writes : *Quo tempore* [i.e. at the time of the election of Agapitus to the papacy] *Theodatus rex Gothorum scribens ipsi pape et senatui Romano, interminatur, non solum senatores, sed et uxores et filios, filiasque eorum gladio se interempturum, nisi egissent apud imperatorem, ut destinatum exercitum suum de Italia submoueret : sed papa, pro eadem causa legatione suscepta, Constantinopolim profectus est*[26]. This narrative complements that of the *Variae*.

Marcellinus Comes offers a different perspective. He makes only passing remarks on the reign of Theodahad in Italy, being primarily concerned with events in the East. His account of Italian things, though brief, shows, however, two contact points with the *Variae*. While narrating the Pope's voyage to Constantinople, Marcellinus remarks, *Agapitus Romanae urbis episcopus a Theodato rege Gothorum in legationem directus Constantinopolim uenit*, thus noting that Theodahad had control over the bishop of Rome[27]. Since Agapitus was a member of the senatorial class, an offense against him was, indirectly, an offense against the Roman Senate as well.

The word *suspicio*, so frequently mentioned in the *Variae*, is also present in Marcellinus' text. Ironically, the same word used to define the Romans' attitude toward Theodahad, is attributed by the writer to the Goths of the king's army : *Gothorum exercitus Theodahadum regem habens suspectum, Vitigem in regnum asciscit : qui mox in campo barbarico regnum peruasit*[28].

*Jordanes and Procopius*

The *Getica* of Jordanes, although more subtly worded, agree with the previously examined sources as to the uneasiness of the situation in Rome. As the writer sees it, the Gothic war after the death of Amalasuntha was the direct result of having disregarded Theodoric's last wishes. One element indispensable for stability in Italy was good will toward the Senate and the people of Rome; this was what Theodoric had recommended, and this was the wish that Theodahad did not respect[29].

In *The Gothic War*, Procopius is concerned with events in Italy, but considers them primarily from the standpoint of relations with Byzantium. Yet some of his remarks throw light on the international situation of Rome. In one instance, Procopius states that all Roman senators, except one, held Theodahad responsible for the death of Amalasuntha and informed Justinian accordingly[30]. In another passage the writer, by comparing the time when Amalasuntha was in control and the ensuing times, indicates that the lot of the Romans took a turn for the worse under Theodahad : «As long as she stood at the head of the government he inflicted punishment upon no Roman in any case

26 Liberatus Diaconus, *Breviarium*, chapter XXI. Procopius also alludes to possible fear of retaliation by Theodahad on the part of Gothic troops defending Naples (*De bello Gothico*, V, viii, 8-10).

27 Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon*, sub anno 535.

28 ID., *op. cit.*, sub anno 536.

29 *Sed postquam ad senium peruenisset et se in breui ab hac luce egressurum cognosceret, conuocans Gothos comites gentisque suae primates Athalaricum infantulum adhuc uix decennem, filium filiae suae Amalasuenthae, qui Eutharico patre orbatus erat, regem constituit, eisque in mandatis ac si testamentalis uoce denuntians, ut regem colerent, senatum populumque romanum amarent principemque Orientalem placatum semper propitiumque haberent post deum. quod praeceptum quamdiu Athalaricus rex eiusque mater aduiuerent, in omnibus custodientes pene per octo annos in pace regnarunt.* (*Getica*, LIX, 305-306).

30 Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, V, iv, 23-27.

either by touching his person or by imposing a fine»[31]. The third passage concerns the stipulation that the king of the Goths should not inflict the death penalty on Roman senators, or confiscate their property, without the emperor's consent[32]. If protection was sought against such measures, they were obviously a threat to the Romans.

Thus, the written sources of the time concur in describing the situation under Theodahad as one of tension or even open hostility between the king and his Roman subjects. This is the background that cannot be ignored when studying the iconography of the 40-nummi coin.

*An* adventus *coin and its chronology*

An attentive reading of the *Variae* gives precise indications as to the occasion for the issue of Theodahad's *folles* and their chronology. If the visit of the king to Rome was, as it appears from this text, the central event of his brief reign, it would have been strange indeed not to celebrate this occasion with the issue of a new coin. Visits of Roman emperors to various cities had historically been celebrated by the issue of *aduentus* coins which often had a military character[33]. Theodahad was coming to Rome with his army, and a ceremonial coin, especially of military type, was appropriate for this event. The high quality and craftmanship of many dies of the 40-nummi coin support the view that this was a commemorative piece; on the other hand, unlike many multiples, Theodahad's *folles* must have been issued in quantity. It was customary to distribute bronze coins to the population, provisions for the army had to be bought (on the free market, Theodahad had promised), the soldiers stationed near Rome had to be paid; all this necessitated a large amount of currency, so that commemorative purposes and practical necessity went hand in hand. The elaborate design of the coin and its superior craftsmanship are explained by the commemorative character, while the large number of dies tells us that these were regular issues, not isolated pieces.

The character of *aduentus* coin contributes to define the relative chronology of this piece, whose initial issue must have coincided with the arrival of Theodahad in Rome. For the absolute chronology, which has never been systematically studied, we must once again turn to the texts of the *Variae*[34].

The first coins struck by Theodahad repeated the types of his predecessor Athalaric under the regency of Amalasuntha[35]. It is, therefore, safe to assume that the 40-nummi coin, unlike all those of Athalaric, was struck after Amalasuntha was removed from power on April 30th, 535. This is, then, the *terminus ante quem* the coin could not be issued. The *terminus post quem* for the initial issue of the *follis* is early May 536. This

31 *Ibidem*, V, ii, 4.

32 *Ibidem*, V, vi, 2-3.

33 For a comprehensive study on donatives, including *aduentus* coins, cf. P. BASTIEN, *Monnaies et* donativa *au Bas-Empire*, Wetteren, 1988. There are numerous precedents for bronze coins struck to celebrate the *aduentus* of an emperor, at Rome or elsewhere, among them coins of Tacitus, Probus, Aurelianus. Bastien discusses these coins in detail on p. 56 (Aurelianus), p. 57 (Tacitus), p. 57-59 (Probus).

34 There is no systematic study of the chronology of this coin. Most historians consider it issued in relation to the Gothic War, without, however, adducing any evidence. Wroth, leaning on Leuthold (cf. above, note 3) proposed (with a question mark) the 1st of January, 536. This tentative date was suggested by the belief that the coin was distributed as a donative on January 1st, the traditional day for consular largesses. But Theodahad was neither consul nor patrician, and Bastien (above, note 33) has shown conclusively that *aduentus* coins were distributed throughout the year. Consequently, there is no need to postulate January 1st as the date of issue of Theodahad's *follis*.

35 They are, (a) the *minimi* with the bust of Justinian on the obverse and the monogram of Theodahad on the reverse (*MIB* I, n° 83) and, (b) the 10-nummi coins with the bust of Roma on the obverse and the name of Theodahad on the reverse (*MIB* I, n° 82). The parallel coins struck under Athalaric are, (a) the *minimi* of the type *MIB* I, n° 80 and, (b) the 10-nummi coins of the type *MIB* I, n° 78.

date comes from *Var.*, XII, xx : the letter was written after those referring to preparations for Theodahad's visit and its contents indicate that the king was in Rome at the time of writing. In the same letter Cassiodorus refers to Pope Agapitus as though he was still alive in the East. Since Agapitus died in Constantinople on April 22nd, 536, *Var.*, XII, xx must have been written before news of his death reached Rome, that is to say in late April or early May 536. This is, then, the latest possible date for Theodahad's arrival and the first issue of the coin.

However, within this time frame certain dates are more likely than others. On the evidence of the *Variae*, Theodahad announces his intention of going to Rome early in his reign, and Agnellus states that Theodahad went to Rome shortly after Amalasuntha's death[36]. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the king waited until winter to cross the Apennines with his army, and equally unlikely that the road improvement program outlined by Cassiodorus in preparation for the royal visit could be carried out in the winter months. Such works were more likely to occur in the summer of 535, and the arrival of the king should thus be dated to the late summer or early fall of the same year. This is, then, a likely date for the earliest issue of the 40-nummi coin; other issues may have followed up to the end of November 536, when Vitiges was proclaimed king.

*The Augustan model : the obverse*

The iconography of the 40-nummi coin is remarkable for its innovative character. Theodahad's *follis* is unlike any other coin under the Ostrogoths or Odovacar; this fact has been noted by all who have studied the coin, and hardly needs discussion. What has not been noted is the model that provided inspiration for the coin. I propose that this model is Augustus, and that the 40-nummi coin is a symbol of power over the Senate. As such, it deliberately follows patterns derived from Roman imperial coinage rather than Republican ones.

Augustus was the first Roman ruler who consistently issued coins with his own profile portrait on the obverse. In so doing, he replaced the goddess ROMA, the standard obverse representation on *denarii* of the Republic[37]. Thus, the continuous presence of Augustus' portrayal on his coins marked the coins of the *princeps* as opposed to those of the Republic. The senatorial mark S C is present on bronze coins of Augustus; but, according to numismatic conventions, the obverse always has priority over the reverse; therefore the presence of a ruler's portrait on the obverse and the S C on the reverse shows that the Roman Senate had assumed a subordinate position in regard to the ruler.

This was the situation under Theodahad. His portrait on the obverse replaced either the effigy of the eastern emperor or the symbolic personification of ROMA – no longer a goddess, but still INVICTA[38]. Moreover, Theodahad portrayed himself wearing the helmet, i.e. as a general : this was something that even Augustus had avoided to do, and an insult to the Romans, who did not have an army.

Augustus was not a remote model for either Theodahad or the Roman senators. Throughout the ages, the idea of emulating the first *princeps* had remained alive and had

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36 Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis Vita Ursicini I*. Agnellus is often reputed unreliable and is not mentioned by E. Stein as a source for the period of Theodahad, but in this instance his account agrees with that of the *Var.*, X, xiii, 10-12, *Per uestram siquidem sapientiam ammoneri prouincias oportuit uniuersas, ut talia probarentur assumere, quae principis primordia uiderentur ornare.*

37 For a discussion of ROMA and the importance of this symbol on early Republican coins, cf. H. MATTINGLY, *Roman Coins*, London, 1928, p. 54-55.

38 The legend INVICTA ROMA is found on the following coins of the Ostrogothic period : the so-called «municipal» (anonymous) *folles* and half-*folles*, the 10-nummi coins of Athalaric and Vitiges, and half-*siliquae* of Theodoric. For a discussion on the bronze pieces, cf. Ph. GRIERSON and M. BLACKBURN, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. I, Cambridge, 1986, p. 37-38; the silver coins with INVICTA ROMA are discussed on p. 36.

on occasions found expression on coinage, as it was the case with Constantine the Great, who used the coin portrait of Augustus for his own political propaganda[39]. Augustus was a model for barbarian kings as well : about one hundred years after Constantine, Athaulf, the brother of Alaric, also planned to equal the Roman *princeps*. Orosius remarks that, *ille cum esset animo, uiribus, ingenioque nimius, referre solitus esset, se in primis ardenter inhiasse : ut, obliterato Romano nomine, Romanum omne solum, Gothorum imperium et faceret et uocaret : essetque, ut uulgariter loquar, Gothia, quod Romania fuisset; fieretque nunc Athaulfus, quod quondam Caesar Augustus*[40].

The Roman past was also present as a constant challenge to the mind of Theoderic, who demanded a narrative of the deeds of the ancient from the young Cassiodorus Senator, so that he could match them : *Nam cum esset publica cura uacuatus, sententias prudentium a tuis fabulis exigebat, ut factis propriis se aequaret antiquis*[41]. And the implicit desire to match Augustus is present in the *Chronicon* of Cassiodorus, where the author wrote about Theoderic's building activity : *Sub cujus* [i.e. Theoderici] *felici imperio plurimae renouantur urbes, munitissima castella conduntur, consurgunt admiranda palatia, magnisque ejus operibus antiqua miracula superantur*[42].

If the memory of Augustus was quite alive in the sixth century, so was the memory of those Roman senators who had opposed the absolute power of emperors in the first. Boethius refers to Canius, Seneca and Soranus (opponents, respectively, of Caligula and Nero) as persons whose memory was neither very ancient nor obscure, *quo si nec Anaxagorae fugam nec Socratis uenenum nec Zenonis tormenta quoniam sunt peregrina nouisti, at Canios, at Senecas, at Soranos quorum nec peruetusta nec incelebris memoria est, scire potuisti*[43]. The ideals of imperial power and of Republican autonomy were both alive in the time of the Ostrogoths, and Boethius, who remembered the Stoic opponents of the early emperors, was sentenced to death by Theoderic because he had defended *Romana libertas*[44]. Thus an Augustan symbol on a coin was a memorial to the glory of Augustus and flattering to a Gothic king, but also (to Roman senators) a reminder of the end of Republican freedom.

*The Augustan model : the reverse*

The reverse of Theodahad's *follis* shows a Victory on prow, clearly of classical inspiration. The opinion that this coin reproduces the reverse of an *as* of Vespasian is common among numismatists, but there are dissenting voices : Arslan pointed out that the victory on coins is a well defined imperial symbol, and Cécile Morrisson cautioned against postulating a derivation without conclusive evidence[45]. Alternatives to the Flavian

39 For the portraiture of Constantine the Great in relationship to Augustus, cf. D.H. WRIGHT, *The True Face of Constantine the Great*, in *Dumbarton OP*, 41, 1987, p. 493-507, and ID., *The First Portrait of Constantine and the Last Portrait of Maximian*, in *Abstracts of Papers, Sixteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference USA*, Baltimore, 1990, p. 47-50.

40 Orosius, *Historia adversus paganos*, VII, xliii.

41 *Var.*, IX, xxiv, 54-56.

42 Sub anno 500.

43 Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, I, iii, 31=34.

44 *Nam de compositis falso litteris quibus libertatem arguor sperasse Romanam quid attinet dicere?*, *Cons.*, I, iv, 89-90. The beginning of consular power signals for Boethius the beginning of Roman freedom, *certe, uti meminisse te arbitror, consulare imperium, quod libertatis principium fuerat, ob superbiam consulum uestri ueteres abolere cupiuerunt* (*Cons.*, II, vi, 5-8).

45 E. ARSLAN, *Le monete di Ostrogoti, Longobardi e Vandali*, Milano, 1978. A second (revised) edition is forthcoming. Arslan writes about Theodahad : «È proprio questo re a fornire il messaggio di maggiore complessità, nel quale all'importanza del supporto, la moneta da 40 nummi, si accompagna la novità assoluta per il mondo ostrogoto della presenza al Diritto del ritratto, con tutti gli attributi del potere, e sopratutto un tipo del Rovescio che fa propria tutta la simbologia della Vittoria, tradizionalmente collegata (pensiamo anche nella sensibilità dei contemporanei) al potere imperiale» (p. 8).
C. MORRISSON, *The Re-use of Obsolete Coins : the Case of Roman Imperial Bronzes Revived in the Late Fifth Century*, in *Studies in Numismatic Method*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 95-111. On

model have existed since 1912, when Giulio Sambon proposed the derivation of the *follis* from a *dupondius* of Nero[46].

The archetype of the Victory on prow on coins goes back to the type of *uictoria naualis* struck by Octavian in celebration of his victory at Actium[47]. Vespasian in fact used the same reverse type, but did so in memory of Augustus : his *as* with the Victory on prow was a restored coin, part of a series issued to celebrate the beginning of the Principate[48]. Thus, the model was not Vespasian (who, incidentally, never celebrated a naval victory of his own) but Octavian Augustus.

The real issue is not the derivation of Theodahad's reverse from ancient Roman models, but whether this derivation represented a deliberate choice of symbols or was simply a mechanical reproduction of available types. The paternity for the latter view may be safely attributed to Georg Elmer who, upon noting some 40-nummi coins misattributed to Vespasian in the Coin Cabinet at Vienna, wrote thus : «Somit kann man also ruhig sagen, daß die Kupferprägung des Theodahat sich folgendermaßen gestaltete : Zuerts wurden die Asse Vespasians nachgeprägt, dann die Stucke des Theodahat mit demselbe Revers, nämlich VICTORIA AVG, und derselben Darstellung und endlich Prägungen des Theodahat mit dem neuen Revers VICTORIA PRINCIPVM, aber dem gleichen Typus»[49]. Cécile Morrisson and Philip Grierson have shown, however, that the *as* of Vespasian was but one of many available models. Other countermarked ancient coins were still used as currency in the time of the Ostrogoths; besides Vespasian, Grierson lists among the early imperial bronzes circulating in Rome *folles* of such diverse rulers as Claudius, Nero, Galba, Titus, Domitian, Commodus and Antoninus Pius[50]. C. Morrisson, in a study of 113 countermarked coins that include 23 pieces also studied by Grierson, breaks down the types as follows : *aequitas* 15, *spes* 12, *uictoria naualis* and *uictoria Augusti* (combined) 16[51]. Her results show that the *uictoria naualis* was neither the only nor the most frequent type, and that Theodahad (or his Roman engravers) had a large array of reverses from which to choose. Thus, there is no reason to believe that the king's *follis* was the result of mechanical repetition or of random, rather than deliberate choice.

One more element needs to be considered. The type of Theodahad's reverse (imperial, military and Augustan) is in stark contrast with the reverse of municipal *folles* struck under Odovacar and the Ostrogoths : the *lupa romana* and eagle series[52]. Both series have Republican prototypes. The eagle has a close model in the 40-*asses* coins struck during the Roman republic[53]. The she-wolf with twins appears frequently in the

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p. 106, the author states : «Too much emphasis should not be placed on their types. The relatively high incidence of Victoria reverses among the coins held at Berlin led Regling to link them with the *folles* of Theodahad (rev. VICTORIA PRINCIPIS) (fig. E), supposing that the latter had been inspired by the countermarked Victoria *asses*. From a survey of all the available material, however, the predominance of the Victoria type among the countermarked *asses* is less clear (see Table 10 above), so that Regling's conclusion is unsafe».

46 G. SAMBON, *Repertorio generale delle monete coniate in Italia*, Paris, 1912, p. 10, n° 61, «È questa una delle più belle monete del VI secolo; il tipo è copiato da un dupondio di Nerone».

47 *BMC*, vol. I, n° 616 (Plate 15.6), «Obverse : Victory, draped, standing r. on a ship's prow, holding out wreath in r. hand and holding palm in l. line border».

48 These coins are discussed in detail in L. LAFFRANCHI, *Un centenario numismatico nell'antichità*, in *RIN*, 11, 1911, p. 427-436. On restored coins in general, cf. H. MATTINGLY, *The «Restored» Coins of Titus, Domitian and Nerva*, in *NC*, s. 4, 20, 1920, p. 177-183.

49 G. ELMER, *Neu entdeckte senatorische Prägungen unter den Gothen in Rom*, in *MÖNG*, 16, 1931, p. 214. These words must have struck a chord with the British Museum, because a clipping of Elmer's article is preserved at p. 74 of Wroth's catalogue in the Coin Cabinet.

50 Ph. GRIERSON-M. BLACKBURN, *op. cit.*, p. 424-427, pl. 4 and 5.

51 C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

52 *MIB* I, n° 70 (*lupa romana*) and n° 74 (eagle).

53 R. CARSON, *Principal Coins of the Romans*, n° 54-57, p. 26 shows the same reverse type. The chronology of these coins is controversial, but it may be safely said that they predated Theodahad; some issues may have outlived him (cf. Ph. GRIERSON-M. BLACKBURN, *op. cit.*, p. 37).

story of Roman coinage; a detailed analysis would require a separate study, but it will suffice to say that the she-wolf appears first on coins of Sextus Pompeius Fostlus, struck in Republican times in celebration of the history of a senatorial family[54]. Thus the choice of *uictoria naualis* marks a break in the continuity of Republican models, indicating a dichotomy between republican and imperial types, a sign of tension between Senate and king. The S C on the reverse, far from being a concession to senatorial rights, means that the Senate assumes a subordinate role in regard to Theodahad, featured on the obverse. And, while the *uictoria naualis* may well be an allusion to an auspicated victory over the Byzantine fleet, the fact remains that it was directed at a Roman audience. The senators knew perfectly well that Octavian's victory at Actium, besides being a victory over the East, was also the beginning of the Principate and the end of Roman freedom.

*The catalogue*

What follows is a *prolegomenon* to a catalogue of 43 of Theodahad's *folles*. A *corpus* would require additional coins, casts, photos and visits to collections[55]. Most importantly, the study by Ermanno Arslan, based on his lecture during the *Settimana di Studi Ravennati e Bizantini* (April 1989) was not yet available to me when preparing this essay[56]. When it will be available, any publication on coins of the Ostrogoths will have to be carefully checked against Arslan's conclusions; therefore, a catalogue in the proper sense of the word will appear, *Deo uolente*, as a separate article or as a chapter of a book in progress. Nevertheless, I am attempting here a preliminary die study, limited to the obverse of the 40-nummi coin.

The classification I propose is based on the characteristics already observed by Wroth, but not treated systematically or pursued to their logical conclusions. Wroth classified the obverses according to the *caesurae* between letters of the inscription and also according to the cross on Theodahad's bust, which he described as «a cross» (*BMC* 19), «Cross smaller than on no. 19, 20» (*BMC* 21 and 23) and «Cross obscure» (*BMC* 24). While clearly recognizing the differences in representation, Wroth interpreted them as variants of one basic element : the long cross. With some notable exceptions, such as F.F. Kraus, most cataloguers crossreferenced their coins according to *BMC* 19, ignoring the other variants. Older texts, however, used a different approach : Mazzoleni only mentioned gems in the ornamentation of the coin at Pisa, Wiczay thought that the ornament on king's breast was a star, Friedländer remarked that occasionally the cross was missing[57]. The inference is that, in certain cases, Wroth's «cross obscure» may not be a cross at all.

The long cross (*BMC* 19) is the most frequent element of ornamentation (20 out 43 coins examined). The «smaller cross» in Wroth's catalogue (*BMC* 21) is not a cross at all, but something else, as yet undetermined; the «smaller cross» of *BMC* 23 is a Greek cross with arms of equal length. The «cross obscure» of *BMC* 24 also awaits identification. So is the as yet undetermined element on Theodahad's right shoulder, missing on the left; it could be a schematic rendering of a shield, the logical complement to the king's helmet.

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54 H. MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

55 A high priority are the coins of the Ostrogoths at Ravenna, many still unpublished. I should like to express special thanks to the curators of the collections already visited : Roger Bland of the British Museum, Maria Grazia Bravar of the Musei Civici di Trieste, Professor Giovanni Gorini of the University of Padova and Andrea Saccocci of the Museo Bottacin. As ever, thanks to Francis D. Campbell, Director of the Library of the American Numismatic Society, and to William E. Metcalf, Chief Curator, for their kind hospitality.

56 Its importance can be gauged by the author's statement of purpose : «Una sistematica raccolta di documentazione sulla moneta in bronzo degli Ostrogoti, nei Musei, nelle Collezioni private, nelle vendite, ha evidenziato la necessità di ridistribuire nel tempo e nello spazio il complesso dei tipi tradizionalmente attribuiti agli Ostrogoti e, nel contempo, di recuperare alcuni tipi da molti autori a loro negati» (*La moneta in bronzo degli Ostrogoti*, in *Gaceta Numismatica*, 1990, p. 31).

57 MAZZOLENI, *op. cit.*, p. 233. Wiczay cited by J. FRIEDLÄNDER, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

These various aspects of Theodahad's iconography should be noted in a die study; first, for the sake of accuracy and documentation, but also because the variants in the rendering of the cross (or other ornaments) on Theodahad's bust may be more than stylistic details. The cross is (obviously) a religious symbol of the Christian faith. In the type *BMC* 19 (by far the most numerous) the cross is very prominent and, unlike other ornamentation, a separate piece of jewelry, that is to say, not attached to the king's garments[58]. The long cross on Theodahad's copper coinage has a parallel on Ostrogothic gold : the *solidi* of the Ostrogoths maintained the reverse type with Victory and the long cross, while in the East a new type of reverse (with the monogrammatic cross or with the *chi-rho*) was introduced after 519 to celebrate the end of the schism between Rome and Constantinople[59]. The Goths, who were Arian, did not (as a rule) use on their coins either the monogrammatic cross or the *chi-rho*, both symbols of the Catholic faith[60]. Nor did Theodahad follow the example of Roman emperors, many of whom (from Constantine on) used the *chi-rho* as part of their *accoutrements*. The long cross of Theodahad's bust is more than ornamentation or a generic Christian symbol, but a statement of Arian persuasion, contrasting with the typically Roman *chi-rho*; hence a sign of tension between the Roman senators (Catholic, and many of them actively involved with the Church of Rome) and their king.

*BMC* 19 = Plate IX.13 (long cross on Theodahad's breast)

1. Hirsch Auction 152, 26 November 1986, no. 885. Theodahad's face is disfigured (*damnatio memoriae* ?)
2. ANS accession no. 1944.100.61989 (unpublished)
3. Schulmann fixed price list 212, Winter 1977, no. 141.
4. Müller (Solingen), Auction 46, 22-23 June 1984, no. 611.
5. Numismatic Fine Arts auction XIV, November 29, 1984, no. 592.
6. Numismatic Fine Arts auction IX, December 10, 1980, no. 670. Same obverse as NFA no. 592 (= no. 5 above).
7. Schulmann, *Vente à Amsterdam*, 19 January 1931, no. 808.
8. Tolstoi, *Monnaies Byzantines*, reprint Amsterdam, 1968, no. 593.
9. Kraus, no. 28.
10. Kraus, no. 29.
11. Hahn, *MBI* I, no. 81.
12. ANS accession no. 1944.100.61990 (unpublished). Defaced?
13. J. Elsen fixed price list 39, December 1981, no. 65.

*BMC* 19 variant (different contour for the arms of the cross)

14. ANS accession no. 1944.100.61991 (unpublished).
15. Bank Leu & Numismatic Fine Arts Garrett Sale II, October 16-18, 1984, no. 511.
16. *Auctiones* sales of June 7, 1977, no. 871.
17. Tolstoi, no. 595.
18. Kraus, no. 31.
19. Grierson-Blackburn, no. 143 (= Kraus, no. 29).

*BMC* 20 = Plate IX.14

20. Kraus, no. 30 (no photo available).

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58 I owe the first observation to P.J. Casey and the second to Orestes Zervos.

59 For the association of the *chi-rho* with Rome, cf. P. BRUUN, *Early Christian Symbolism on Coins and Inscriptions*, in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, Ravenna, 1962, p. 527-535. For the *chi-rho* and the monogrammatic cross as (respectively) Western and Eastern symbols, cf. L. CUPPO CSAKI, *Byzantine Rome : the Monogrammatic Cross at St. Domitilla and the Coins of Justin and Anastasius*, in *Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia*, vol. II, 1992.

60 The same remarkable absence of the *chi-rho* is noted by Thomas S. Burns for Ostrogothic helmets : «His helmet may have portrayed his Arianism by not using the more common Christogram replete with the P for Christ as well as the cross. The helmet used a simple cross» (*History of the Ostrogoths*, Bloomington, 1984, p. 158).

*BMC* 21 = Plate IX.15 («cross smaller» according to Wroth; possibly no cross at all)

21. Sternberg auction of 20-21 November 1981, no. 1024.
22. Schulmann sale of 19 January 1931, no. 809 (= Kraus, no. 34).
23. Clelio Varesi auction, 12-13 November 1987, no. 597.

*BMC* 21 variant

24. Hirsch auction 22-24 November 1971, no. 1011. The ornamentation is as in *BMC* 21, but the inscription is DNTHEOD AHATVSRE+

*BMC* 22 = Plate IX.16 (DN THEO DAHATVS REX)

25. Sotheby's Brand sale, October 25, 1984, no. 709.
26. Kraus, no. 32.

*BMC* 23 = Plate IX.17 «Cross smaller» + Greek cross. DN THEO DAHATVS REX

27. Arslan, no. 161.
28. Kraus, no. 33 (no photo available).
29. Kraus, no. 35 (no photo available).

*BMC* 24 = Plate IX.18 («cross obscure»)

30. Arslan, no. 159.
31. Kraus, no. 39. Described in Kraus as «Fehlt BMC; unediert... kleines Kreuz».
32. Kraus, no. 40. Described in Kraus as «Brustkreuz unkenntlich».
33. Sternberg auction, 25-26 November 1976, no. 1053.
34. Grierson-Blackburn, no. 141 var. The inscription is the same, but the cross is like *BMC* 19 var = Kraus, 36-37.
35. Grierson-Blackburn, no. 142.

STAR INSTEAD OF CROSS ON THE OBVERSE

36. Attested by Wiczay for the Pembroke Collection, no photo or other documentation available.
37. Arslan, no. 160.

NOT IN *BMC*

38. Kraus, no. 37 (cross as in *BMC* 19 = Hahn 81, but THEOD AHATVS REX).
39. Kraus, no. 36 (legend as in Kraus no. 37; the ornament on the breast could be a star as in Arslan, no. 160).
40. Kraus, no. 34 (legend : THEODA HATHVS REX). Worn specimen makes it difficult to identify the ornamentation.
41. Kraus, no. 38.

# Le changement de l'iconographie monétaire sous le premier règne de Justinien II (685-695)

Panayotis A. YANNOPOULOS*

Justinien II acquit une réputation très ambiguë à cause de ses initiatives rénovatrices[1]. Une parmi celles-ci, et non la moindre, concerne l'iconographie et la légende monétaires, complètement rénovées durant le premier règne de cet empereur, qui va de 685 à 695.

La réforme en question toucha à la fois la monnaie d'or, d'argent et de bronze. Toutefois, cette dernière suivait à cette époque une évolution différente, non moins significative, raison pour laquelle elle ne fera pas l'objet de cette étude. D'ailleurs, le monnayage en métal noble constituait l'expression par excellence de la politique byzantine en matière iconographique, puisque cette monnaie franchissait les frontières de l'empire. Ainsi que nous le verrons, le changement iconographique sous Justinien II est dû aux impératifs de la politique extérieure de l'empire, raison supplémentaire de concentrer la recherche sur le seul monnayage en métal noble et principalement sur le monnayage en or.

Les numismates qui se sont penchés sur la production monétaire durant le premier règne de Justinien II, reconnaissent trois types monétaires en or. Les deux premiers types sont tellement proches l'un de l'autre, qu'il faudrait peut-être parler de deux variantes d'un seul type. Ces deux variantes présentent un type monétaire traditionnel sur le plan iconographique. Le droit est occupé par le buste impérial, vu de face; l'empereur encore jeune, est imberbe. La légende reproduit le nom impérial, précédé de l'abréviation D.N.(= Dominus Noster) pour la seconde variante, et suivi de l'abréviation PPAV (Perpetuus Augustus). Le champ du revers est occupé par une croix potencée sur trois marches, tandis que la légende traditionnelle VICTORIA AVGVSTI couvre le bord de 8 heures à 4 heures. La marque d'atelier CONOB est gravée à l'exergue. Il s'agit donc d'une iconographie typique de la dynastie d'Héraclides[2].

Ce type iconographique est bouleversé par la frappe d'une nouvelle émission, dont le droit est occupé par le buste du Christ, vu de face et sur un fond avec la croix. Le Christ tient dans sa main gauche l'Évangile et bénit le monde avec la main droite. La représentation échappe complètement à la stylisation byzantine et orientalisante en aspirant à un classicisme grec. Les numismates affirment, gratuitement à notre avis, que le graveur avait comme modèle l'image du Christ surmontant la Chalcée, entrée principale du Palais, qui à son tour copiait la statue de Zeus à Olympie, due à Phidias[3].

La légende du droit, entièrement remaniée, se lit JESUS CHRISTUS REX REGNATIUM.

L'effigie impériale apparaît au revers où elle occupe la moitié du champ. L'empereur figure debout, vêtu de *loros* et tenant dans la main gauche une croix potencée

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1 Au sujet de Justinien II et de son règne, cfr les études de C. HEAD, *Justinien II*, Madison, 1971; ID., *On the Date of Justinian II Restoration*, dans *Byzantion*, 39, 1969, p. 104-107 et surtout A. STRATOS, *Τὸ Βυζάντιον στὸν Ζ´ αἰῶνα*, VI : *Ἰουστινιανὸς Β´*, Athènes, 1977, avec toute la bibliographie.

2 Cfr Ph. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coins*, Londres, Berkeley et Los Angeles, 1982, p. 97; ID., *Die Alterations and Imperial Beards*, dans *NumCirc*, 70, 1962, p. 159-160; C. MORRISSON, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I-II, Paris, 1970, p. 398.

3 Cfr Ph. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coins* ..., p. 97-98. Il convient de noter qu'aucune source n'autorise cette affirmation.

sur trois marches; la croix, presque aussi grande que l'empereur, occupe l'autre moitié du champ. La légende fait en réalité suite à celle du droit et se lit : DOMINUS NOSTER JUSTINIANUS SCLAVUS CHRISTI[4]. La marque d'atelier n'y est plus, peut-être par manque de place.

Les numismates et certains historiens ont mis en relation ce changement avec le 82e canon du Concile in Trullo, connu beaucoup plus sous le nom de Quinisexte. Ce canon, disent-ils, interdit la représentation du Christ sous la forme de l'Agneau Pascal; pour souligner cette interdiction, Justinien a fait frapper ce nouveau type monétaire. Ils datent alors la nouvelle émission de 692, immédiatement après la fin des travaux du Concile[5].

Cette mise en relation se heurte à des difficultés d'ordre logique, philologique et historique dont les numismates n'ont pas tenu compte. Il est grand temps de mettre en doute ces affirmations et de chercher une réponse plus fondée à la question des raisons qui ont poussé l'administration byzantine à modifier l'iconographie et la légende de la monnaie.

L'interprétation proposée aurait pu être envisageable dans le cas où le symbole de l'Agneau Pascal figurerait sur la monnaie byzantine. Or, le Christ n'a jamais figuré sur la monnaie avant cette émission, ni sous une forme symbolique, ni sous une forme humaine.

Les difficultés d'ordre philologique sont encore plus grandes. Le canon 82 n'interdisait pas toute représentation symbolique du Christ, même pas toute représentation du Christ sous la forme d'Agneau Pascal. Il interdisait une représentation bien précise, clairement décrite par le canon. Il s'agissait du cas où St Jean-Baptiste était illustré montrant avec son doigt l'Agneau Pascal, représentation célèbre de la phrase du Précurseur «Voici l'Agneau de Dieu qui enlève les péchés du monde»[6]. Il est pour le moins forcé d'attribuer à ce détail des décisions conciliaires un changement aussi important que la mutation de l'iconographie monétaire. D'ailleurs, les trois commentateurs du canon, à savoir Zonaras, Balsamon et Aristinos, ne mettent nullement en relation cette décision avec la monnaie, bien qu'ils ne manquent jamais de citer des exemples analogues[7].

Les difficultés les plus grandes sont toutefois d'ordre historique. Sans tenir compte du fait que la date exacte du concile nous échappe, il faut dire que le canon 82 doit être compris dans son contexte. Ainsi, il est bien connu que la représentation que ce canon interdit n'était pas d'usage dans la partie orientale de l'empire. L'interdiction visait donc des pratiques occidentales et elle est inscrite dans le contexte compliqué et dans le jeu extrêmement subtil, des relations entre l'Église et l'État d'un côté et l'Église de

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4 *Ibidem*, p. 98; Ph. GRIERSON, *Phocas to Theodosius III*, dans A.R. BELLINGER et Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, Washington D.C., 1968, p. 19.

5 Ph. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coins* ..., p. 98, parle même du 83e canon. L'idée est en outre partagée par C. MORRISSON, *Catalogue* ..., p. 398, Ph. GRIERSON, *Phocas to Theodosius III*, dans *op. cit.*, p. 570, et surtout par J.D. BRECKENRIDGE, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II (685-695, 705-711 A.D.)* (*NNM*, 144), New York, 1959, p. 78-87, et par A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, p. 165, qui est peut-être le premier instigateur. J'ai osé mettre en doute, jeune chercheur encore, cette idée dans mon ouvrage, P. YANNOPOULOS, *L'hexagramme. Un monnayage byzantin en argent du VIIe siècle* (*Publication d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain*, XI = *Numismatica Lovaniensia*, 3), Louvain-la-Neuve, 1978, p. 45.

6 Le texte du canon dans G. RALLIS et M. POTLIS, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, Athènes, II, 1852, p. 492-493. Le texte note d'ailleurs que la représentation de la Crucifixion doit combler le vide créé par l'interdiction de la représentation symbolique.

7 G. RALLIS et M. POTLIS, *Σύνταγμα*..., II, p. 493-495. Parmi les commentateurs Aristinos est le plus net; pour lui le texte est clair en interdisant la «représentation du Christ sous la forme de l'agneau».

Constantinople et celle de Rome de l'autre côté[8]. Le bras de fer entre le Palais et l'Église remonte au VIe siècle. Sous Justinien Ier, l'Église a dû se plier aux intérêts de l'État, mais ces derniers n'étaient plus les mêmes pour Rome et pour Constantinople. L'Église romaine a donc réagi d'une façon négative à la politique byzantine. Cette première confrontation finit en 553 par l'humiliation de l'Église romaine lors du deuxième Concile oecuménique de Constantinople[9]. Une deuxième tentative de l'Église romaine de s'opposer à la politique impériale durant la première moitié du VIIe siècle, n'avait pas eu non plus un aboutissement meilleur : le pape Martin Ier, amené de force à Constantinople, a été condamné pour subversion en 653[10]. Or, le troisième concile de Constantinople en 680-681 a pris des décisions qui condamnaient la politique impériale en matière ecclésiastique et qui donnaient raison à la position de l'Église de Rome[11]. La papauté saisit l'occasion pour manifester son indépendance et pour échapper à l'autorité impériale byzantine.

Justinien II n'était pas de ceux qui permettaient à la papauté de défier son autorité. Le concile de Quinisexte a été convoqué exactement dans le but de réaffirmer la suprématie de l'autorité impériale sur l'Église. Les papes ont très mal reçu cette convocation et ils s'y sont fermement opposés. Justinien n'a pas tenu compte de l'opposition romaine et le concile a commencé ses travaux soit vers la fin de 691, soit au début de 692[12]. Le concile n'a pas décidé en matière doctrinale, vu qu'aucune hérésie ne sévissait à ce moment contre l'orthodoxie. Il a pris des décisions pratiques ou d'ordre administratif. Il a encore condamné certaines pratiques, dont la représentation du Christ sous la forme de l'Agneau Pascal. Il est toutefois notable que les pratiques condamnées étaient vivantes dans la chrétienté occidentale. L'Église de Rome a naturellement rejeté les décisions du concile. Or, les décisions conciliaires devenaient lois de l'État, du fait qu'elles étaient contresignées par l'empereur. Le pape, en rejetant les décisions, se trouva automatiquement dans l'illégalité. Cela permit à Justinien de tenter une répétition de l'expérience de 653 : il ordonna l'emprisonnement du pape. Le fiasco auquel l'opération a été vouée, montre parfaitement l'impuissance du Palais à contrôler l'Italie centrale et à y appliquer la loi[13]. Dans ce contexte, le canon 82 du Quinisexte ne pouvait avoir aucune influence sur l'iconographie monétaire. Au contraire, toute mise en relation entre le canon et la nouvelle iconographie est absurde, car elle éterniserait aux yeux des citoyens l'impuissance de l'empereur à obtenir la soumission du pape. Manifestement, la raison qui a primé dans la décision byzantine de modifier l'apparence de sa monnaie, doit être cherchée ailleurs.

Théophane, la source écrite la plus proche des événements, accuse Justinien II d'avoir rompu imprudemment le traité de paix qui liait les Byzantins aux Arabes[14]. Ce traité, favorable aux Byzantins, avait été signé à l'époque de Constantin IV à un moment

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8 Un essai d'analyse de ces relations dans P. YANNOPOULOS, *Dal secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553) al secondo concilio di Nicea (786-787)*, dans *Storia dei Concili Ecumenici*, Brescia, 1990, p. 119-154; le Concile in Trullo est étudié dans les p. 141-144.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 123-133.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 137-138.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 138-140.

12 La date du concile reste toujours incertaine. Cfr *Ibidem*, p. 141-142 et A. STRATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 56-57. L'incertitude est en partie due au 3e canon du concile qui donne une date généralement considérée comme erronée.

13 Cette opération est très mal connue, parce que les sources byzantines n'en parlent pas, tandis que le *Liber pontificalis* et *Léon le Diacre* qui la rapportent lui ont donné un air plutôt légendaire. Il paraît que le pape n'a pas accepté de signer les décisions du concile. D'après le *Liber pontificalis* (éd. E. DUCHÊSNE), Paris, 1955, I, p. 373 et p. 378 n. 22 et 23, Justinien donna l'ordre à Serge, fonctionnaire impérial, d'arrêter l'évêque de Porto, Jean et le conseiller papal Boniface, tenus comme responsables de la position papale. Or, malgré les arrestations, le pape refusait toujours de signer les actes du concile. Justinien chargea alors le Premier spathaire Zacharie d'arrêter le pape. L'apparition de Zacharie à Rome provoqua une réaction assez violente de la population, et l'expédition a echoué.

14 Théophane, *Χρονογραφία*, éd. Ch. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1883, p. 365, 8-20.

difficile pour le califat. Il prévoyait, entre autres clauses, le versement annuel d'une somme d'or aux Byzantins[15]. Selon Théophane, Justinien refusa en 691 la somme due, car il ne voulait pas accepter la frappe arabe[16]. Cette information est mise en doute par certains historiens qui admettent que les Arabes payaient toujours le tribut stipulé par le traité en monnaie arabe. Alors, disent-ils, les Byzantins ne pouvaient pas créer de problèmes en 691[17].

D'autres historiens ne rejetent pas l'information. Ils pensent que Justinien ne voulait pas accepter la monnaie arabe, car il s'agissait de la toute première émission purement arabe[18]. Ainsi, ils posent la question de la date de la première émission arabe. D'après les sources arabes, cette première émission doit être placée entre 694 et 696, c'est-à-dire bien après le refus de Justinien en 691[19].

Certains historiens du monnayage arabe, essayant de donner une réponse satisfaisante à cette question embarrassante, proposent d'admettre, avant la première émission solennelle, l'existence d'émissions d'essai, mais dont aucun spécimen n'est conservé[20]. Même dans ce cas, personne n'a mis en relation les tentatives arabes de créer une monnaie d'or et le changement iconographique de la monnaie byzantine.

Essayons alors de voir ce qui se passa en 691 et de comprendre ainsi la mutation de la monnaie byzantine. Les Arabes, dès que les difficultés qui les ont obligés à signer le traité de paix ont été dépassées, cherchaient un prétexte pour y mettre fin. Ils se sont livrés à une série de provocations en attaquant des positions byzantines et en violant la paix à plusieurs reprises[21]. Les Byzantins faisaient la sourde oreille non seulement parce que le traité leur était profitable, mais surtout parce qu'ils devaient faire face à des problèmes plus graves dans les Balkans[22].

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15 Théophane, p. 355, 11 à p. 356, 8, note qu'en 678, un traité de paix a éte signé entre Constantin IV et Moawiya Ier, d'une durée de 30 ans. Les Arabes ont accepté de payer 3.000 pièces d'or par an, de libérer 50 prisonniers et de livrer 50 chevaux de race aux Byzantins. Or, en 684/685, Abd-al-Malik demanda, d'après Théophane, p. 361, 10-13, un nouveau traité, plus favorable aux Byzantins, selon lequel les Arabes devaient payer 365.000 solidi par an, libérer 365 prisonniers et donner 365 chevaux de race. La mort de Constantin IV n'a pas permis la signature de ce traité qui a été signé par Justinien II (cfr Théophane, p. 363, 6-20).

16 Théophane, p. 365, 10-11. La source ajoute que cette monnaie constituait la première frappe purement arabe. Les Arabes ont justifié, toujours selon Théophane, p. 365, 15-16, leur frappe du fait que la population ne voulait plus accepter une monnaie du type byzantin.

17 Cfr H. LAVOIX, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1887-1896, I, p. xxv, qui pense que les Byzantins acceptaient des monnaies qui portaient déjà des légendes en arabe. Certes, comme le dit clairement Théophane, p. 365, 16-18, le poids du métal payé par les Arabes restait le même; le problème a éte créé par l'iconographie ou la légende (Χάραγμα).

18 Cfr A. MÜLLER, *Der Islam in Morgen und Abendland*, Berlin, 1885-1887, I b, p. 413; J.D. BRECKENRIDGE, *op. cit.*, p. 72-74; A. STRATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

19 Cfr la citation de sources arabes dans A. STRATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Les Arabes sont en tout cas unanimes : les premières émissions purement arabes ont eu lieu durant le règne d'Abd-al-Malik, à la 76e année de l'hégire (695-696 pour l'ère chrétienne) : cfr Tabari, éd. DE GOEJE, Leyden, 1879-1901, II, p. 939; Élie de Nisibe, éd. E. BROOKS, Louvain, 1954, p. 73; Ibn-al-Adhari, traduction E. FAGNAN, Alger, 1901-1904, I, p. 22.

20 A. STRATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 41; A. GRABAR, *L'iconoclasme byzantin*, Paris, 1957, p. 68.

21 Comme nous l'avons dit (note 15), les Arabes ont proposé un traité de paix très défavorable pour eux, car ils devaient faire face à des problèmes internes très graves. Or, Abd-al-Malik-ben-Marvan, devenu maître de la situation vers 687, commença à provoquer des problèmes aux Byzantins, cherchant manifestement un prétexte pour rompre la paix, comme l'observe très judicieusement Théophane, p. 365, 13-14. Cfr au sujet de relations arabo-byzantines A. STRATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 29-40.

22 Cfr Théophane, p. 364, 10-18 : Justinien se mit en tête de l'armée byzantine qui attaqua les positions bulgares et slaves dans les Balkans; cette expédition poussa les armées byzantines jusqu'à Thessalonique et rétablit la communication terrestre entre les deux plus grandes villes de l'empire. Au sujet de la situation dans les Balkans, cfr A. STRATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 19-28.

Puisque la tactique des violations de la paix n'a pas donné les résultats escomptés, les Arabes ont commencé une guerre monétaire, dans laquelle s'inscrivaient aussi les réformes d'Abd-al-Malik[23]. En même temps, ils ont mis à exécution une guerre des nerfs en utilisant les indications inscrites sur le papyrus destiné à l'empire et les incriptions monétaires.

Avant l'occupation arabe, la production de papyrus en Égypte constituait un monopole impérial, raison pour laquelle le nom de l'empereur de Byzance était marqué sur les feuilles du papyrus. Les Arabes ont gardé cette marque pour le papyrus destiné à l'usage du Palais et de l'administration byzantine; en revanche, ils étaient payés en or[24]. Au fur et à mesure que les Arabes s'organisaient en État, le nom de l'empereur de Byzance a été remplacé par une invocation de la Sainte Trinité, vu que l'Occident chrétien devenait de plus en plus un client important pour les producteurs du papyrus. Mais Abd-al-Malik supprima cette invocation et fit marquer sur les papyri destinés à l'exportation vers les pays chrétiens, la phrase «Je reconnais qu'Allah est le seul Dieu». Justinien II protesta vigoureusement, mais il n'obtint pas gain de cause[25]. Le pas suivant fut une provocation monétaire. Abd-al-Malik émit une monnaie d'or : au droit, figurait Héraclius, le fondateur de la dynastie régnant à Byzance, accompagné de ses deux fils et au revers, la légende «au nom de l'Allah». Une de ces monnaies est conservée au British Museum[26].

Le message de cette monnaie ne laissait pas de doute : Héraclius et sa dynastie, symbolisée par ses deux fils et successeurs, ont régné au nom du Dieu des Arabes. Le droit de la monnaie, qui copiait le type monétaire des dernières années du règne d'Héraclius, suggère aussi une autre lecture. L'événement fondateur de l'empire arabe fut incontestablement la bataille de Yarmouk en 636, à l'époque où Héraclius dirigeait l'empire byzantin. Les Arabes ont alors gagné la bataille car ils ont fait la guerre «au nom d'Allah». Quelle que soit la lecture de cette monnaie, il est clair que la provocation arabe allait vraiment très loin, surtout entre deux États qui avaient signé un traité de paix. La question est de savoir à quelle date cette émission provocatrice eut lieu. Selon Walker, le spécimen du British Museum est de 695 et il appartient à la toute dernière émission de monnaies dites «arabo-byzantines»[27]. Les autres historiens toutefois qui avancent la date de la première émission purement arabe en 692, placent la dernière émission «arabo-byzantine» avant 692[28]. Pour nous, il n'y a pas de doute : l'émission date d'avant 692 et elle a été frappée afin de servir au versement des tributs arabes aux Byzantins en 691. Justinien II, ayant mis entre temps fin aux problèmes balkaniques, se sentait libre de répondre aux provocations arabes[29]. Il n'a donc pas accepté la monnaie arabe et en même temps il a dénoncé le traité de paix en violant les clauses relatives au statut de l'île de Chypre[30]. En outre, il a décidé de porter la guerre diplomatique sur le terrain monétaire et

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23 Les réformes en question sont étudiées par Ph. GRIERSON, *The Monetary Reforms of Abd al-Malik, their Metrological Basis and their Financial Repercussions*, dans *JESHO*, 3, 1960, p. 241-264. Cfr en outre A. STRATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 41, A. GRABAR, *L'iconoclasme* ..., p. 68-70, ainsi que mes objections dans YANNOPOULOS, *L'hexagramme* ..., p. 66-69.

24 Cfr A. STRATOS, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

25 À ce propos, J. WELLHAUSEN, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, Londres, 1927, p. 217; C. CIPOLLA, *Money, Prices and Civilization in the Mediterranean World*, Princeton, 1956, p. 17-20, H. LAVOIX, *op. cit.*, 1, p. xxi-xxv.

26 J. WALKER, *Two Arab-byzantine Dinars*, dans *BMQ*, 20, 1955.

27 *Ibidem*.

28 A. GRABAR, *L'iconoclasme* ..., p. 68-70, ainsi que Ph. GRIERSON, *The Monetary Reforms*..., p. 250-264, proposent d'admettre certaines émissions d'épreuves notamment en 692/3, en 693/4 et en 695/6. Dans ce cas la dernière émission arabo-byzantine doit être placée en 692 au plus tard.

29 Cfr *supra*, note 22.

30 L'affaire du statut chypriote est très compliquée et n'a pas encore reçu une réponse satisfaisante. Une nouvelle mise au point par P. ENGLEZAKIS, *Κύπρος, Νέα Ἰουστινιανούπολις*, Nicosie, 1990, p. 3-30, mais dont les conclusions sont un peu hâtives. Pour une vision différente, cfr P.

de repousser la provocation arabe en usant des mêmes moyens. Sachant que le solidus byzantin traversait les frontières de l'empire en tant que monnaie internationalement admise et tenant compte d'une présence chrétienne très importante dans les territoires contrôlés par les Arabes, il a décidé d'exploiter les possibilités offertes par sa monnaie d'or. Il mit donc en circulation une nouvelle pièce.

La pièce byzantine constituait en réalité la réponse à la dernière émission arabo-byzantine. Le droit a été intentionellement consacré au Christ, vu que les Chrétiens hors frontières ne reconnaissaient pas l'autorité de l'empereur. Le Christ est alors représenté comme étant l'Empereur (REX) qui ne tenait pas compte des frontières des États (REGNATIUM); son pouvoir n'était donc pas conditionné par la volonté des hommes. En outre, le Christ est à la source du pouvoir impérial byzantin, puisqu'il occupe la place réservée à l'empereur; c'est à lui seul que Justinien doit son pouvoir et non à la succession dynastique, comme la monnaie arabe voulait le suggérer en utilisant le symbole du fondateur de la dynastie et de ses fils. L'empereur de Byzance est un «esclave» du Christ; il tient son pouvoir et son existence de la volonté de son maître dont il est l'émanation. Il ne règne pas au nom de Dieu, mais il est l'instrument de la volonté divine. L'empereur est donc l'image vivante du Christ, la personne de son choix.

La nouvelle iconographie et la légende remaniée expriment alors toute la théorie politique de l'empire byzantin[31]. Cette politique est beaucoup plus ambitieuse que celle des Arabes, car elle stipule l'universalité de l'empire. En outre, cette théorie s'avérait justificatrice des actions byzantines contre les Arabes et expliquait, parfaitement aux yeux des autorités byzantines, la rupture de la paix entre les deux empires. Il est alors très clair que le 82e canon de Quinisexte n'a rien en commun avec le changement de l'iconographie monétaire.

Après ces explications, il faut essayer de situer l'émission. Nous savons que Justinien n'a pas accepté les pactes en 691. Si l'on tient compte du fait que l'année commençait le premier septembre, l'émission arabe doit avoir eu lieu avant le premier septembre 691. La réponse byzantine ne peut être beaucoup plus tardive. Puisque les Byzantins avaient en tête de mettre fin au traité de paix avec les Arabes, ils devaient faire vite s'ils voulaient influencer ainsi les Chrétiens vivants dans le califat. La nouvelle monnaie a été sans doute frappée avant la fin de 691 ou, au plus tard, durant les tout premiers mois de 692. En tout cas, la monnaie circulait déjà avant la fin des travaux du Concile in Trullo, avec lequel elle ne peut pas être reliée par une relation de cause à effet.

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YANNOPOULOS, *Chypre au milieu du VIIe siècle à la lumière de sources numismatiques*, dans *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν Κύπρου*, 12, 1983, p. 69-77.

31 Une analyse de la théorie politique byzantine dans P. YANNOPOULOS, *Le couronnement de l'empereur à Byzance : Rituel et fond institutionnel*, dans *Byzantion*, 61, 1991, p. 71-92 et ID., *La société profane dans l'empire byzantin des VIIe, VIIIe et IXe siècles* (*Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie*, 6e série, fasc. 6), Louvain, 1975, p. 90-101.

# La propaganda dinastica sui nomismata degli imperatori «isaurici»

Daniele CASTRIZIO*

La monetazione di Costantino V, regnante sul trono della Nuova Roma dal 19 giugno del 741 al 23 settembre del 775, si caratterizza per la raffigurazione di un defunto sul *verso* dei *nomismata* : si tratta di Leone III, padre e predecessore del Copronimo[1]. L'imperatore regnante, come da tradizione, occupa il *recto* delle monete, ma sia Costantino V che Leone III indossano le stesse vesti imperiali e sono nell'identica posa. Rispetto ai *solidi* di Leone III[2] (Tav. I, 1-2), coniati quando Costantino V era co-imperatore, queste monete si differenziano solo perchè i due imperatori hanno nella mano destra una croce e non più il globo crucifero.

Di per sè la rappresentazione di un morto costituisce un *proton* nella numismatica bizantina, giacchè, fin dai tempi di Costantino I, era invalso l'uso di raffigurare sulle monete i possibili eredi e successori, per «propagandarli» agli occhi dei contemporanei. Per i Romei coevi, quindi, abituati dalla lunga tradizione, questa operazione dovette apparire «sorprendente»; per chi sapeva leggere tra le righe la politica imperiale, questo significava solo che Costantino V sentiva la sua posizione molto debole, al punto da dover insistere sulla sua legittima successione al trono del padre. Da non dimenticare, infatti, che la situazione politica, venutasi a creare con l'estinzione della dinastia eracliana con Giustiniano II, era di estrema fluidità : in pochi anni erano avvenuti ben sette cambiamenti di governo[3]. Leone III, perciò, aveva cercato di imporre una nuova dinastia, incoronando il figlio Costantino quando questo aveva solo due anni, nella Pasqua del 720[4]. Nel 741, alla morte di Leone III, Costantino V, pur nominato co-imperatore da un ventennio, aveva solo ventitrè anni. Non è difficile immaginare quanto la sua popolarità fosse inferiore a quella dell'esperto e capace Artavasdo, proprio il generale grazie al cui appoggio Leone III era riuscito a salire al trono[5]. Dalla parte del giovane *basileus* giocava solo la consacrazione imperiale avuta dal padre.

I timori di Costantino V, come si sa, erano pienamente giustificati : nel luglio del 742, Artavasdo riusciva ad impossessarsi del potere imperiale.

Anche quando l'usurpatore venne sconfitto, comunque, le coniazioni di Costantino V non cambiarono[6] (Tav. I, 3); almeno fino a quando all'imperatore non nacque un figlio, che fu subito incoronato coimperatore. Già il nome impostogli, Leone IV, il nome del nonno, parla di continuità dinastica, e le monete auree rafforzano questo concetto : contrariamente alla prassi, non si pose l'imperatore regnante sul *recto* ed il co-imperatore sul *verso*, ma si raffigurarono entrambi i regnanti sul diritto delle

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1 Per la monetazione di Costantino V, vedi C. MORRISSON, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1970, p. 465-475.

2 Per le serie monetali di Leone III, vedi C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 449-464.

3 Per la storia del periodo degli «Isaurici», vedi G. OSTROGORSKY, *Storia dall'impero bizantino*, Torino, 1968 (trad. dall'originale *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates*, München, 1963), p. 139-169.

4 Teofane, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6212, ed. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883, II, p. 401. Per l'incoronazione di Costantino V come mezzo per instaurare una nuova dinastia, vedi G. OSTROGORSKY, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

5 *Ibidem*, p. 151.

6 Cfr C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 468-469.

monete, lasciando l'intero rovescio al ritratto di Leone III morto, raffigurato con il *loros*[7].

Dalle fonti, soprattutto dal *Liber de caeremoniis*, sappiamo che il vestito imperiale per eccellenza era la *chlamys* indossata sopra il *divitision*, veste con cui gli imperatori stessi erano sepolti; il *loros*, invece, era utilizzato dal *basileus* solo in rare occasioni, la principale delle quali era la Domenica di Pasqua. In quel giorno il *loros* simboleggiava la Resurrezione del Cristo, e tutti gli alti funzionari che attorniavano l'imperatore rappresentavano gli Apostoli[8] (Tav. I, 4).

Secondo noi, però, l'iconografia di Leone III nei *solidi* battuti dal 751 non va spiegata con la simbologia del *loros* come veste di Resurrezione, e nemmeno nel suo essere una veste consolare, come ha messo in evidenza il Breckenridge[9]. Illuminante ci pare, invece, un passo dello storico Teofane[10], in cui viene descritta una «cerimonia consolare», cioè implicante da parte del *basileus* l'uso del *loros*, fatta da Leone III nella Pasqua del 720 : una processione che accompagnò l'imperatore fino a Santa Sofia per l'incoronazione di Costantino V co-imperatore.

Che Costantino V abbia compreso l'importanza di quella cerimonia, in cui Leone III si era abbigliato con il *loros*, ai fini della trasmissione del potere imperiale al figlio, è ampiamente dimostrato da un altro passo di Teofane[11], in cui lo storico narra che proprio Costantino V indossò il *loros* il 2 di aprile del 768, Domenica di Pasqua, quando stabilì l'ordine di successione al trono imperiale dei figli. Appare evidente il nesso che intercorre tra le cerimonie di incoronazione ed il costume consolare, il *loros*.

Un *unicum*, per quanto noi sappiamo, conservato nel Museo di Messina, e proveniente dal tesoretto di Capo Schisò-Taormina[12] (Tav. I, 5), ci fornisce un'immagine più realistica della corona indossata dagli imperatori insieme con il *loros*. La moneta è tanto più significativa in quanto noi, sulla scorta dello storico Teofane, la attribuiamo alla serie celebrativa delle cerimonie dinastiche del 768, quando, come abbiamo già detto, Costantino V stabilì l'ordine di successione imperiale dei figli[13]. Teofane parla di *nomismata kainourgia*, «monete di nuovo tipo», e si comprende come, nella costante immutabilità delle serie bizantine, un particolare come quello della corona non dovesse

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7 Il *loros*, indossato con il *divitision*, era l'ultima evoluzione del costume consolare tardo-romano. Questo abbigliamento non era nuovo sulle monete imperiali byzantine, essendo stato introdotto il secondo anno di Tiberio II (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 159-173), e poi ripreso da Maurizio Tiberio (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 175-215), Foca (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 217-244) e Costante II (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 327-371), anche se molto sporadicamente e quasi sempre su monete énee. Con Giustiniano II (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 429-435) il tipo dell'imperatore con *loros* aveva acquistato maggiore spazio tra le coniazioni, come pure era avvenuto sotto Leonzio (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 417-421), e poi sotto Filippico (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 437-439) e sotto Teodosio III (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 445-447). Nella monetazione di Leone III il tipo è completamente assente, come sembra avvenisse sempre durante il regno di imperatori militari, come Eraclio (l'unica eccezione è di alcune serie dell'epoca della sua rivolta contro Foca; vedi C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 245-252) e Costantino IV. Lo aveva usato, anche se solo su poche coniazioni, in occasione dell'incoronazione del figlio, l'usurpatore Artavasdo (C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 477-481; L. LAFFRANCHI, *Il solido di Artavasdo nel Medagliere reale di Torino*, in *Numismatica*, II, 4-5, 1936, p. 85-87).

8 Costantino VII Porfirogenito, *Liber de caeremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. De Reiske, Bonn, 1929, p. 637-639.

9 Cfr J.D. BRECKENRIDGE, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II (685-695, 704-711 A.D.)* (*NNM*, 144), New York, 1959, p. 33-45.

10 Teofane, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6212, ed. de Boor, Leipzig, 1803, II, p. 401.

11 *Ibidem*, A.M. 6260, II, p. 443-444.

12 S.L. AGNELLO, *Ripostiglio di solidi bizantini rinvenuto a Capo Schisò presso Taormina*, in *Atti dell'VIII Congresso Internazionale degli Studi Bizantini*, Roma, 1953, I, p. 311.

13 Da notare che sulla moneta il volto di Leone IV, incoronato nel 751 all'età di due anni, appare consono a quello di un giovane di diciannove anni, quanti ne contava nel 768.


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passare inosservato. Infatti essa, contrariamente al solito, non è resa con due file di puntini, con al centro, in alto, una croce, ma è disegnata con molta accuratezza, e si presenta come una fascia metallica con decorazioni, la principale delle quali, a forma di croce, si trova al centro[14]. Alla morte di Costantino V, suo figlio Leone IV salì regolarmente al trono, e le sue serie si mostrano dipendere ideologicamente da quelle del padre. Sul diritto, infatti, vi è la figura di Leone IV, a sinistra, insieme a quella del figlio, subito cooptato imperatore, che porta il significativo nome di Costantino VI. Sul rovescio, invece, la figura del defunto padre Costantino V si affianca a quella del nonno Leone III, entrambi in *loros*, a rimarcare il concetto di continuità dinastica[15] (Tav. I, 6).

Sotto il regno di Costantino VI, invece, la monetazione mostra l'estrema evoluzione dell'idea di propaganda dinastica che fu propria di Costantino V : come di consueto il defunto imperatore, in questo caso Leone IV, viene posto sul rovescio insieme agli avi imperiali, ma questa volta essi non indossano il *loros*[16] (Tav. I, 7). Tale capo di abbigliamento diviene significativamente appannaggio della figura che si accompagna a quella del legittimo imperatore, posto come da cerimoniale a sinistra : si tratta dell'imperatrice madre Irene. Il significato è lampante : il potere imperiale non viene più trasmesso dagli antenati, ma dall'Augusta madre, che ne è depositaria. E' qui, *in nuce*, la futura politica di Irene, che culminerà nell'assassinio del figlio, e nella pretesa di regnare come *basilissa* (Tav. I, 8).

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14 La corona in questione non è simile a nessun'altra usata prima o dopo i regni di Leone III e di Costantino V : corone similari, con questa tipica croce al centro, non sono indossate dai *basileis* nè su monete nè tantomeno su rilievi o dipinti. L'accuratezza dell'esecuzione e l'anormalità della forma dello *stemma* inducono perciò a credere che si tratti di una reale corona di Leone III. Si tratta quindi dello *stemma* che andava indossato insieme al *loros*. Come sappiamo da Costantino VII Porfirogenito, *Liber de caeremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. De Reiske, Bonn, 1929, p. 637-639, il costume consolare richiedeva una corona speciale, «quella bianca o quella rossa», a scelta del basileus : una corona di perle (la «bianca») e una di rubini («la rossa»).

15 Per la monetazione di Leone IV, vedi C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 483-488.

16 Per queste serie monetali, rimandiamo a C. MORRISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 489-493.

# Monnaies du Moyen Âge

## 1. Europe occidentale

# La numismatique et l'héraldique

Ryszard KIERSNOWSKI*

Les courtes remarques que je me permets de présenter sont consacrées à une question peut-être théorique mais, comme il me semble, importante aussi dans la pratique de la recherche, notamment en ce qui concerne la relation entre deux disciplines historiques : la numismatique et l'héraldique. Dans la famille assez nombreuse des sciences humaines, et surtout des sciences historiques, ces deux constituent une paire particulièrement liée l'une à l'autre. À ces sœurs siamoises on peut encore ajouter la sigillographie pour obtenir un ensemble scientifique qui exige un traitement commun : les efforts pour les séparer peuvent être dangereux pour les résultats finaux de la recherche.

Par cette constatation, je ne veux point déprécier le rôle joué dans nos travaux par les autres disciplines non seulement humaines, ni soutenir la discussion plutôt infructueuse sur la question de la place occupée par la numismatique et ses sœurs dans le tableau systématique des sciences : laquelle d'entre elles est indépendante, laquelle est auxiliaire, etc. Toutefois, chaque discipline qui aide à en comprendre et à en developper une autre est par ce fait auxiliaire et il n'existe pas de science humaine isolée et complètement indépendante car leur ensemble forme un marché commun de la connaissance historique, si j'ose évoquer ce parallèle justement à Bruxelles. Néanmoins, si je me suis décidé à prêter une attention spéciale à l'héraldique face à la numismatique, c'est en raison de deux facteurs particuliers. L'un est l'intérêt pour ces deux sciences dans des milieux pas uniquement académiques et l'autre, une certaine méfiance provoquée par les nombreux défauts et erreurs commises par les amateurs et même par des personnes de mauvaise volonté. C'est pourquoi, autant la numismatique que l'héraldique ont besoin d'une surveillance scientifique particulièrement rigoureuse, surtout en ce domaine qui concerne la vaste diffusion des résultats des recherches et leur réception par les groupes sociaux et professionnels intéressés. L'autre facteur, plus important, est la liaison substantielle, un champ commun ou analogue des études sur les signes et les emblèmes représentés autant dans les armoiries que sur les coins monétaires.

La présence de motifs héraldiques et de blasons sur les monnaies modernes et contemporaines, et même sur celles du bas Moyen Âge, est évidente. Il est clair que l'héraldique offre ici son aide et son support à la numismatique en qualité de science indispensable pour les numismates. Mais pour l'époque plus ancienne, la situation est différente : les représentations de coins monétaires, toutes sortes de motifs et signes, même s'ils n'ont pas un caractère héraldique, semblent être indestructibles pour l'étude de la genèse et du développement du phénomène des blasons. Alors, la numismatique procure un support, souvent imprévu, à la recherche sur l'héraldique médiévale.

Les blasons, on le sait, se sont formés sur les champs de bataille, ensuite sur les places de tournois, enfin dans l'imagination des intéressés. Ils suivaient la forme de l'écu et du cimier; ils devaient distinguer leur propriétaire des autres chevaliers ou souverains et maintes fois, ils propageaient ses qualités et vertus : les motifs apotropaïques devaient terrifier l'ennemi, les motifs religieux appelaient à la dévotion mais aussi à la protection divine, les autres signes glorifiaient d'une façon conventionnelle le personnage même ou sa famille, etc.

Les coins monétaires médiévaux présentaient le même phénomène qui se produisait sur le champ de bataille économique, sur le marché, mais aussi dans l'imagination de ceux qui étaient responsables de la forme des coins : d'un souverain, d'un maître d'atelier, parfois d'un simple graveur. Encore n'y avait-il pas d'écus, de sceaux ni de cartouches blasonnés, encore n'existait-il pas d'armoiries ni de roules héraldiques quand

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* Varsovie.

les souverains grands et petits, séculiers et ecclésiastiques commencèrent à se représenter et à se distinguer l'un de l'autre, parfois même à se glorifier et à se vanter au moyen d'images et de signes posés sur leurs monnaies. La matière, la forme, même le but de ces activités étaient différents mais leur essence était pareille à celle de l'activité héraldique : il s'agissait de *signa distinctiva* qui représentaient le propriétaire de ces objets ou son souverain et qui exprimaient ses propres louanges.

Certains de ces motifs peuvent être perçus comme des signes protohéraldiques. Tels sont surtout les types immobilisés qui se maintinrent longtemps sur les monnaies d'une dynastie ou d'une localité. Tels sont aussi les motifs caractéristiques et spécifiques d'ateliers monétaires particuliers. Telles sont enfin les représentations schématiques du souverain ou de ses substituts qui, d'une certaine façon, jouaient le rôle des emblèmes dynastiques postérieurs et des emblèmes du pays. La phrase «l'État c'est moi» a trouvé de cette manière une illustration symbolique plusieurs siècles avant sa fameuse articulation verbale. Dans le processus de la formation des armoiries dynastiques et en conséquence nationales, l'apport des représentations sur les monnaies semble être d'importance, quoique évidemment il ne doive pas être surestimé.

On le sait, l'héraldique a ses rigueurs très strictes et sévères; elle dispose d'un code de règles bien développées dès le Moyen Âge. Les figures protohéraldiques sur les monnaies sont beaucoup plus libres au niveau de leur forme. Grâce à cette liberté, elles démontrent mieux le *status nascendi* des signes personnels et familiaux, nous donnent une des clés pour l'étude de la sémiotique médiévale. La création d'un signe est donc un fait inscrit dans les cadres historiques de son temps et sa réception et compréhension par les spectateurs et même par ceux qui l'utilisent peuvent varier d'une époque à l'autre. Avec la formation des vraies armoiries qui apparurent aussi sur les coins monétaires, le rôle distinctif des motifs protohéraldiques a diminué pour se perdre complètement au bas Moyen Âge. Les monnaies, surtout celles des Xe-XIIIe siècles – cela dépend du pays – offrent cependant un vaste champ de recherche, forment un laboratoire pour les études sur les origines des blasons ou des signes héraldiques en général.

Dans cette recherche, la première place devrait être rendue aux monnaies russes qui, déjà à la fin du Xe siècle, portent le signe distinctif de la famille princière. Sa forme ressemble à un trident, mais son origine est depuis longtemps vivement discutée. Toutefois, il a le caractère purement héraldique et dernièrement, il est resuscité comme emblème de l'État ukrainien. Un peu plus tardif, mais analogue, est l'un des emblèmes de la Lituanie, les «Colonnes», paraissant déjà sur les monnaies à l'époque préhéraldique de ce pays, qui dura jusqu'à la fin du XIVe siècle. Les autres motifs en question sont au début moins lisibles dans leur rôle d'emblèmes dynastiques ou familiaux, qui devient indiscutable avec leur héraldisation formelle, quand aussi apparaissaient sur les monnaies, les écus munis de blasons. Ce n'est que vers la fin du XIIe siècle que l'on trouve les premières représentations de ce genre, qui se multiplient et deviennent presque une règle durant les siècles suivants. Autrement que dans l'évolution classique des blasons qui naquirent sur les vrais écus militaires et ensuite descendirent à toutes sortes d'autres objets, les motifs protohéraldiques sur les coins monétaires limités au commencement seulement par la forme et les dimensions du flan, reçurent peu à peu l'encadrement en forme d'écu qui devait attester de leur fonction de blason. Pour la première fois, de tels écus parurent sur les deniers de l'empereur Frédéric Ier Barberousse frappés à Maestricht et sur ceux des ducs Godefroy III et Henri de Louvain, frappés entre 1172 et 1180. Nous nous trouvons alors à l'époque où se sont rencontrés au plus tôt, il y a huit siècles, les deux courants d'évolution des représentations héraldiques pour y créer une synthèse. Il serait profitable, à mon avis, d'essayer de synthétiser également les recherches poursuivies dans ces deux domaines, basées sur les monuments numismatiques et héraldiques. Tous deux constituent donc les sources de la connaissance historique et j'ai seulement essayé de rappeler ici les conséquences de ce fait évident.

# Réflexions sur la monnaie et l'emblématique à la fin du Moyen Âge

Christian DE MÉRINDOL*

À la fin du Moyen Âge, la monnaie, comme les autres supports, avec ses propres particularités, par les jeux de l'emblématique – notamment des armoiries et des emblèmes – et de son complément la thématique – les types de monnaie – reflète les stratégies politiques des maisons royales et princières : affirmation, prétention, alliance et, davantage, réponse à l'adversaire. Tel est notre propos en cette communication. Nous puiserons les exemples principalement dans les monnaies des maisons de France et d'Angleterre, et dans celles des deux maisons d'Anjou, puis de Bourgogne et du duc de Lorraine, René II.

## *I. L'héraldique*

### *1. Un système particulier de références*

Les monnaies, le fait est bien connu, présentent parfois des armoiries qui ne correspondent pas exactement à celles des autres supports. Pour maintenir un capital de confiance, on copie les monnaies existantes. Ainsi, les monnaies du roi de France sont imitées par les princes de la seconde maison d'Anjou, Rolland l'a bien montré. L'écu d'or du roi Charles VI est copié par Louis II; l'écu royal est le modèle du ducat d'or du roi René, et le gros français, dit de Jacques Cœur, est imité par le grand gros du même prince. Il suffit d'ajouter un lambel aux armes de France, la brisure d'Anjou ancien (la maison capétienne d'Anjou-Naples). Ce lambel est parfois particulièrement discret ou absent. Les monnaies des premiers princes de cette maison, Louis II et Louis III, sont proches de celles de la reine Jeanne II de Naples. La brisure d'Anjou moderne (le duché), la bordure, n'apparaît pas sur ces monnaies. Les parpaiolles de René d'Anjou portent le seul écu de France brisé d'un lambel. Ces monnaies sont contemporaines des deux monnaies marquées de l'écu à cinq quartiers, partiellement correct, de 1457 à 1475. Une monnaie – blanc ou parpaiolle – de Charles III de Provence, le successeur et héritier du roi René, porte un écu incomplet; l'écusson d'Aragon n'apparaît pas en abîme sur l'écu à cinq quartiers. Il s'agit d'une copie du blanc ou parpaiolle de son oncle, timbré de cet écu.

Bien que la référence soit un facteur de sécurité, la réaction de la population n'était pas toujours favorable. Selon Dumas-Dubourg, si les monnaies de la maison de Bourgogne sont également créées en tenant compte des monnaies royales, elles n'ont pas toujours rencontré une réaction favorable. Une étude récente de Bompaire et de Barrandon a bien montré le succès du florin de Florence dans la vallée du Rhône au XIVe siècle et les variations du titre qui jetèrent le trouble dans l'esprit des contemporains incapables de reconnaître les monnaies affaiblies. Le témoignage du Bourgeois de Paris sur les rumeurs à propos des monnaies est particulièrement précieux. Il se fait l'écho, avec une grande précision, des inquiétudes de la population. En 1418, on fait courir le bruit que les Armagnacs de Soissons ont fait frapper une monnaie (imaginaire) réunissant, à l'avers, la puissance temporelle – une monnaie inspirée de celles d'Angleterre (deux léopards) – et, sur l'autre face, le revers d'une monnaie inspirée de celles de France (une croix et des couronnes). Le Bourgeois de Paris porte un soin extrême à relever les faits concernant la monnaie : le rapport des valeurs de l'écu d'or et du noble d'Angleterre en 1420, les mutations monétaires qui, vues dans les rues de Rouen en 1421, entraînent la crainte d'un renforcement de la monnaie parisienne et, de là, une hausse des prix, la démonétisation des écus et des moutons d'or en 1427, parce

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qu'ils sont rares en France, enfin la dévaluation des monnaies anglaises en 1436, mesure politique qui prépare l'interdiction de la circulation de ces monnaies.

*2. Des subtilités héraldiques*

Le choix des armoiries qui figurent sur les monnaies peut être d'une grande subtilité. Les intentions ne sont pas toujours claires.

Le dernier roi de la croisade, Jean de Brienne, laisse le titre de Jérusalem à sa petite-fille Marie d'Antioche. Charles Ier d'Anjou l'achète, à titre personnel, en 1277. Comme sur les sceaux, supports officiels, les armes de Jérusalem n'apparaissent pas sur plusieurs de ses monnaies et de celles de son fils et successeur Charles II d'Anjou (une monnaie d'or du premier, en tant que sénateur de Rome; une monnaie d'argent et un billon du second). Cependant, les armes de Jérusalem sont représentées sur un salut d'or et un demi-salut d'argent de Charles Ier, et deux saluts d'or et d'argent de Charles II (*Corpus*). Jeanne Ie fut le premier souverain de la dynastie des Capétiens de Naples à utiliser l'écu parti de Jérusalem et d'Anjou ancien sur ses sceaux et trois de ses monnaies, un florin, un carlin et un denier.

En revanche, par exemple, une monnaie frappée pour René d'Anjou (duc de Bar, héritier d'une famille sans descendance mâle) par le chef de cette famille, Charles II duc de Lorraine, présente une disposition rare mais des plus claires. Un écartelé réunit les armes de Lorraine et celles de Bar et, sur le tout, l'écu parti en 1 de Jérusalem et en 2 contre parti d'Anjou ancien et d'Anjou moderne (le duché). Cet écartelé associe correctement les armes de la maison sans héritirer mâle – cette monnaie est émise par le duc de Lorraine – Lorraine étant à la place d'honneur, ainsi que les armes personnelles de l'héritier indirect, Bar, tandis que sur le tout est placé l'écu du père de René, Louis II, soulignant ainsi l'appartenance à la maison d'Anjou.

*3. Supports de prétentions et d'essai héraldique*

Les monnaies peuvent jouer le rôle de supports de prétention et d'essai de nouvelles armoiries. Ce point semble avoir échappé à l'attention des historiens. Ainsi, une monnaie qui porte la date de 1488 permet au duc de Lorraine, René II, d'exprimer ses prétentions sur le royaume de Naples face à celles du roi Charles VIII. Saulcy hésite à considérer cette pièce comme une monnaie. Pour Dieudonné, il s'agit d'un essai ou d'une espèce de médaille qui marque une date. À l'avers, le duc est représenté en armes, une épée à la main, flanqué à sa droite de l'écu de Lorraine et à sa gauche, d'un heaume. Au revers, son écu est exceptionnellement, à cette date, inversé. Les armoiries de René II sont celles d'un héritier indirect qui reprend les armes d'une famille éteinte (la seconde maison d'Anjou) soit, à nouveau suivant l'usage, un écartelé composé de ses armes propres, Lorraine, et des armes de relèvement d'une maison sans descendance, les dernières armes de son grand-père, le roi René. Sur le revers de la monnaie, l'écartelé est inversé. Les armes de prétention, les armes de René d'Anjou, roi titulaire de Sicile et de Jérusalem, sont à la place d'honneur dans l'écartelé. Au début de 1488 se présentent, à la cour de Nancy, des exilés et des barons napolitains qui cherchent un gouvernement capable de soutenir leur querelle et leur retour. René II prépare alors son expédition.

Trois ans plus tard, en 1491, puis en 1492, deux monnaies présentent une disposition nouvelle des armoiries ducales. René II hésite sur la partition qui lui permettrait de mieux exprimer ses intentions politiques. Il choisit des monnaies comme supports d'essai d'une partition héraldique. En 1491, sur le double gros, très rare par son titre – peut-être un piéfort d'après France Lanord – apparaît pour la première fois une nouvelle partition des armes ducales, qui deviendra définitive. Elle souligne les prétentions politiques du prince : un coupé présentant en chef les armoiries des quatre royaumes - Hongrie, Anjou ancien, Jérusalem et Aragon – en pointe, les armes des deux duchés – Anjou moderne et Bar – soit, suivant une nouvelle disposition, l'héritage de la seconde maison d'Anjou – et sur le tout ses armes propres, celles de Lorraine. L'écu est

surmonté d'un heaume avec lambrequins, timbré d'une couronne et d'une aigle, le cimier de Lorraine.

L'année suivante est frappée une nouvelle monnaie présentant une autre partition qui ne sera pas retenue : à l'avers, les armes personnelles – Lorraine et Bar – soutenues par le saint protecteur, saint Georges, et, au revers, dans les cantons formés par une croix pattée, les écussons des quatre royaumes, armoiries de prétention, et sur le tout, l'écusson d'Anjou moderne, signe d'appartenance à la seconde maison d'Anjou. Peu après l'émission de ces deux monnaies, en novembre 1492, René II envoie à Maximilien, roi des Romains, une ambassade dont nous ignorons ce qu'elle avait charge de négocier, et, en janvier suivant, il prend le titre de roi de Jérusalem. Il est notable que le nouvel écu ducal apparaît sur des monnaies particulières ainsi que sur des objets les plus personnels, un diurnal notamment. On pourrait les qualifier de «supports de prétention». Le nouvel écu n'apparaîtra sur les sceaux, supports officiels, que six ans plus tard. On retrouve les distinctions observées sur les monnaies des deux premiers rois capétiens de Naples.

*II. L'emblématique nouvelle.*
*Les emblèmes et autres signes parahéraldiques*

Nous distinguerons les signes du pouvoir, les signes de la guerre, les «badges» officiels et les légendes.

*1. Les signes du pouvoir*

Les signes du pouvoir représentés sur une monnaie peuvent avoir également une signification politique. En voici quelques exemples, certains déjà connus, d'autres passés inaperçus.

*Le trône*. Philippe le Bel, le fait est bien connu, pour la première monnaie d'or qu'il crée, le petit royal d'or en 1290, retient le siège en X des rois de France. Robert-Henri Bautier a clairement montré, dans une étude sur les types de sceaux de majesté, qu'il s'agit d'une création de Louis VII suivant le modèle, selon toute vraisemblance, du siège de Dagobert.

*Les sceptres*. L'émission du royal d'or de Charles VII, le 9 octobre 1429, n'est sans doute pas sans relation avec le sacre qui la précède de quelques semaines, le 17 juillet. En effet, sur un champ fleurdelisé, le roi, debout et couronné, est vêtu d'une longue robe et d'un manteau fleurdelisé. Sur l'un des exemplaires, il tient deux sceptres inégaux, particulièrement visibles dans l'exemplaire reproduit par Duplessy, suivant la tradition carolingienne, et non le sceptre et la main de justice, suivant l'usage de l'époque. La main de justice était apparue sur un sceau de majesté de Louis X le Hutin et sur une monnaie de Philippe VI. Par son iconographie exceptionnelle, cette monnaie de Charles VII permettait sans doute de relever une particularité du sacre de Reims. Les *regalia*, les instruments du sacre, étaient aux mains des Anglais à Saint-Denis. Ils n'ont pas été utilisés pour la cérémonie de Reims. Cette figuration permettait également, selon toute apparence, d'évoquer la continuité de la dynastie depuis les Carolingiens. Nous retrouvons les préoccupations que semble refléter le petit royal d'or de Philippe le Bel.

*La couronne*. Le gros aux rondeaux de Charles VII, émis peu de temps après le sacre, le 15 septembre 1431, souligne apparemment l'importance du couronnement. Cette première monnaie d'argent de Charles VII présente au droit l'écu royal couronné et accosté de neuf lis dans des cercles ou «rondeaux». Au revers, pour la première fois sur ce type de monnaie, la croix fleurdelisée est entourée de douze couronnelles – le chiffre de la plénitude – dans autant de «rondeaux». Le premier des insignes royaux du pouvoir, la couronne, était ainsi particulièrement soulignée. C'est un des rares indices de l'importance du couronnement dans l'esprit de Charles VII (ou de son entourage), peu après la cérémonie de Reims. Quelques années plus tard, des lettres patentes de 1440

nous apprennent, incidemment, que le roi Charles VII avait fait figurer une couronne d'or sur ses enseignes.

Les dimensions de la couronne sont alors particulièrement développées sur les monnaies royales. Ce point n'a pas été relevé. La couronne occupe la moitié du champ sur le blanc aux lis accotés et sur le petit blanc, émis tous deux le même jour que le royal d'or, le 9 octobre 1429. Une large couronne qui déborde sur la légende figure sur le blanc au K dit «des gens d'armes», émis le 4 décembre 1431, le jour de la troisème émission du royal d'or. Enfin, la couronne est également importante mais ici, plus étroite et plus haute sur le blanc au K, émis à Beauvais. Cette couronne rappelle, par sa forme un peu exceptionnelle pour l'époque, celle qui timbre un drapeau que nous avons attribué, avec d'autres arguments, à Charles VII. Selon Lafaurie, tous les blancs ont servi à payer les frais de la guerre, mais il ajoute qu'on ne sait pourquoi cette monnaie a reçu ce nom, quinze ans avant l'institution des compagnies d'ordonnance. Observons que l'enseigne où figure, à la même époque, la couronne royale d'or, est un drapeau blanc.

*2. Les signes de la guerre*

Les signes de la guerre sont également présents sur les monnaies.

*Le heaume*. Le premier exemple d'écu timbré est le heaume d'or de Charles VI émis le 21 octobre 1417. L'écu de France est timbré d'un heaume drapé et sommé d'une couronne avec un grand lis central. C'est le signe du roi-chevalier. L'émission de cette monnaie reflète très vraisemblablement l'attitude du dauphin Charles : il a été nommé trois mois auparavant par son père, le 14 juin, «lieutenant du Roy en son royaume» et le gouvernement formé alors a exilé la reine Isabeau à Tours. La menace anglaise était présente en Normandie. Le siège de Caen a commencé le 24 juin.

*L'épée et le doublement de l'écu*. Sur le double d'or, émis en juillet ou août 1420, le roi est assis de face sur une chaise curule, accosté de deux écus de France, tenant l'épée et le sceptre, deux lions à ses pieds. Cette monnaie du dauphin Charles, régent au nom du roi depuis le 26 octobre 1418, combine au droit, suivant l'observation de Dieudonné, le Parisis d'or et l'écu d'or de Philippe VI. Du Parisis, il emprunte la représentation en majesté; de l'écu d'or, la représentation en guerrier. Le doublement de l'écu, particularité de cette monnaie, souligne l'affirmation des droits du dauphin.

*3. Les emblèmes officiels*

Parmi les emblèmes, certains paraissent davantage représenter la personne officielle, sinon la dynastie, la famille ou un territoire. Les monnaies sont marquées d'un badge lorsque celui-ci semble avoir pris un caractère officiel qui dépasse l'aspect individuel.

*La croix double, emblème des maisons d'Anjou et de Lorraine*. Depuis l'étude de Pierre Marot, on sait que la croix double, vénérée par les Angevins sous les aspects d'un reliquaire de la vraie Croix, fit son apparition en Lorraine en 1431, dès que René en devint le duc. Une monnaie de René, duc de Bar et de Lorraine, porte en effet sur une face ses armoiries antérieures à 1435 et sur l'autre, la croix double. Le prince de la maison d'Anjou affirmait ainsi ses droits sur la Lorraine, droits acquis par son mariage avec Isabelle, héritière du duché, et par la mort du duc de Lorraine, Charles II. La dimension religieuse de la croix double n'était pas totalement négligée, si l'on retient que sur une de ces monnaies, la croix double est potencée et annonce ainsi, par la confusion ou l'association avec la croix de Jérusalem, des prétentions promises à un brillant avenir sur ce royaume.

À la fin de sa vie, plusieurs monnaies du roi René portent la croix double accompagnée, avec des variations, des mots *o crux ave* ... À cette époque, René multipliait les représentations de la croix double avec une signification religieuse accentuée. Il marquait ainsi notamment la façade du palais d'Aix d'un médaillon monumental de Lucca della Robbia. Nous avons montré, par ailleurs, que ce rappel

fréquent de la Passion du Christ lui permettait de maintenir en mémoire son titre le plus prestigieux, celui de roi de Jérusalem.

Deux monnaies de René II de Lorraine portent également la croix double, qui était non seulement un badge du prince – un héritage de la seconde maison d'Anjou – mais était également devenue le nouvel emblème de la maison ducale de Lorraine. La croix double fut le signe de reconnaissance des partisans de René II lors de la campagne de 1476-1477 contre Charles le Téméraire, en réponse à la croix de Saint-André des Bourguignons et à la croix simple des Suisses. À l'endroit où Charles le Téméraire tomba, René II fit ériger une croix à double traverse. Elle fut le signe de résistance des Lorrains lors de l'occupation du duché par Charles le Téméraire.

*Le lion et le briquet, emblèmes de la nouvelle maison de Bourgogne.* Le duc Philippe le Hardi paraît avoir remplacé les écus de Bourgogne ancien, les armoiries du duché antérieures à son avènement, par des lions, en 1395, lorsqu'il décida de frapper monnaie sur le même pied que dans le royaume. Selon Dumas-Dubourg, le lion rappelait les armes de la Comté : d'azur semé de billettes d'or au lion de même. L'explication nous paraît autre. Nous avons montré, par ailleurs, que le lion était alors le badge favori du duc et était devenu – nous sommes à l'époque du gouvernement des ducs – l'emblème de la nouvelle maison de Bourgogne, et de là, remplaçait naturellement l'écu de l'ancienne maison. La puissance évocatrice d'un badge est particulièrement sensible sur une autre monnaie de la cour de Bourgogne. Ainsi, Philippe le Bon aurait réduit la place du briquet sur ses écus pour faciliter la circulation de ces pièces qu'on refusait.

*Un signe de parti politique : le bras armé.* Un bras armé sortant d'une nuée est représenté sur plusieurs monnaies de René II de Lorraine. Nous avons montré par ailleurs que cet emblème, dont la première apparition date de la bataille de Nancy, où il figure sur le guidon de l'avant-garde, n'est pas, comme on l'a dit, une devise des ducs de Lorraine reprise par René II, mais un signe de relation privilégiée avec le roi de France, son soutien en l'occurrence, la nuée exprimant sans doute aussi l'appel à une intervention divine. D'autres signes accompagnant le duc sont alors empruntés à la symbolique royale de France.

*4. La légende*

La formulation de la légende d'une monnaie peut également être une réponse à celle adoptée par l'adversaire. Les faits sont connus. Ainsi l'écu d'or d'Édouard III, qui reprend le type de l'écu d'or de Philippe VI a pour légende *Edwardus Dei gratia anglie et francie rex*, alors que celle de Philippe VI est *Philippus Dei gratia francorum rex*. La légende de la dernière monnaie du roi René, le gros de Tarascon (1476-1480), *Renatus rex liliis Sicilie coronatus*, paraît être, Rolland est plus affirmatif, une réponse à celle adoptée par le roi d'Aragon *Coronatus quia legitime certavi*. Il en était sans doute déjà de même de la légende semblable qui figurait sur un des sceaux antérieurs du roi René (1464-1467). La cadière d'or d'Anne de Bretagne, émise en 1498, l'année qui sépare la mort de son premier époux Charles VIII et son second mariage avec Louis XII, réunit, pour la première fois, le titre de reine et de duchesse de Bretagne, *Anna Dei gratia francorum regina et britonum ducissa*.

*5. La datation des monnaies*

La datation de plusieurs monnaies, notamment par l'héraldique et par la formulation de la légende, peut être précisée. Ainsi, l'absence de l'écu de Lorraine sur un sol coronat, frappé à Aix par le roi René, permet de placer la date de son émission après 1453, contrairement à la datation proposée par Rolland, 1434-1457. Un traité du change des monnaies, sur lequel s'appuie cependant Rolland, confirme cette datation.

Il en est de même de certaines monnaies de René II. Nous renvoyons à nos travaux.

### *III. La thématique*

Le choix d'un type de monnaie reflète souvent des intentions politiques. La guerre franco-anglaise domine évidemment.

#### *1. Les monnaies royales de France et d'Angleterre*

*L'écu d'or à la chaise.* Philippe VI émet l'écu d'or à la chaise le 1er janvier 1337. Pour la première fois, le roi est représenté en costume de guerre : assis dans une stalle gothique, couronné, il est vêtu du haubert et de la cotte d'armes, et tient l'épée et l'écu de France. Quelques mois auparavant, le Parlement anglais avait voté le subside demandé par Édouard III pour financer le projet de guerre. Le roi d'Angleterre a armé une flotte de guerre et envoyé des armes en Guyenne. À la fin de l'année est interdite toute exportation de laine anglaise à destination de la Flandre, gênant ainsi les clients français.

Édouard III, vraisemblablement peu de temps après, émet un écu d'or à la chaise semblable à celui de son adversaire, portant la légende, déjà relevée, de roi d'Angleterre et de France, et non des Français, et marqué de l'écu de France et non de l'écartelé France-Angleterre qu'il adopta en 1340.

*Le florin Georges.* Saint Georges, saint patron des chevaliers, est honoré par les Valois. En juillet 1331, Philippe VI fonde une chapelle de saint Georges dans le château de Saint-Ouen, suivant le vœu de son père exprimé dans son testament. Le 4 février 1341, Philippe VI émet à Angers un florin Georges. Une seconde émission eut lieu le 27 avril 1346. Saint Georges est représenté à cheval, armé de pied en cap, plongeant sa lance dans la gueule du dragon. Sur la seconde monnaie, la visière du heaume est relevée. Selon Jean Lafaurie, ces monnaies sont spécialement frappées pour faire les frais d'une expédition militaire, d'abord en Bretagne, la seconde fois en Aquitaine, où le prince du sang faisait ses premières armes, et peut-être pour montrer les faveurs de ce saint qui était particulièrement honoré par les adversaires anglais. Le second florin fut frappé par ordre de Jean, duc de Normandie, le futur roi. Peu auparavant, en 1344, celui-ci avait conçu le projet d'un groupement de chevaliers, notamment sous le patronnage de la Vierge et de saint Georges. Yves Renouard a parfaitement montré que lors de la création de l'ordre de l'Étoile dont la préfigure était ce projet, peu de temps après, en 1351, Jean II abandonna l'invocation de saint Georges. Ce saint était particulièrement honoré dans l'ordre rival de la Jarretière que venait de créer Édouard III.

*L'ange d'or.* Philippe VI émet l'ange d'or le 27 janvier 1341. Le texte de l'ordonnance précise «deniers d'or fin à l'ange». Trois particularités de cette monnaie nous ont permis de montrer, contrairement à l'affirmation de certains historiens, que le roi de France plaçait alors le «royaume des lis» sous la protection de l'archange saint Michel. D'autres témoignages nous l'ont confirmé. Voici les trois particularités :

1. L'écu est pour la première fois de France nouveau, c'est-à-dire trois fleurs de lis au lieu d'un semé, sur une monnaie (Dieudonné, Lafaurie).

2. L'archange saint Michel porte une couronne royale. L'observation est de Perdrizet («Anges et saluts»). Sa fonction de chef des milices célestes ne lui confère pas cette coiffe. Cet exemple est très rare. On l'observe sur quelques enseignes de pèlerinage.

3. L'ange, revêtu d'une longue robe à plis, debout, est appuyé sur l'écu à trois fleurs de lis; il maintient une croix à longue hampe sur la tête d'un dragon gisant à ses pieds.

*Le franc à cheval.* Dès son retour de captivité, le 5 décembre 1360, à Compiègne, Jean II signe la fameuse ordonnance qui annonce une monnaie forte et stable, le franc à cheval. Les raisons de la création de ce nouveau type de monnaie ont été fort discutées. Nous retenons volontiers l'image du roi premier chevalier du royaume et, vraisemblablement, une réponse au «noble» d'Angleterre.

Roi depuis le 8 avril 1364, Charles V émet d'abord, le 24 juillet, un royal d'or de type inconnu, probablement semblable à celui de son père, puis, le 3 septembre, un franc

à cheval. L'aspect guerrier est particulièrement souligné avec une variété rare, il est vrai : on voit pendre à la selle le fourreau de l'épée et la pomme de l'épée est reliée à la cuirasse du roi par une chaîne. Charles V mène alors la guerre contre la Navarre. Quelques mois après, le 20 avril, il émet le nouveau type du franc à pied : le roi, couronné, debout sous un dais accosté de lis, porte une cotte d'armes fleurdelisée par dessus sa cotte de mailles. Les attributs sont fort éloquents : le roi tient l'épée et la main de justice.

Charles VII choisit comme première monnaie d'or le franc à cheval, monnaie émise par son grand-père et non par son père, avant de reprendre les monnaies d'or de celui-ci, l'agnel et l'écu. On connaît d'autres témoignages de relations entre la symbolique des deux rois. La date de l'émission du franc à cheval est également fort significative : elle se place le 12 septembre, entre la mort d'Henri V (le 31 août) et celle de Charles VI (le 21 octobre) qui lui permettra de prendre le titre de roi, le 30 du même mois.

*L'agnel d'or*. Le choix du nouveau type de monnaie, l'agnel d'or, par Philippe IV le Bel en 1311, ne semble pas avoir été clairement expliqué. Nous émettons une hypothèse. L'agneau pascal peut évoquer saint Jean-Baptiste et, de là, le baptême du Christ, qui lui-même serait une référence au baptême de Clovis et à l'onction royale. C'est la lecture qui a été récemment proposée, et signalée par Jacques Le Goff, au revers de la façade occidentale de la cathédrale de Reims, exécutée entre 1244 et 1252 environ. Nous avons rappelé, à propos du château de Vincennes, que ce rapprochement sera repris plus tard par Jean Golein, dans le *Traité du sacre*, achevé peu après 1372. À l'époque de l'émission de l'agnel d'or sont multipliés, après un lent cheminement, les signes de relations privilégiées de la maison de France avec le Ciel. Nous rappelons quelques étapes. Autour de Robert le Pieux († 1031), fils d'Hugues Capet, naît et se développe la croyance au pouvoir thaumaturgique du toucher royal par la guérison des écrouelles et la transmission héréditaire de ce charisme. Vers 1230, dans l'éloge funèbre de Louis VII, à propos des quatre fils du roi défunt, le poète Robert Sainceriaux souligne le caractère héréditairement saint de la race des Capétiens, «De saint liu sont venu, assés feront de bien». Vers 1250, dans la *Chronique de Reims*, lors du repas de Philippe Auguste avec ses barons (pairs) qui précède la bataille de Bouvines et pendant lequel le roi propose la couronne à ses barons – l'auteur rapproche ce repas de la Sainte Cène – le roi est comparé au Christ et les barons aux douze apôtres. Après 1270, saint Louis incarne l'idéal de la royauté chrétienne. Nous en avons pour preuve le poème des *Regrets sur la mort du saint roi*. À la fin du XIIIe siècle, dans une *Vie de saint Rémi* traduite par Richier, est affirmée la sainteté de la race royale de France. À l'époque de Philippe le Bel, Philippe, héritier du royaume de France, est considéré comme «né d'une race royale et très sainte», ce sentiment étant avant tout fondé précisément sur la légende de la Sainte Ampoule. Raymond Bloch a rassemblé de multiples exemples, dans les années 1307 et 1308, illustrant le pouvoir thaumaturgique de Philippe le Bel. En 1302, Guillaume de Sauqueville compare la France au peuple de Dieu, en retenant les arguments de la Sainte Ampoule, des écrouelles, des fleurs de lis et de l'oriflamme. Vers 1316, Geoffroy de Paris, dans le poème des *Alliés* dans lequel il porte un jugement sur les règnes de Philippe le Bel, de Louis X et de Philippe V, les derniers rois capétiens directs, fait le rapprochement entre les trois fleurs de lis et la Trinité. À la même époque, les symboles des quatre évangélistes entourent l'écu de France (brisé) sur le sceau de Mahaut d'Artois, femme d'Othon IV de Bourgogne en 1305 et sur son sceau secret en 1317. La branche d'Artois descend de Louis VIII. Relevons qu'au revers de l'agnel d'or, qui est celui de la chaise, on remplaça les couronnes du cantonnement par des fleurs de lis, soulignant ainsi la relation étroite du thème religieux et de la symbolique royale.

L'agnel d'or fut repris par les trois derniers rois capétiens directs. Ni Philippe VI, ni Charles V ne l'utilisèrent. Il semble que Jean II, le 17 janvier 1355, et Charles VI, le 10 mai 1417, émirent cette monnaie pour fonder un capital de confiance à un moment de profonde dévaluation. La valeur symbolique de cette monnaie semble avoir joué un rôle dans son choix par Henri V – sa première monnaie d'or, émise à son nom comme roi de France le 19 janvier 1419, dès qu'il eut conquis Rouen, par le dauphin Charles qui s'était proclamé régent du royaume, au nom du roi, au moins à Montpellier puis par le même Charles, pour l'émission de sa seconde monnaie d'or de roi de France, après le franc à

cheval, en 1422, 1423 et peut-être en 1424. L'agnel d'or sera abandonné par les rois suivants. L'imitation de cette monnaie par plusieurs princes aux Pays-Bas, dans l'Empire et en Bourgogne par Jean Sans Peur, pourrait s'expliquer, outre la relation avec une monnaie royale, par la recherche d'une évocation privilégiée avec le Ciel.

*Le salut d'or*. Le thème de l'Annonciation appartient à la symbolique de la maison royale de France. Les relations entre le thème marial et la fleur de lis de la royauté sont connues. La Vierge a souvent été comparée à la fleur de lis, mais inversement l'héraldique a pu influencer le thème marial. La nouvelle symbolique royale réunit l'Annonciation aux thèmes de la fleur de lis et de la Trinité. Nous en avons pour témoignages, par exemple, l'exceptionnel tympan de l'église des Célestins, fondée par Charles V en 1365 et sur lequel était représentée l'Annonciation, le roi et la reine figurant sur les ébrasements, ou la façade principale du château de Pierrefonds, l'hôtel du Prévôt (ou de la Poterne) à Paris, et enfin la chapelle Saint-Pierre de Châtre, trois demeures du frère de Charles VI, Louis d'Orléans. Charles VI émit le salut d'or le 11 août 1421, la paix étant revenue depuis le traité de Troyes, le 21 mai 1420. L'écu de France moderne, à trois fleurs de lis, couronné, remplace, entre Gabriel et la Vierge, les trois fleurs de lis traditionnelles. Peu après, à l'imitation de celui de Charles VI, Henri V émet le 30 novembre 1421 son propre salut d'or, l'écu écartelé de France et d'Angleterre remplaçant l'écu de France moderne. Henri VI, le 6 février 1423, accentue les relations privilégiées de sa maison avec le Ciel, MacKenna l'a fort bien montré, en inversant la scène de l'Annonciation – l'ange Gabriel est placé à droite – et en doublant l'écu : l'écu écartelé de France et d'Angleterre, à droite de l'écu de France moderne, est alors placé sous l'ange. La seconde monnaie d'or émise par Henri VI sera l'angelot d'or, le 24 mai 1427 : l'ange à mi-corps tient les deux mêmes écus accotés. Sous Charles VII, le salut d'or réapparaît le 30 mai 1433. Les lieux d'émission ont sans doute une signification : Tournai, en terre de Flandre, a toujours soutenu le roi de France – les entrées royales dans la ville sont à cet égard particulièrement significatives – et Beauvais – place stratégique importante pour le roi où celui-ci, nous l'avons dit, a émis le blanc au K sur lequel la couronne a une forme haute et étroite qui rappelle celle qui timbrait un drapeau que nous attribuons à ce roi.

*L'angelot d'or*. Le 19 juin 1467, Louis XI émet un triple angelot d'or ainsi que des angelots d'or et d'argent. Le triple angelot d'or est connu par un exemplaire unique conservé au Cabinet des Médailles. L'angelot d'or n'a pas été retrouvé et l'angelot d'argent, marqué au revers de l'effigie de Charles VII accompagnée d'une légende qui ne laisse aucun doute, est mentionné seulement par Lafaurie. Sur ces monnaies, saint Michel est représenté debout, revêtu d'une armure, tenant de la main gauche l'écu de France aux trois fleurs de lis et brandissant, de la droite, une épée avec laquelle il s'apprête à trancher la tête du dragon qu'il foule à ses pieds. Le triple angelot est une monnaie exceptionnelle par son type et son poids. Il s'agit d'un piéfort pour Dieudonné et pour Lafaurie. Duplessy note qu'il n'est connu que par un seul exemplaire. Frappée à Paris, cette monnaie pourrait être appelée commémorative. Elle fut offerte en cadeau au comte de Warwick et aux membres de son ambassade. Cette émission et ce geste avaient sans aucun doute une signification hautement symbolique dans le contexte politique. Nous verrions volontiers dans ce cadeau portant l'effigie du saint protecteur du royaume, déjà sous Philippe VI mais plus largement depuis Charles VII, au représentant de l'adversaire qui a suscité une dimension «nationale» à cette dévotion, un signe marquant de la volonté d'en finir avec leur différent séculaire et de la recherche d'une trêve durable et d'une alliance contre un ennemi commun, la Bourgogne. La réception de Warwick se déroula dans un grand déploiement de faste et d'honneur. On sait combien les espoirs de Louis XI furent rapidement déçus. Édouard IV, l'année même, renouvela son alliance avec la Bourgogne et signa un accord promettant le mariage de Charles, nouveau duc de Bourgogne, et de Marguerite d'York. Les événements se précipitèrent ensuite. Ce fut l'affaire de Péronne, du 9 octobre au 2 novembre 1468. Philippe Contamine a montré que la fondation de l'ordre de Saint-Michel, le 1er août 1469, fut faite avec beaucoup d'improvisation.

*2. Les monnaies d'autres cours royales et princières*

En 1387, Philippe de Bourgogne fait frapper un *ange d'or* : un ange tient l'écu de Flandre et celui de Bourgogne. Cette monnaie souligne, par l'association des deux écus, l'alliance des deux maisons – Louis de Male est mort en 1384 et l'entrée dans Gand date du début de 1386 – et, par la représentation de l'ange tenant les écus à l'image de la symbolique royale établie peu à peu au cours du XIVe siècle et définitivement retenue à partir du règne de Charles VI, l'appartenance de la nouvelle maison de Bourgogne à la maison royale de France. L'ange supportant l'écu apparaît, l'année suivante, sur un sceau ducal de la chancellerie aux contrats. Auparavant, sur un sceau secret (1370) et le sceau équestre (1385), étaient figurés les badges personnels du prince, les aigles soutenant l'écu ducal ou des lions. À l'époque de l'émission de l'ange d'or (1387) et du sceau aux contrats (1388), l'écu ducal entre deux anges timbrait les murs de l'église de la Chartreuse de Champmol, dont la charte de fondation date de 1385. L'église fut dédicacée en 1388.

*La seconde maison d'Anjou : le Magdalon.* Lors de la période italienne, entre 1435 (ou 1437) et 1442, une monnaie du roi René s'inspire du gillat de Jeanne II. Cette monnaie présente le prince en majesté, assis sur un trône aux deux lions, tenant le sceptre et le globe crucifère, attributs des rois de Naples. Cette iconographie se retrouve sur ses sceaux de majesté créés à la même époque.

À la fin de sa vie, entre 1476 et 1480, René crée deux monnaies originales : à l'avers, le buste de face de Marie-Madeleine, ou un écu; au revers, la croix double, déjà citée. Le culte de Marie-Madeleine est constant dans la vie du prince. Nous avons réuni plus de quarante témoignages. Ce culte s'accentua pendant les années soixante-dix : dons à l'église de Saint-Maximin qui détenait les reliques de la sainte (1471, 1473, 1474, 1477), confesseur en la personne des deux prieurs successifs (en 1473 puis en 1476), présence du roi René (en 1474, 1475 et 1476), enfin représentation de la sainte auprès du portrait du prince, avec saint Antoine et saint Maurice, sur le retable du *Buisson ardent* de Nicolas de Froment qui, en 1476, ornait la chapelle funéraire dans l'église des Carmes d'Aix, destinée à contenir ses entrailles. Ce culte personnel se doublait sans doute, comme la croix double, d'une signification politique, la sainte étant par excellence la sainte de la Provence. En émettant le Magdalon, le roi René soulignait ses droits sur la Provence face aux menaces de la maison de France.

*La maison de Lorraine : le teston et les florins d'or à l'effigie de saint Nicolas.* En 1499, est frappée en Lorraine une monnaie exceptionnelle pour l'époque, en France, un teston ou un ducat : au droit, le portrait de René II de profil, à l'italienne, tandis qu'au revers est représenté le nouvel écu ducal qui souligne, nous l'avons dit, ses prétentions sur le royaume de Naples. Cette monnaie est, selon toute vraisemblance, une réponse au teston de Louis, duc d'Orléans, futur Louis XII, frappé à Asti avant 1498.

Saint Nicolas figure sur des monnaies d'or, des florins de René II. Pierre Marot a bien montré que ce saint devint le patron de la Lorraine à la même époque que la croix double, à la suite de la victoire sur Charles le Téméraire. Le jour de la victoire, le 5 janvier 1477, saint Nicolas est qualifié de «père du pays, duc de Lorraine». À nouveau, un saint prend une valeur «emblématique».

*La maison de Bretagne : la cadière d'or.* Anne de Bretagne, de retour en son duché en 1498 – année qui sépare la mort de son premier époux, Charles VIII, et son second mariage avec Louis XII – crée à Nantes une monnaie exceptionnelle et de haute valeur symbolique, la cadière d'or. Nous l'avons évoquée à propos de la légende qui contient, pour la première fois, le titre de reine. Elle choisit le type de majesté la représentant assise sur un trône, tenant une épée et un sceptre, coiffée d'une couronne, les trois signes du pouvoir débordant sur la légende. Le manteau réunit le semé de fleurs de lis et le semé d'hermine. Le soin apporté à la création de cette monnaie est souligné par le fait que le peintre Jean Bourdichon proposa douze modèles pour type monétaire.

Ainsi, parmi la large gamme des supports – ce point semble avoir été moins relevé – la monnaie, par son iconographie, participe également aux jeux multiples dans les stratégies politiques, dynastiques et familiales. Parfois la monnaie a même été choisie en priorité sur les autres supports pour exprimer des intentions politiques. Rappelons le florin Georges et l'ange d'or à l'effigie de saint Michel, deux monnaies émises par Philippe VI, ou le double gros de René II où apparaît pour la première fois, dès 1491, son nouvel écu de roi de Jérusalem.

Tentons d'être plus précis :

*1. Les monnaies, signes d'affirmation :*

- Le heaume d'or de Charles VI qui reflète en fait l'attitude du dauphin Charles, «lieutenant du Roy en son royaume».
- Le franc à cheval de Charles VII, émis entre la mort d'Henri V et celle de Charles VI.
- Les droits à la couronne de France de Charles VII : le gros aux rondeaux, ou le double d'or émis peu après le sacre, et sur lesquels sont multipliés les signes du pouvoir.
- La jeune maison Valois-Bourgogne : l'usage du badge du lion sur ses monnaies, mais également celui du briquet, qu'elle doit cependant rendre plus discret afin de faciliter la circulation de ses pièces.
- La maison Valois-Anjou de Naples : une monnaie du roi René de la période italienne.
- Les droits sur la Provence par la maison d'Anjou, face aux menaces de Louis XI : le Magdalon de René d'Anjou.
- Enfin l'affirmation de la Lorraine : le florin d'or de René II à l'effigie du saint patron, saint Nicolas, et le badge de la croix double qui timbre plusieurs de ses monnaies.

*2. La filiation, qui relie l'affirmation et les prétentions :*

Le petit royal d'or de Philippe le Bel et, sans doute, les signes du pouvoir sur un exemplaire du royal d'or de Charles VII.

*3. Les signes de prétention :*

- Sur le royaume de Jérusalem (et Naples-Provence) : le Magdalon de René d'Anjou portant au revers la croix double.
- Sur le royaume de Jérusalem : les monnaies des princes capétiens de la maison d'Anjou-Naples, par la présence de la croix de Jérusalem; les monnaies de René d'Anjou, en Lorraine, timbrées de la croix double, à laquelle se joint parfois la croix potencée.
- Sur le royaume de Naples : les monnaies de René II de Lorraine, par des jeux dans les partitions de ses armoiries. Nous avons évoqué à ce propos les «supports de prétention».
- Enfin, dernière prétention d'Anne de Bretagne, reine de France par la grâce de Dieu, et duchesse de Bretagne : l'émission de la cadière d'or.

*4. Des prétentions particulières :*

- Des relations privilégiées avec le Ciel : peut-être l'agnel d'or de Philippe le Bel, ceux des derniers rois capétiens puis, parmi les Valois, sans doute celui de Jean II et, plus tard, celui de Charles VI, afin de fonder vraisemblablement un capital de confiance à un moment de forte dévaluation; le salut d'or de Charles VI repris par Henri VI d'Angleterre en inversant la position de l'ange et de la Vierge.
- La protection divine : l'ange d'or de Philippe VI.

*5. Les signes d'alliance, d'appartenance à un parti :*

- La jeune maison de Bourgogne soulignant son appartenance à la maison royale de France et peut-être, par là, la relation privilégiée avec le Ciel : l'ange d'or de Philippe le Hardi, l'ange tenant les écus à l'image de la symbolique royale.
- Pour la même maison, alliance de Bourgogne et de Flandre : cette même monnaie.
- La monnaie «commémorative» de haute valeur symbolique, tentant de sceller définitivement la paix : l'angelot d'or de Louis XI.
- Le signe de parti politique, celui du roi de France : l'emploi du bras armé par René II de Lorraine, notamment sur ses monnaies.

*6. Enfin, les signes d'opposition, de réponse à l'adversaire :*

- Le conflit entre les rois de France et les rois d'Angleterre : le florin Georges de Philippe VI; l'écu d'or à la chaise de Philippe VI, pour la première fois en costume de guerre; les jeux entre les légendes des monnaies des rois Philippe VI et Édouard III; le franc à cheval de Jean II, en réponse sans doute au noble d'Angleterre, et celui de Charles V; le salut d'or d'Henri V et celui d'Henri VI, qui reprennent celui de Charles VI, dès la conquête de Rouen.
- Le conflit entre le roi René et le roi d'Aragon par les jeux de légende.
- La compétition entre René II de Lorraine et la maison de France pour le royaume de Naples : le teston de René II, sans doute réponse à celui de Louis d'Orléans émis à Asti.

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# Die Rechnung mit Gold und Silber im Geldwesen des Deutschen Reiches im Mittelalter

Harald WITTHÖFT*

Die Lehrmeinung ist cum grano salis, daß das Fränkische und das Deutsche Reich seit dem frühen 8. und bis ins späte 12. Jahrhundert eine monometallische Silberwährung besessen haben, sodann abgelöst von einer bimetallischen Gold-Silber-Währung[1]. Das Wertverhältnis beider Metalle habe sich seit jeher aus den Produktions- und Handelsbedingungen ergeben. Zu- und Abflüsse von Gold und Silber zwischen Europa, Byzanz, Asien und dem arabischen Raum seien eine notwendige Folge gewesen[2].

Grundlegende Widersprüche zwischen dieser Sichtweise und der Wirtschaftsverfassung des frühen Mittelalters in Teilen Europas waren seit jeher evident. Angesichts der metrologisch numismatischen Fakten schienen sie nicht erklärbar, wurden schließlich kaum noch diskutiert. Es sind jedoch die bekannten Fakten, die bei genauerem Hinsehen auch eine ganz andere Geschichte erzählen können. Dazu helfen bei Variierung der Methode vor allem zwei historische Einsichten :

- Einzelne fränkische und deutsche Reichsteile unterschieden sich in ihrem Umgang mit Münz-, Zähl- und Gewichtsgeld – bei einem Entwicklungsgefälle von West nach Ost und/bzw. Süd nach Nord[3].
- In der mittelalterlichen Wirtschaft des Deutschen Reiches wurden ältere statische Wert- und Geldvorstellungen erst seit dem 11. Jahrhundert durch dynamische Vorstellungen abgelöst[4].

Diese Behauptungen verlangen nach Präzisierung und Belegen. Im Rahmen der vorgebenen Zeit kann dies nur ein knapper Kommentar zu einer Kette von ausgewählten Textstellen leisten.

I. Karolingische Kapitulare des 8. Jahrhunderts zeigen uns ein Nebeneinander z.B. von Münzen, Ochsen und Getreide als Geld[5]. Eine Urkunde über eine Rentenzahlung aus Mailand und eine zweite aus Freising definierten noch 799 bzw. 836 :

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1 Ph. GRIERSON, *Numismatics*, Oxford, 1975, S. 25. Auf erschöpfende Anmerkungen muß hier und im folgenden verzichtet werden.

2 P. SPUFFORD, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge, 1988, S. 51f.; R. METZ, *Geld, Währung und Preisentwicklung. Der Niederrheinraum im europäischen Vergleich 1350-1800* (*Schrr. R. d. Inst. f. bankhist. Forschg.*, 14), Frankfurt, 1990, S. 38ff.; s.a. H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzfuß, Kleingewichte, pondus Caroli und die Grundlegung des nordeuropäischen Maß- und Gewichtswesens in fränkischer Zeit* (*Sachüberlieferung und Geschichte. Siegener Abhandlungen zur Entwicklung der materiellen Kultur*, 1), Ostfildern, 1984, S. 74.

3 Vgl. J. WERNER, *Waage und Geld in der Merowingerzeit* (*Sitzungsberr. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1), München, 1954, S. 18f.; H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzfuß*, S. 100f.; H. STEUER, *Gewichtsgeldwirtschaften im frühgeschichtlichen Europa* (*Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, 4), hrsg.v. Kl. DÜWEL u.a., Göttingen, 1987, S. 405-527. Es existierten Maßgebiete endogener Einheiten, auf die z.B. karolingische Kapitulare bestimmter Ausstellungsorte Bezug nehmen.

4 Vgl. R. KAISER, *Das Geld in der Autobiographie des Abtes Guibert von Nogent*, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 69, 2, 1987, S. 289-314; H. WITTHÖFT, *Die Markgewichte von Köln und von Troyes im Spiegel der Regional- und Reichsgeschichte vom 11. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 253,1, 1991, S. 51f.; ID., *Münzfuß*, S. 131f.

5 H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzfuß*, S. 12f., 114ff.; s.a. Fr.W. HENNING, *Die germanischen Volksrechte als wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Quelle unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Lex Ribvaria* (*Studien zu den germanischen Volksrechten. Gedächtnisschrift für Ebel*), Frankfurt/M.-Bern, 1982, S. 50ff.

- «in auro et argento vel pannos valentes mancosos decem»[6].
- «Censum - hoc est unum solidum auro adpretiatum vel in argento aut grano»[7].

Bereits ein Kaufkontrakt der Merowingerzeit aus dem Jahre 690 nennt zweifelsfrei die alternative Zahlung von Gold und/oder Silber[8] :
- «unde accepimus a vobis in precio taxato ... inter aurum et argentum solidos mille quingentos tantum».

Noch Kaiser Karl der Dicke zahlte an den Wikingerführer Gottfried im Jahre 882 einen Tribut in libra Gold und/oder Silber, die man jeweils zu 20 solidi rechnete[9] :
- «in auro et argento duo mille libras et octoginta, vel paulo plus;
quam libram viginti solidos computavimus expletam».

Zwei Fassungen der Annales Fuldenses überliefern den Tribut nach unterschiedlichen Gewichten (librae). Sie bieten Gelegenheit zur Rekonstruktion dieser Einheiten und zur metrischen Berechnung des in Gold und/oder Silber effektiv gezahlten Tributes[10].

Schließlich belegen die Reiserechnungen des Bischofs Wolfger von Passau, daß ungeprägtes Gold und Silber auch noch um 1204 Währungsmetalle waren. Man nahm «ungemünztes Edelmetall als Reisegeld mit und wechselte nach Bedarf ortsübliche Münze dafür ein»[11].

Wir kommen nicht umhin, für das gesamte frühe und hohe Mittelalter alternative Zahlungen in Gold und Silber anzunehmen, die nach festen Regeln in Münze und/oder nach Gewicht geleistet werden konnten. Als *Zählgrößen* waren libra bzw. solidus im jeweiligen System der Einheiten für Gold und für Silber identisch. Verschieden müssen libra und solidus Gold bzw. Silber jedoch in ihrem *Gewicht* gewesen sein – nach einer ebenfalls konstanten Relation?

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6 Ph. GRIERSON, *Carolingian Europe and the Arabs : the Myth of the Mancus*, in *RBPhH*, 32, 1954, S. 1070; vgl. H. WITTHÖFT, *Spuren islamischen Einflusses in der Entwicklung des fränkischen Münzwesens des 8. Jahrhunderts* (*Orientalische Kultur und europäisches Mittelalter. Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 17), hrsg. v. A. ZIMMERMANN, Berlin-New York, 1985, S. 413.

7 Fr. WIELANDT, *Münzen, Gewichte und Maße bis 1800* (*Handbuch der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, 1), hrsg. v. H. AUBIN und W. ZORN, Stuttgart, 1971, S. 660.

8 H. WITTHÖFT, *Die Rechnung und Zahlung mit Gold und Silber nach Zeugnissen des 6. bis 9. und 13./14. Jahrhunderts*, in *HBN*, 30/32, 1976/1978, (1985), S. 20f. Sowohl A.M. STAHL : H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzfuß*, ... in *Speculum*, 1987, S. 754-756 als auch E. NAU, *Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, in *BlDeutscheLandesgesch*, 126, 1990, S. 404ff., bezweifeln in ihren Rezensionen, daß sich – wie von mir vorgeschlagen – aus den Weißenburger Überlieferungen eine Rechnung mit regelhaften Relationen *inter aurum et argentum* ableiten lasse. So berechtigt ihre Kritik an der Beschränkung auf die von Soetbeer ausgewählte Textgruppe auch ist (Stahl, S. 754f.; Nau, S. 404f.) – ihre Gegenthesen, daß «there is no implication that they express relationships between gold and silver» (Stahl, S. 755), bzw. es seien «hier keine Gewichtsrelationen gemeint», ja überhaupt keine Relationen, denn manchmal verbindet beide Angaben ein *et*, nie ein *aut* (Nau, 405), lassen sich auch anhand von Texten aus anderen und jüngeren Quellen eindeutig widerlegen – wie im folgenden in Umrissen zu zeigen sein wird.

9 Nach der Regensburger Überlieferung der Annales Fuldenses. Vgl. H. WITTHÖFT, *Maß und Gewicht im 9. Jahrhundert. Fränkische Traditionen im Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter*, in *VSWG*, 70/4, 1983, S. 459 ff.; ID., *Rechnung und Zahlung*, 9, S. 29f.

10 ID., *9. Jahrhundert*, S. 459 ff.; ID., *Rechnung und Zahlung*, S. 29f.; E. NAU, *op. cit.*, S. 403f. unternimmt den Versuch, die Berechnung zu korrigieren, läßt dabei aber wesentliche Teile der Überlieferung außer acht; ihr Vorschlag widerspricht den schriftlichen Quellen und der Sachüberlieferung.

11 A. LUSCHIN V. EBENGREUTH, *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neueren Zeit* (*Hdb. d. mittelalt. u. neuer. Geschich.*, IV), München-Berlin, 1926 (Ndr. München-Wien, 1976), S. 280f.

II. Eine Urkunde für Freisingen aus dem Jahre 816 nennt erstmals eine Relation von 1:30 für das Verhältnis von solidus Gold und denarius Silber[12] :

- «wadiavit ... annis singulis unum solidum de auro solvere aut XXX denarios».

Überliefert wird dieses Verhältnis auch in einem bayerischen Rechtssatz, den Karl der Große in Regensburg bestätigt haben soll und der in einer Grazer Handschrift des späten 12. Jahrhunderts erhalten ist[13] :

«Secundum legem Bawariorum ... sexies 5 denarii solidum faciunt ..., domino et serenissimo rege Karolo in placito Ratisponensi in honore Bawariorum id privilegio confirmante».

Diese Relation von 1:30 trat mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit erst mit der Münzreform Karls des Großen 793/94 neben eine ältere von 1:40, die wir z.B. aus der Lex Salica kennen. Beide erhalten ihren Sinn, wenn der solidus in Gold, der denarius in Silber und dazu das Verhältnis von Gold und Silber mit 12:1 gerechnet werden[14]. Auf der Basis eines karolingischen Reformdenars von 1,701 g zeigt sich sodann[15] :

30 denarii Ag à 1,701 g = 51,03 g = solidus Ag von Goldwert
51,03 g = 12 «solidi»Au à 4,2525 g
= 12 islamische Dinar Au.

Nach der Relation von 12:1 entsprach ein goldener solidus exakt dem Silberwert der Summe von 30 denarii. Dieses Summengewicht hat sich in Nordeuropa als reales Gewichtsstück zu 2 Öre/Unzen in zahlreichen Exemplaren erhalten[16] – ein weiterer Beleg für die Konstanz der Relationen und Basisgewichte.

Der schwere solidus Ag von Goldwert verbirgt sich offenbar auch hinter dem Gewicht des rätselhaften mancusus, der sich in mittelalterlichen deutschen Quellen ebenfalls als Äquivalent von 30 denarii findet[17]. Erstmals erscheint er 799 in einer Mailänder Urkunde[18]. Toch hat ihn in jüdischen Überlieferungen des späten 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhunderts in Franken als Einheit von der Größe eines solidus identifiziert. «Die Rechnungseinheit solidus besitzt jedoch im mittelalterlichen Hebräisch eine feste Bezeichnung, nämlich «Denar» («Dinar»)»[19].

Diese Spur läßt sich auch metrologisch noch weiter absichern.

III. Eine Urkunde Ludwig des Frommen für das Kloster des heiligen Zeno in Verona aus dem Jahre 816 stellt erstmals eine Verbindung zu diesem mancusus her. 20 mancusi Gold entsprachen 50 solidi Silber, d.h. 1 mancusus Au = 30 denarii Ag[20] :

- «aut manculos (mancusos) viginti aut quinquaginta solidos argenti accipere debeat pontifex» (816).

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12 H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzfuß*, S. 14.

13 *Ibidem*, S. 14.

14 Vgl. *Ibidem*, S. 30ff., S. 76ff.

15 Vgl. *Ibidem*, S. 14ff., 76f.; E. NAU (403f.) errechnet methodisch unzulässig aus 2060 Exemplaren karolingischer Herrscher 840-887 ein mittleres Denargewicht von 1,562g; sie übersieht völlig, daß die Funde an Silberdenaren bis zu Karl dem Einfältigen (898-923) Schwerpunktgruppen um 1,71/1,81g nachzuweisen erlauben (K.F. MORRISON, H. GRUNTHAL, *Carolingian Coinage* (*NNM*, 158), New York, 1967, S. 40ff.; H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzfuß*, S. 14ff.

16 H. JANKUHN, *Haithabu. Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*, Neumünster, 1972, S. 219; H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzfuß*, S. 104ff.

17 Vgl. dazu Ph. GRIERSON, *Myth*; H. WITTHÖFT, *Rechnung und Zahlung*, S. 32ff.; ID., *Islamischer Einfluß*, S. 411ff.

18 Ph. GRIERSON, *Myth*, S. 1070.

19 M. TOCH, *Der Mankus, eine spätmittelalterliche Auferstehung*, in *JNG*, 31/32, 1981/82, S. 129f.; H. WITTHÖFT, *Rechnung und Zahlung*, S. 33.

20 ID., *Rechnung und Zahlung*, S. 23.

Noch in den Kölner Schreinsurkunden des 12. Jahrhunderts findet sich ein Mankus als Goldgewicht mit derselben Relation[21] :

- «pondus auri quod manc[us] dicitur = 30 Den[arii]».

30 denarii Ag à 1,4175g = 42,525g = mancusus Au
42,525g = 12 pondera Au 3,54375g
= 12 rh.Gulden/Floren Au.

Einem territorialen Kölner Pfennig (1151/56-1208/12) entsprach somit bereits im 12. Jahrhundert ein Goldgewicht, das als goldene Leitmünze erst seit 1252 (Floren) bzw. 1385/86 (rhein. Gulden) nach festgelegtem Münzfuß geprägt werden sollte – mit nunmehr reduziertem Feingehalt.

Auch die erste goldene Prägung im Reiche, der Augustalis Friedrichs II. von 1231, scheint fest in die überlieferten Relationen eingebunden gewesen zu sein[22] :
1 Augustalis = 6 tari Au = 1/5 Unze = 1/80 Pfd. à 425,250 g
(rauh) = 5,315625g

8 Augustales = 48 tari Au = 42,525 g = 1 mancusus?
(rauh) = 10 islamische Dinar?

1 Augustalis = 20 1/2 Karat = 4,54042g = 1/72 libra à 326,910 g
(fein)

Im Augustalis führte Friedrich II. offenbar die imperiale römische wie auch die karolingische Tradition fort – der solidus Konstantins (4,54791 g) findet sich im Feingewicht wieder, der karolingische «solidus» (=Dinar = 4,2525 g) im Rauhgewicht. Die geringe Abweichung – wenn sie denn bestanden hat – ist vermutlich auf den Normenwandel der karolingischen Reform von 793/94 zurückzuführen.

Noch im ersten kurrheinischen Münzvertrag vom 26. November 1385 orientierten sich die Erzbischöfe von Trier, Köln, Mainz und der Kurfürst von der Pfalz bei der gesetzlichen Fixierung des Münzfußes an einer Silber-Relation des Gulden von 12:1 :
1 Goldgulden = 20 Albus Silber
1 Weißpfennig = 12 Heller = 24 alte Pfennige.
Bereits 1386 wurde der Kurs jedoch auf 1:10,76 zurückgenommen[23].

Auch noch im Jahre 1469, als Herzog Karl der Kühne von Burgund und König Edward VI. von England in Brügge über den Zwangskurs bestimmter Münzgattungen eine Einigung erzielten, wurde für Gold und Silber ein Wertverhältnis von 12:1 zugrundegelegt[24].

Diese Nachrichten bestätigen m. E. über alle Zweifel, daß das Fränkische und das Deutsche Reich stets über eine bimetallische Währung verfügten – auch wenn nur Silber geprägt wurde. Das Verhältnis von Gold und Silber ist als deren Grundlage konstant mit 12:1 gerechnet worden. Die Geldmaterie war seit 793/94 darüberhinaus definiert durch das karolingische Grundgewicht (a), durch die Einheiten des Münz- *und* des

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21 *Ibidem*, S. 32.

22 Im folgenden nach ID., *Sizilische tari - italienische libbra - nordwesteuropäische Mark*, in *Pegolottis 'Pratica della Mercatura' (1310-1340) in neueren Forschungen* (*Hochfinanz, Wirtschaftsräume, Innovationen. Festschrift für Wolfgang von Stromer*), 1, hrsg.v. U. BESTMANN, Fr. IRSIGLER, J. SCHNEIDER, Trier, 1987, S. 431 ff.; vgl. zum Augustalis H. KOWALSKI, *Die Augustalen Kaiser Friedrichs II.*, in *RSN*, 55, 1976, S. 94.

23 Vgl. R. METZ, *op. cit.*, S. 345, 355 (er berechnet die Relation von Gold zu Silber auf 1:11,96); vgl. auch Th. CHRISTMANN, *Das Bemühen von Kaiser und Reich um die Vereinheitlichung des MünzwesenS. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Rechtsetzungsverfahren im Heiligen Römischen Reich nach dem Westfälischen Frieden* (*Schrr. z. Rechtsgesch.*, 41), Berlin, 1988, S. 34.

24 LUSCHIN, S. 295.

Gewichtsgeldes (b) sowie durch deren Relationen innerhalb ihrer jeweiligen Systeme (c)[25]. Seit 1231 wurden die grundlegenden Goldgewichtseinheiten zuerst im Süden/Westen, dann auch im Norden/Osten des Reiches wieder durch reale Goldmünzen repräsentiert.

Wir haben es beim Geldwesen und der Währung im Deutschen Reich bis ins späte Mittelalter mit statischen und nicht mit dynamischen Ordnungsvorstellungen zu tun – seit 793/94 gebunden an den silbernen karolingischen Denar anstelle des goldenen konstantinischen Solidus[26]. Ihre Grundlagen waren nicht durch Angebot und Nachfrage auf einem Markt der Edelmetalle und auch nicht durch schwankende Wertrelationen bestimmt.

IV. Noch die (Reichs-) Münzordnungen des 15./16. Jahrhunderts dokumentieren das fortwährende, letztlich vergebliche Bemühen von Kaiser und Reich um ein Bewahren konstanter (älterer) gegenüber den in der Praxis sich durchsetzenden fluktuierenden (jüngeren) Gold-Silber-Relationen. Am Ende dieser Entwicklung standen die Aufgabe der Doppelwährung und die Einführung einer Parallelwährung im Deutschen Reich mit den Reichsmünzordnungen von 1559/66. Der silberne Reichstaler und der goldene Dukat wurden zu Leitmünzen, der Gulden zu einer Recheneinheit[27].

Als die geld- und währungspolitische Praxis zu kontinuierlichen Änderungen der offiziellen Wertverhältnisse und somit auch zu politisch sanktionierten Kurssetzungen zwang, kam es zu öffentlichen Diskussionen, von denen uns Zeugnisse bis ins späte 16. Jahrhundert überliefert sind[28].

Im Reiche wurde der Preis des gemünzten Edelmetalls seit 1521 zum Gegenstand von Verhandlungen zwischen der bergwerkbesitzenden «Silberpartei», der zwar nicht über Bergwerke, aber über einen starken Handel verfügenden «Goldpartei» und einer dritten, nur zahlenmäßig starken Gruppe der «Habenichtse an Münzmetall»[29]. Spannungen werden sichtbar, denen jedoch erheblich ältere regionale Strukturen zugrundelagen.

Die Sächsischen Münzschriften des Jahres 1530 geben Zeugnis von diesen Auseinandersetzungen. Die «Gemeine Stymmen» nahmen Partei für die Tradition. Nach Ansicht des Verfassers bildeten die geprägte Münze und ihr Kurs nur eine unzulängliche Basis für ihre Wertschätzung, denn sie seien «der natur on yhr selbst entkegen .../ die do von Gott gepflantzt» worden sind; es «bleibt ewig / und ynn aller welt / als ein Gren odder lot silbers ist / und bleibet so viel als an yhm selber»[30]. Dem Autor der zweiten Schrift kam hingegen «die Einführung des göttlichen Wortes als Grundlage in der

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25 Zur Reform von 793/94 s. H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzfuß*, S. 74, 114ff.

26 Vgl. dazu ID., *Die Münzordnungen im Deutschen Reich vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1871/72*, in *Geld und Währung in der Neuzeit vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, hrsg. v. E. SCHREMMER (14. *Arbeitstagung der Ges. f. Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*), Dortmund, 1991 (i. Druck).

27 H. WITTHÖFT, *Münzordnungen* (i. Druck).

28 Ein Beispiel einer derartigen Anpassung gibt J. ROSEN, *Relation Gold : Silber und Gulden : Pfund in Basel 1360-1535 (Weltwirtschaftliche und währungspolitische Probleme seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, hrsg. v. H. KELLENBENZ (*Forschungen z. Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgesch.*, 23), Stuttgart, 1981), S. 25-38. Zum langfristigen Wandel von metrologischen, auch numismatischen Normen unter dem Einfluß der sozioökonomischen Veränderungen im Deutschen Reiche s. H. WITTHÖFT, *Köln und Troyes*, S. 51ff.

29 Th. CHRISTMANN, *op. cit.*, S. 46ff.; auch R. METZ, *op. cit.*, S. 40f.

30 *Gemeyne stimmen von der Müntz / vnd ob es dem hause vnd Fürstentumb zu Sachssen Ehrlicher vnd zutreglicher sey / die alte gute Müntz zubehalten / oder geringere anzunemen [1530] (Die drei Flugschriften über den Münzstreit der sächsischen Albertiner und Ernestiner um 1530*, hrsg. v. W. LOTZ, K.F. JÖTZE (*Sammlung älterer und neuerer Staatswissenschaftlicher Schriften des In- und Auslandes*, 2), Leipzig, 1893, S. 10; s. auch H. WITTHÖFT, *Gold. Silber.. Gold... Geld. Vom Grund eines uralten Vertrauens* (*Diagonal. Zum Thema : Geld*), Siegen, 1991, S. 8f.

Vorrede ... billig wie schlaue Berechnung vor»[31].

Die Interessen des Kaufmanns und der Berggewerken standen gegen die des Landesherren, die Auffassung vom göttlichen, natürlichen Grund eines konstanten Silberwertes gegen die Forderung nach einer neuen, aber marktgerechten Bewertung.

Als es der polnische König Sigismund I. auf den Reichstagen von 1526 und 1528 unternahm, die Münzsysteme Polens, Litauens und seiner neuen preußischen Provinzen zu vereinheitlichen, vertrat Nikolaus Kopernikus als Mitglied des preußischen Rates in einer Schrift von etwa 1525 die Ansicht, «que généralement chez tous les peuples, une livre d'or pur vaut 12 livres d'argent pur»[32]. Die Ergebnisse der Reform waren «conformes aux idées de Copernic et 'introduisait en Pologne le système bimétallique sur la base de la relation 1 sur 12'»[33].

Wie Kopernikus schrieb auch noch Jean Bodin um 1568, «aussi il ne se trouve point de prince qui change la proportion de l'or à l'argent, qui est quasi comme d'un à douze, gardée en toute l'Europe»[34]. Er war augenscheinlich mit einer Diskussion vertraut, die der Engländer Thomas Smith mit seinem *Discourse of the Common Weal* um 1549 ausgelöst hatte.

Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary am englischen Hofe, erachtete es noch in seinem *Treatise on the Money of the Romans* aus dem Jahre 1562 als Naturgegebenheit, «that the proportion of silver and gold in the coinage was a fixed unalterable ratio of 12 to 1»[35]. Zur Verteidigung der guten Münze gegen das «debasement of coinage» seiner Zeit schlug Thomas Smith eine Brücke zurück in die Antike. Bereits von Aristoteles sei das Geld «der allgemeine Maßstab aller Dinge genannt worden».

Auf die Frage, «wie sie es denn in Frankreich und Flandern machen, wo sie Messinggeld, gemischtes Geld, reines Silber und reines Gold nebeneinander im Umlauf haben», ließ Smith noch um 1581 versichern : «indem sie ein angemessenes Verhältnis jedes Metalls zum andern einhalten, wie z.B. von Messing zu Silber wie 100:1, von Silber zu Gold wie 12:1». Bereits Plato habe berichtet, «daß zu seiner Zeit das genannte Verhältnis zwischen Gold und Silber bestand, und dasselbe ist auch noch heute so geblieben. Denn 12 Unzen Silber sind heutigen Tages nur eine Unze reinen Goldes wert[36].»

Von der Spannung zwischen traditionellem Denken und jüngeren fiskalischen, vor allem aber merkantilen Erfahrungen zeugt noch der Satz aus dem Speyrer Reichstagsabschied vom Jahre 1570, daß «die Münzgerechtigkeit kein Mercantzey, sondern unser Kayserl. Regal» sei, und daß die Stände sie «nicht zu ihrem selbst

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31 *Die Müntz Belangende. Antwort vnd bericht* : ... 1530 (Lotz, S. 26 ff.); s.a. H. WITTHÖFT, *Geld*, S. 9.

32 I.A. Nicolas COPERNIC, *Discours sur la Frappe des Monnaies* ... (J.-Y. LE BRANCHU, *Écrits Notables sur la monnaie XVIe de Copernic à Davanzati* (*Collection des principaux économistes*), Nouvelle éd., Tome I, Paris, 1934, S. 18 f.; vgl. J. MALLEK, *Das letzte Stadium der Münzreform im Königlichen Preußen und Herzogtum Preußen in den Jahren 1530-1531* (*Studia Maritima*, IV), Wrocław etc., 1985, S. 32ff.

33 J.-Y. LE BRANCHU, XVIIIff.

34 J. BODIN, *La response de Maistre Iean Bodin Advocat en la Cour au paradoxe de Monsieur de Malestroit, touchant l'encherissement de toutes choses, & le moyen d'y remédier*, Paris, 1568 (Branchu 142); vgl. R. METZ, *op. cit.*, S. 5.

35 M. DEWAR, *The Authorship of the* Discourse of the Commonweal, in *EconHistRev*, 19, 1966, S. 390f.

36 W[illiam] S[mith], *Eine kurz gefaßte Prüfung von gewissen alltäglichen Beschwerden verschiedener unserer Landsleute in diesen unseren Tagen* ..., London, 1581 (*W. Stafford's Drei Gespräche über die in der Bevölkerung verbreiteten Klagen* [1581], hrsg. v. E. LESER (*Sammlung älterer und neuerer Staatswissenschaftlicher Schriften des In- und Auslandes*), Leipzig, 1895, S. 110ff.

gesuchten Vorteil, sondern (...) dem Heil. Reich zu Ehren und Wolfahrt brauchen sollen»[37].

Von einer Wertkonstanz von Gold und Silber ist bezeichnenderweise in den staats- und geldtheoretischen Schriften seit dem 17. Jahrhundert nicht mehr die Rede. Der grundlegende Wandel der ökonomischen Verhältnisse im 15./16. Jahrhundert hatte auch die Struktur des Geldwesens in ganz Europa verändert. Der Geldbegriff hatte endgültig und allgemein sein natürliches Fundament verloren und war ökonomisch rational geworden.

37 Hier zitiert nach CHRISTMANN, S. 84.

# In welchen «Librae» forderte Normannenhäuptling Gottfried im Jahr 882 Gold- und Silber-Tribute von Kaiser Karl?

Elisabeth NAU*

Im Juli 882 belagerte Kaiser Karl III., genannt «der Dicke» (876- (881-887) zwölf Tage lang das Heer der Normannen unter ihren Königen Gotafried und Sigifried in deren Festung Elsloo an der Maas nördlich von Maastricht. Als die Eingeschlossenen schon an ihrer Rettung verzweifelten, gelang es Bischof Liutward von Vercelli und dem korrupten, von den Feinden mit Geld bestochenen Grafen Wigbert, den Kaiser umzustimmen und ihm Gottfried zuzuführen, den er wie einen Freund aufnahm. Trotz eines Massakers, das die Normannen unter den in eine Falle gelockten Franken anrichteten, stand der Kaiser bei der Taufe Gottfrieds Pate und überschüttete den Täufling mit Geschenken. Er erhielt die Grafschaften und Lehen, die ehedem sein Landsmann Rorik im sogenannten Kennemerland um Harlem und Alkmaar und auf der Betuwe inne gehabt hatte[1] und nahm fortan die Stellung eines Dux im Rheindeltagebiet ein[2]. Obendrein erhielt er zum Entsetzen des kaiserlichen Heeres eine aus geplünderten Kirchenschätzen stammende Kontribution von 2412 Libras reinsten Goldes und Silbers. So berichtet es die vierte Fortsetzung der *Annales Fuldenses*[3]. Sie umfaßt die Jahre 882 bis 887 und wurde in Mainz von dem aus Fulda stammenden Mönch Meginhard auf Geheiß Erzbischofs Liutbert (863-889) geschrieben[4].

Die fünfte Fortsetzung der Fuldaer Annalen, welche die Jahre 882 bis 901 umfaßt, entstand in Regensburg, der Residenz der letzten ostfränkischen Karolinger[5]. Der unbekannte Verfasser schildert die Ereignisse von Elsloo anders als Meginhard, vor allem ohne dessen Hass-erfülte Verdammung Karls. Bei ihm bewirkt ein schreckliches Unwetter die Sinneswandlung des Kaisers. Der Täufling ist hier Gottfrieds Mit-König Siegfried und die Kontribution beträgt 2080 Libras *vel paulo plus*. Wie ist die Diskrepanz zu erklären und welches Gold-und Silbergewicht verbirgt sich hinter diesen Angaben ?

Mit dieser Frage befaßte sich in den Jahren 1983-1985 Harald Witthöft[6] und blieb dabei ganz in den Spuren von Adolf Soetbeer[7] und Benno Hilliger[8]. Wie Soetbeer hält er die Angabe des Regensburger Chronisten *duo mille libras et octoginta* für ein Versehen. Gemeint seien eigentlich 2000 librae und dabei handele es sich ümnormannisches Gewicht, hinter dem sich eine um 4% leichtere fränkische Mark verberge, die sich zu

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* Stuttgart.

1 E. DÜMMLER, *Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte. Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, 3. Bd. *Die letzten Karolinger*, Leipzig, 1880, S. 201 ff.

2 A. ANGENENDT, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe. Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte* (*Schriftenreihe des Inst. f. Frühmittelalter-Forschung d. Univ. Münster*, 15. Bd.), hg. v. K. HAUCK, Berlin-New York, 1984, S. 260 ff.

3 *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores* I, hg. v. G.H. PERTZ, Hannoverae, 1826, S. 395ff.

4 L. FALCK, *Mainz im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Geschichte d. Stadt Mainz* II, Düsseldorf, 1972, S. 36.

5 Wie Anm. 3.

6 H. WITTHÖFT, *Maß und Gewicht im 9. Jahrhundert. Fränkische Traditionen im Übergang von der Antike zum Mittelalter*, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 70, 1983, S. 457-482; ID., *Münzfuß, Kleingewichte, pondus Caroli und die Grundlegung des nordeuropäischen Maass- und Gewichtswesens in fränkischer Zeit. Sachüberlieferung und Geschichte* (*Siegener Abhandlungen zur Entwicklung der materiellen Kultur*, Bd. 1), hg. v. H. WITTHÖFT u.a., Ostfildern, 1984; ID., *Die Rechnung und Zahlung mit Gold und Silber nach Zeugnissen des 6. bis 9. und 13./14. Jahrhunderts*, in *HBN*, 30/32, 1976/78 (1985), S. 9-36.

7 A. SOETBEER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geld- und Münzwesens in Deutschland* (*Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, Bd. 6), Göttingen, 1866, S. 55 f.

8 B. HILLIGER, *Gold- und Silbergewicht im Mittelalter*, Halle (Saale), 1932, S. 5 ff.

2000 normannischen Mark wie 2083 1/3 verhalte[9]. Weil beim Mainzer Chronisten 2412 Librae genannt seien, müsse es sich dort um eine Angabe in Mainzer Mark handeln. So projezieren die genannten Autoren die erst für das 13. Jahrhundert errechnete Mainzer Mark von 235,3429 g zurück ins 9. Jahrhundert und Witthöft errechnete auf dieser Grundlage eine bisher unbekannte normannische Mark von 283,823 g und eine fränkische von 272,907 / 272,470 g. Ein in Dorestad gefundenes Gewichtstück von 283,65 g und das alte römische 10-Unzen-Pfund von 273 g liefern eine scheinbare Bestätigung für die aus fragwürdiger Quelleninterpretation gewonnenen Hypothesen.

Doch damit ist die Frage nach der Zusammensetzung des Gold- und Silber-Tributs nicht gelöst. Hilliger hatte in der Annahme, das Gewicht des karolingischen Reformdenars habe 1,7055g und das dazu gehörende Pfund 409,32 g betragen, eine Silbermenge von 851 385,6 g und etwas darüber – *vel paulo plus* – errechnet. Zum Goldanteil schwieg er sich aus.

Witthöft rechnete die fränkische Libra auf das Doppelte der von ihm gefundenen Mark 272,160 x 2 = 544,320 g hoch, wonach die 2083 1/3 Librae des Regensburger Anonymus 1133,999 kg gewogen haben sollen. Auch Witthöft kann nicht mitteilen, aus wieviel Silber und wieviel Gold der in Elsloo gezahlte Tribut bestand.

Da ich es für methodisch falsch halte, regionale Markwerte des hohen Mittelalters auf das 9. Jahrhundert anzuwenden und die karolingische Libra zu 20 Solidi = 240 Denare als Doppelwert einer Mark zu interpretieren, möchte ich hier eine Lösung vorschlagen, die sich exakt an den Wortlaut der schriftlichen Quellen und an die realen Gewichte karolingischer Münzen hält.

Der Regensburger Chronist überliefert 2080 libras *vel paulo plus*; *quam libram viginti solidos computavimus expletam*. 20 solidi sind im Sprachgebrauch jener Zeit 240 Denare. Dank Morrison und Grunthal[10] kennen wir das Durchschnittsgewicht der um das Jahr 880 umlaufenden Pfennige. Aus 2060 unbeschädigten Exemplaren aus der Zeit von Karl d. Kahlen (840-877) bis zu Karl d. Dicken (876-887) ergibt sich ein Dgw. von 1,562 g[11]. So waren 2080 Librae ein Silbergewicht von 779 750,4 g. Die 2412 Librae des Mainzer Chronisten müssen das gleiche Gewicht repräsentiert haben. Damit errechnet sich die Gewichtseinheit, in welcher die Tributzahlung geleistet wurde, mit 779 750,40 g : 2412 = 323,279 g, das ist etwas weniger als die schwere römische Libra von 327,60 g. Deshalb sagt der Regensburger Chronist, es wären vielleicht auch etwas mehr als 2080 Librae gewesen[12]. Gottfried (in der Regensburger Fassung Siegfried) forderte und erhielt seinen Tribut demnach nicht in normannischer oder fränkischer Mark – die es vor dem 11. Jahrhundert nicht gab –, sondern in schweren römischen Pfunden, nach denen man hier im Norden des Reiches noch im späten 9. Jahrhundert rechnete. Das bestägtigt u.a. auch ein in der Münzsammlung Brüssel aufbewahrtes, im belgischen Bereich gefundenes spätkarolingisches Gewichtsstück, das 327,1 g wiegt[13]. Obwohl die vom bairischen Chronisten genannten 2080 Librae die Rechnung nach römischen Pfunden nicht abdecken, machten sie aus seiner Perspektive durchaus Sinn. Rechnet man 2080 Pfund auf die Summe von 779 750,4 g, dann ergibt sich ein Pfundgewicht von 374,88 g (779 750,4 g : 2080). Es ist identisch mit dem Gewichtspfund des karolingischen Reformdenars : 1,562 g x 240 = 374,880 g und verhält sich wie 8 : 7 zum römischen Pfund : 1,56 g x 210 = 327,60 g. Die Differenz zwischen beiden Pfunden beträgt 30

9 Warum ist eigentlich keiner dieser Autoren auf die doch näher liegende Annahme einer Regensburger Mark eingegangen ?

10 K.F. MORRISON-H. GRUNTHAL, *Carolingian Coinage* (*NNM*, 158), New York, 1967.

11 Für die damaligen Zeitgenossen in der Praxis des Geldverkehrs war nur das Durchschnittsgewicht der al pondo geprägten Denare relevant. Die von der bisherigen Forschung den Berechnungen zugrunde gelegten Gewichte des Reformdenars 1,705 g oder 1,814 g sind unrealistisch. Vgl. dazu meine Besprechung der Arbeiten H. Witthöfts in *BlDeutscheLandesgesch*. 126, 1990, S. 403-409.

12 Bei vollen römischen Pfunden hätten es 2380 Librae sein müssen (779 750,40 g : 327,60).

13 H. WITTHÖFT, *op. cit.*, 1984, S. 8.

Denare = 1 Mankus = 1 langer Schilling. Das kann kein Zufall sein, sondern zeigt offenbar eine Regensburgisch-bairische Besonderheit an.

Der Tribut wurde nicht nur in Silber, sondern auch in Gold gezahlt. Korrespondierend mit dem schweren römischen Pfund liefen bei Friesen und Sachsen schwere Goldsolidi um, die mit über 4 g noch dem konstantinischen Standard entsprachen und zu 40 Denaren gerechnet wurden, wie es ein Capitular Jahr 816 festgelegt hatte[14]. Das Dgw. der seit der Währungsreform Karls d. Gr. 793/4 geschlagenen fränkischen Denare beträgt 1,56 g. Das ergibt sich aus 332 bei Morrison-Grunthal aufgeführten unbeschädigten Exemplaren aus Karls d. Gr. zweiter Regierungsperiode und stimmt mit dem Dgw. der spätkarolingischen Denare praktisch überein[15]. Damit entsprachen einem 40 Denar-Solidus 62,40 g Silber. Der aus den *Annnales Fuldenses* errechnete Tribut von 779 750,4 g ist also in Denaren ausgedrückt = 499 840 Denare = 12 496 Aurei. Die glatten Rechnungen beweisen die Richtigkeit der zugrunde gelegten Einheiten.

Aus wievielen Denaren, Aurei und ungemünztem Silber und Gold sich die Zahlung effektiv zusammensetzte, können wir nicht wissen. Das hing von der aktuellen Verfügbarkeit der Zahlungsmittel ab. Wichtig für uns ist die Erkenntnis, daß die Tributzahlung auf der Grundlage des schweren römischen Pfundes, der schweren Aurei und Reformdenare erfolgte, daß das Gesamtgewicht 779 750,4 g betrug, was 499 840 Denaren oder 12 496 Aurei entspricht.

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14 MGH Cap. I, S. 268 (zitiert nach H. WITTHÖFT, *op. cit.*, 1984, S. 13) : Capitula legi addita. 816.

15 Das genaue Dgw. beträgt 1,557 g, aufgerundet 1,56 g und so zum römischen Pfund verrechnet (siehe oben).

# The Hoard of Lillegærde in Bornholm

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The total number of coins from the Roman iron age and the era of the Great Migration found on Bornholm has grown remarkably in recent time. Within the last decennium about 720 Roman *denarii* and three *solidi* have come to light. All the coins were found in or near sites, some of them having been deposited under the houses as hoards, others lying scattered over the fields. The hoards of Sorte Muld and Sylten, with about 100 and almost 70 *denarii* respectively, were found in the neighbourhood of Ibsker in the north-east corner of Bornholm, where there is a striking concentration of finds. And there is another concentration of finds in the south of the island where the Smørenge hoard, with more than 500 *denarii* and a *solidus*, was found in 1985. But apart from the Roman coins there has also been a large increase in the finds of Viking age coins, and quite often the Viking age finds appear in the same sites as those of the iron age.

Most of the finds occur along the coast in safe distance from the shore, and this is also the case with the hoard of Lillegærde (in Danish «Small fence»), a farm situated few kilometers from the north-east coast of Bornholm. In the spring of 1989, an amateur archeologist, who searched one of the fields with a metal detector came upon a number of Viking age silver coins and informed the Museum of Bornholm, which made a regular excavation and found the main hoard. The content of the hoard is till now 86 silver coins : one Greek drachm, one Byzantine miliaresion, three Cufic dirhems, 22 Anglo-Saxon coins, 54 German, 7 Danish and one Polish coins and besides 21 pieces of scrapsilver weighing from 1.11 to 10.84 g. It is possible that the field of Lillegærde still hides a few coins belonging to the hoard[1], but sooner or later they are sure to be brought into light by one of the able metal detector people.

*The metal detectors of Bornholm*

There is a special relationship between the Museum of Bornholm and the detector people of the island, and one may say that the whole situation was changed when the museum some ten years ago added Mrs. Margrethe Watt to its staff. She started a close cooperation between the detector amateurs and the antiquarian authorities represented by the Museum.

A few figures may illustrate this. When Georg Galster published his *Viking Age Hoards of Bornholm*[2], he knew of 48 Viking age hoards and single finds. The number of single finds was 18. Most of them were from the 18th and the 19th centuries, only five were from the 20th century, and no one was later than 1929 ! In the period between 1929 and 1984, i.e. for 55 years, no Viking age coins were reported as single finds from Bornholm.

In the period between 1984 and 1990, we have had 32 coins found as single finds, two Ommayad dirhems[3], four Abbasid dirhems[4], two Samanid dirhems[5], no less than 17

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1 In 1992 we got one more dirhem from the 10th century, two Anglo-Saxon coins (a fragment of a quatrefoil and Edward the Confessor, radiate small cross from Stamford, Leofric), and three German coins, one of which from Cologne, Häv. 34, the other from Soest, Häv. 849.

2 G. GALSTER, *Vikingetids Møntfund fra Bornholm*, in *NNÅ*, 1977-78, p. 5-246.

3 *Protocol of Finds (FP)*, 4673, 4731.

4 *FP*, 4677, 4796, 4797, 4802.

5 *FP*, 4382, 4814.

German coins[6], two Wendenpfennige[7], three English coins[8], one Danish coin[9], and a Byzantine imitation[10]. Most of the coins are found at sites, often at regular excavations and sometimes in graves. The coins, which are not found at the excavations, were found by the amateurs.

This spring we were privileged to take part in one of the regular meetings between Mrs. Watt and the amateurs. More than 20 persons gathered in a local school, each of them presented the new finds, most of them had coins, sometimes even many coins, and we realized that this autumn or winter – after registration by the finders themselves and the Museum of Bornholm – we should expect scores of denars, very many fragments of dirhems and German coins as well as some English and Danish coins.

The legal foundation for the antiquarian activities are of course the *Danefæ* law, according to which all coins found in Danish earth belong to the King and shall be given to the authorities (local Museum / National Museum / Royal Collection of Coins and Medals / State Antiquarian). The finders get some recompensation, but we get very often the impression that what really matters are our letters with the crowned letterhead of the National Museum explaining the contents of the finds.

It is difficult for us, or rather it is obviously impossible for us to have close connections to all the detector users of the Kingdom, but thanks to the local museums, of which the Museum of Bornholm in this respect is especially important, our harvest of coins is not diminishing.

The first Viking age hoard of Bornholm since Store Frigaard 1929 was, as will be realized, the Lillegærde hoard, to which we now shall return.

It has 89 coins and is dated to the mid 11th century. It has a radiate small cross from Edward the Confessor (after 1044), four Svend Estridsen's coins from Lund (after 1046/7) and an Erfurt coin (Dbg. 883) from the same time.

The *Greek coin* is an Alexander drachm, possibly one of the posthumous issues. It seems to be die linked with the *SNG Cop*. 977, a much worn specimen of unknown provenance and uncertain mint. The drachm from Lillegærde was found separately, and there is no proof that it was part of the main hoard. But it had a central position in the critical area, and the fact that it has got pecks and notches makes it probable that it belonged to the hoard and functioned as scrap silver just as the other coins.

Greek coins do now and then turn up in Denmark. At present[11], the total amounts to 12 items including an Alexander tetradrachm from Jutland, but most of the finds are clearly secondary. On the other hand Mariusz Mielczarek's survey on Greek coins found in Central, Eastern and Northern Europe lists a dozen Alexander coins from Eastern Poland and Russia, and a few pieces from Czekoslovachia and Austria. Thus the possibility that our Alexander drachm came with the flow of silver from one of these areas cannot be totally excluded.

The *Byzantine miliaresion* was struck by John I Zimisces (969-976). Byzantine coins from the 9th and 10th centuries were part of the silver flow which in this period reached Scandinavia from south and east. The more than 600 Byzantine silver coins

6 *FP*, 4058, 4351, 4582 (2), 4709, 4805 (4), 4806 (5), 4816 (2), 4819.
7 *FP*, 4351, 4805.
8 *FP*, 4131, 4803, 4805.
9 *FP*, 4806.
10 *FP*, 4803.
11 Cf. M. MIELCZAREK, *Ancient Coins found in Central, Eastern and Northern Europe*, Warszawa, 1989, p. 189-192.

which have been found in Sweden[12], especially in Gotland, form a small percentage of very many Viking age hoards. In Denmark the number of Byzantine silver coins is more modest. Till now 20 coins have been found in 13 hoards.

The miliaresia of John Zimisces are not uncommon in this connection. In Scandinavia they make up 18-22 % of the Byzantine find material, whereas in Southern Russia and Poland, the percentage is still larger[13].

The three *Cufic coins* have been identified by Gert Rispling[14]. There is a wide chronological distance from the oldest one, struck in 807/8 A.D. by Harun al Rashid, to the two later ones, 920/1 and 951/2 A.D., struck under the Samanid Nasr ibn Ahmad and the Buwayhid Rukn al Dawla respectively. But as the intervening periods are represented, more or less abundantly, by other Cufic coin hoards[15], it seems reasonable to look upon our three dirhems as a casual segment of the coin stock from which the hoard was formed. A few early Abbasid dirhems occur in quite a number of the 10th and even 11th century hoards and must have been at hand at a late date.

Here it should be proper to mention a strange coin in the hoard, which for the first time occurred in a Danish context, the strange «mule», at one side imitating a Western Islamic dirhem from Spain and at the other side imitating a Byzantine coin. The series was discussed by Vera Hatz and attributed to the Middle Rhenian area, eventually Verdun[16].

*The composition of the hoard*

Apart from the Greek drachm, the Lillegærde hoard is not outstanding among the local Viking age hoards, whose main components are Cufic, Anglo-Saxon, German and Scandinavian coins. For present time, we know twelve 11th century hoards from Bornholm[17] with more than 10 coins, and apart from the atypical Brandsgård hoard they are all rather uniform. Usually 0-3 % of the coins are Cufic, 60-90 % are German, 10-28 % Anglo-Saxon and 5-20 % Scandinavian, mostly Danish. In addition to that many hoards contain a small element of Polish, Bohemian, Hungarian, Italian, Byzantine or even Roman coins.

The 11th century hoards from Bornholm (scheme I) have no exact parallel in Denmark or for that matter in any of the neighbouring areas. It appears that the four main components are the same all over the find areas, but the proportions are different.

The hoards from Jutland, Funen and Zealand[18] (schemes II-IV) are analogous in many ways : the dirhems have almost disappeared, the German coins are only a little more numerous than the Anglo-Saxon ones and many hoards contain a large percentage of Danish issues, especially the ones from eastern Zealand and from the area south of the Limfiord in Jutland.

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12 Br. MALMER and I. HAMMARBERG, *Byzantine Coins found in Sweden* (*Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, nova series, 2), Stockholm, 1989.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 16.

14 Cf. *Sigtuna Papers. Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, vol. 6, Stockholm, 1990, p. 191.

15 Cf. A. KROMANN, *The Latest Cufic Coin finds from Denmark*, in *Sigtuna Papers*, *op. cit.*, 1989, p. 185-186.

16 V. HATZ and U.S. LINDER WELIN, *Deutsche Münzen des 11. Jhrdts nach Byzantinisch-Arabischem Vorbild in den schwedischen Funden der Wikingerzeit* (*Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, II), Stockholm, 1968, p. 1-38.

17 Cf. G. GALSTER, *Vikingetids Møntfund fra Bornholm*, in *NNÅ*, 1977-78, p. 8-9.

18 Cf. R. SKOVMAND, *De danske Skattefund fra Vikingetiden*, in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1942, p. 29-168.

## Scheme I

| BORNHOLM | Total | *T.p.q.* | Cu | % | Ger | % | Ang | % | Sc | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Brandsgård | 152 | 1000 | 67 | 44 | 18 | 12 | - | - | 65 | 43 |
| 2. Holsegård | 217 | 1002 | - | - | 146 | 67 | 61 | 28 | 1 | 0.5 |
| 3. Munkegård | 986 | 1002 | 32 | 3 | 588 | 66 | 169 | 19 | 6 | 0.8 |
| 4. Rutsker | 32 | 1002 | 1 | 3 | 27 | 84 | 4 | 12 | - | - |
| 5. Enegård | 852 | 1038 | 7 | 0.8 | 701 | 81 | 104 | 12 | 34 | 4 |
| 6. Bolbygård | 1001 | 1042 | - | - | 944 | 94 | 19 | 2 | 13 | 1 |
| 7. Rosendaleg | 27 | 1046 | - | - | 24 | 88 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 4 |
| 8. Skellegård | 13 | 1047 | - | - | 9 | 69 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 23 |
| 9. Lillegærde | 88 | 1050 | 3 | 3 | 53 | 60 | 23 | 26 | 6 | 7 |
| 10. Tornegård | 104 | 1051 | 1 | 0.9 | 74 | 76 | 9 | 9 | 16 | 15 |
| 11. Simblegård | 28 | 1065 | - | - | 26 | 93 | - | - | - | - |
| 12. Store Frig. | 1116 | 1106 | 24 | 2 | 947 | 81 | 121 | 10 | 60 | 6 |

## Scheme II

| JUTLAND | Total | *T.p.q.* | Cu | % | Ger | % | Ang | % | Sc | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Pilhus | 72 | 983 | 8 | 10 | 5 | 7 | - | - | 60 | 83 |
| 2. Grågård | 118 | 983 | 5 | 4 | 23 | 20 | 2 | 2 | 83 | 73 |
| 3. Enner | 1318 | 1024 | 3 | 0.2 | 568 | 43 | 680 | 52 | 24 | 2 |
| 4. Louns | 111 | 1037 | - | - | 13 | 12 | 18 | 16 | 79 | 71 |
| 5. Kongsø | 666 | 1037 | - | - | 386 | 58 | 195 | 30 | 80 | 12 |
| 6. Munksjørup | 134 | 1044 | - | - | 17 | 13 | 60 | 43 | 56 | 42 |
| 7. Lyngby | 454 | 1053 | - | - | 124 | 27 | 146 | 32 | 87 | 19 |
| 8. Tørring | 2527 | 1060 | - | - | 1285 | 51 | 50 | 20 | 440 | 17 |
| 9. Siem | 23 | 1080 | - | - | 8 | 2 | - | - | 20 | 85 |
| 10. Jegstrup | 32 | 1086 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 32 | 100 |
| 11. Bjerregrav | 33 | 1086 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 33 | 100 |

## Scheme III

| FUNEN | Total | *T.p.q.* | Cu | % | Ger | % | Ang | % | Sc | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Yholm | *c.* 475 | 1002 | 27 | 6 | 163 | 34 | 231 | 49 | 65 | 13 |
| 2. Hågerup | 1416 | 1048 | - | - | 714 | 50 | 595 | 42 | 99 | 6 |
| 3. Særslev | 23 | 1104 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 23 | 100 |

## Scheme IV

| ZEALAND | Total | *T.p.q.* | Cu | % | Ger | % | Ang | % | Sc | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Overby | 83 | 1016 | - | - | 77 | 93 | 6 | 7 | - | - |
| 2. Keldstrup | 1098 | 1018 | 10 | 0.9 | 307 | 28 | 725 | 66 | 22 | 2 |
| 3. Strøby | 52 | 1044 | - | - | 15 | 28 | 23 | 44 | 9 | 17 |
| 4. Ølsted | 31 | 1047 | - | - | 16 | 51 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 42 |
| 5. Skørpinge | 22 | 1047 | - | - | 8 | 36 | 1 | 4 | 13 | 59 |
| 6. Roskilde | 16 | 1047 | - | - | 1 | 6 | 3 | 19 | 12 | 75 |
| 7. St. Tårnby | 1200 | 1053 | 2 | 0.1 | 930 | 77 | 153 | 13 | 77 | 6 |
| 8. Bonderup | 240 | 1065 | - | - | 6 | 2 | 149 | 62 | 84 | 35 |
| 9. Kirke Værl. | 338 | 1065 | - | - | 61 | 18 | 36 | 11 | 240 | 71 |
| 10. Selsø | 1297 | 1060 | - | - | 350 | 27 | 44 | 3 | 892 | 69 |
| 11. Holsteinsb | 440 | 1080 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 436 | 96 |
| 12. Allerslev | 524 | 1110 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 524 | 100 |
| 13. Haraldsborg | 628 | 1132 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 628 | 100 |
| 14. Græse | 895 | 1131 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 895 | 100 |
| 15. Tessebølle | 590 | 1131 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 590 | 100 |

In the old Danish province of Scania[19] (scheme V), the Scandinavian issues are less predominant, whereas there is a constant Anglo-Saxon trend of 30-50 % in most of the hoards.

Scheme V

| SCANIA | Total | *T.p.q.* | Cu | % | Ger | % | Ang | % | Sc | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Igelösa | 1058 | 1002 | 14 | 1 | 134 | 13 | 900 | 85 | - | - |
| 2. Sturkø | 312 | 1002 | 14 | 4 | 176 | 56 | 110 | 35 | 10 | 3 |
| 3. Häköpinge | 420 | 1002 | 0 | - | 223 | 53 | 191 | 45 | 2 | 0.5 |
| 4. Ö. Herrestad | 375 | 1023 | 0 | - | 248 | 66 | 117 | 31 | 1 | 0.3 |
| 5. Villie | 369 | 1028 | 0 | - | 689 | 74 | 230 | 24 | 5 | 0.4 |
| 6. Grönby | 1461 | 1042 | 0 | - | 695 | 48 | 755 | 50 | 13 | 0.9 |
| 7. Öja | 369 | 1042 | 0 | - | 124 | 34 | 125 | 34 | 119 | 32 |
| 8. Hvitaby | 125 | 1047 | 0 | - | 55 | 44 | 127 | 31 | 32 | 25 |
| 9. Äspinge | 800 | 1051 | 0 | - | 4000 | 50 | 3046 | 40 | 1000 | 12 |
| 10. Borup | *c.* 190 | 1068 | 0 | - | 100 | 52 | 30 | 15 | 60 | 31 |
| 11. Börringe | 135 | 1054 | 0 | - | 28 | 21 | 78 | 57 | 29 | 21 |
| 12. Fjälkinge | 635 | 1068 | 0 | - | 363 | 57 | 72 | 11 | 200 | 32 |
| 13. Vanneberga | *c.* 250 | 1074 | 0 | - | 49 | 20 | 174 | 70 | 32 | 13 |
| 14. Gärestad | 1415 | 1074 | 0 | - | 1070 | 76 | 275 | 19 | 34 | 2 |
| 15. Löddeköp | 411 | 1080 | 0 | - | - | | 0 | - | 408 | 99 |
| 16. Johannish | 4000 | 1120 | 0 | - | 3414 | 85 | 480 | 12 | 134 | 3 |

In Gotland (scheme VI) a selection[20] of the largest hoards from each decennium indicates that, even if the percentage of the German and the Anglo-Saxon coins is approximately the same as in Scania, the Scandinavian issues are extremely few, but the Cufic factor is much more endurant than in Scania and western Denmark.

Scheme VI

| GOTLAND | | Total | *T.p.q.* | Cu | % | Ger | % | Ang | % | Sc | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 23 | 1318 | 1002 | 108 | 8 | 821 | 62 | 357 | 27 | 16 | 1 |
| 2. | 57a. | 1045 | 1006 | 74 | 8 | 526 | 50 | 319 | 30 | 17 | 2 |
| 3. | 84 | 1564 | 1018 | 108 | 7 | 737 | 47 | 653 | 42 | 44 | 3 |
| 4. | 171 | 1207 | 1038 | 105 | 9 | 422 | 35 | 630 | 52 | 33 | 3 |
| 5. | 12 | 1200 | 1047 | 27 | 2 | 915 | 76 | 218 | 18 | 29 | 2 |
| 6. | 82 | 1394 | 1053 | 812 | 58 | 233 | 17 | 289 | 21 | 24 | 2 |
| 7. | 18a | 1310 | 1059 | 13 | 1 | 1043 | 80 | 201 | 15 | 38 | 3 |
| 8. | 98 | 621 | 1070 | 5 | 0.8 | 484 | 78 | 111 | 18 | 16 | 3 |
| 9. | 38 | *c.* 3000 | 1079 | 14 | 0.4 | 1735 | 58 | 1200 | 40 | 15 | 0.3 |
| 10. | 54 | 2300 | 1089 | 80 | 3.5 | 1365 | 59 | 739 | 32 | 91 | 4 |
| 11. | 49 | 1732 | 1099 | 56 | 0.3 | 930 | 54 | 589 | 34 | 142 | 8 |
| 12 | 113 | 838 | 1110 | 34 | 4 | 243 | 29 | 477 | 56 | 57 | 7 |
| 13. | 71 | 1240 | 1120 | 10 | 0.8 | 1064 | 86 | 123 | 10 | 24 | 2 |

Turning to Pomerania and the Western Slavic areas (schemes VII-VIII) we find a similar component of Cufic coins in the hoards[21]. The Anglo-Saxon coins, however, are much reduced compared to Scandinavia, while the German ones, as might be expected, play an important part. Scandinavian issues are almost absent from the Polish hoards,

19 *Ibidem*, p. 134-141.

20 The selection has been made from the numerous hoards cited in note 12, p. 95-96.

21 The schemes are based on the surveys in L. GAJEWSKI, I. GORSKA, L. PADEREWSKA, J. PYRGALA og W. SZYMANSKI, *Skarby Wczesnosredniowieczne z obszaru Polski (Early Mediaeval Hoards in Poland)*, Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne i Numizmatyczne, Wroclaw, 1982; T. and R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Wczesnosredniowieczne Skarby Srebrne z Pomorza*, in *Polskie Badiania Archeologiczne*, 4, 1959, p. 134; R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Wczesnosredniowieczne Skarby Srebrne z Polabia*, Wroclaw, 1964, p. 84.

which instead are characterized by an element of Hungarian and Bohemian coins besides the local ones.

Scheme VII

| POMERANIA | Total | *T.p.q.* | Cu | % | Ger | % | Ang | % | Sc | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Slupsk I | (2536) | 991 | 5+ | 02 | 2500 | 99 | 5 | 0.2 | 1 | 0.0 |
| 2. Kurowov | 29 | 991 | 6 | 21 | 22 | 76 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| 3. Bogucino | 163 | 995 | 26 | 16 | 136 | 83 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 4. Polozin-Z | 215 | 996 | 13 | 6 | 145 | 67 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 5. Wicimice | 500 | 996 | 10+ | 1 | 320+ | 60 | 10+ | 2 | 8+ | 0 |
| 6. Kopytkowo | 30 | 1004 | 2 | 7 | 19 | 61 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 0 |
| 7. Dargocice | 248 | 1011 | 22 | 9 | 160 | 64 | 2 | 0.8 | 0 | 0 |
| 8. Kamieniec | (343) | 1011 | + | ? | 307 | 89 | 24 | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 9. Bydgoszcz III | 210 | 1016 | 2 | 2 | 174 | 83 | 17 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 10. Bierzglow | 529 | 1024 | 12 | 3 | 461 | 87 | 12 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 11. Bielawy | 31 | 1029 | 1 | 3 | 12 | 39 | 2 | 6 | 0 | 1 |
| 12. Mgowo | (669) | 1034 | 95 | 14 | 486 | 72 | 39 | 6 | 11 | 2 |
| 13. Gdansk-O. | (343) | *c.* 1068 | 2 | 0.5 | 317 | 92 | 7 | 2 | 9 | 3 |

Scheme VIII

| WESTERN SLAVIC | Total | *T.p.q.* | Cu. | % | Ger | % | Ang | % | Sc | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Anex Kl. Rosch | 694 | 1011 | 3 | 0.4 | 650 | 94 | 4 | 0.6 | 0 | |
| 2. Oranienb. | 60+ | 1002 | 7 | 12 | 49 | 82 | 0 | | 3 | 5 |
| 3. Ragow | 178+ | 1002 | 3 | 2 | 170 | 96 | 1 | 0.5 | 3 | 2 |
| 4. Schwaan I | 1436+ | 1024 | 221 | 15 | 867 | 60 | 293 | 20 | 55 | 4 |
| 5. Farve | 1866+ | 1035 | 8 | 0.41 | 665 | 89 | 190 | 10 | 3 | 0.1 |
| 6. Waterneverd. | 402 | 11th c. | 330 | 82 | 19 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 1 |

The hoards of Bornholm with their overwhelmingly large percentage of German issues compared to the Anglo-Saxon ones differ from those of western Denmark, Scania and even Gotland. Still the Anglo-Saxon component in Bornholm is considerably larger than in the Polish hoards, and the same is the case with the Scandinavian ingredient. The – hardly surprising – conclusion must be that the flow of silver to Bornholm came from various directions. But since the hoards are so homogenous, we must also conclude that they were mixed after their arrival, and that there was a certain circulation of silver in Bornholm during the 11th century.

*The hoard from Lillegærde, Bornholm. Preliminary catalogue*[22]

Macedonia

1. Drachm, Alexander the Great (336-323 B.C.), *SNG Cop.* 977, 4,05 g.

Byzantium

2. Johannes I Zimisces (969-996), *BMC* pl. LIV, 13.

The Califate

3. Abbasid, 8th cent.?, fragment
4. Samanid, Nuh b. Nasr (951-954?)
5. Samanid, Abdul Malik? (954-961).

Denmark

6. Knud (1018-1035), Viborg, Hbg. 46, Svartgol
7. Hardeknud (1035-1042), Lund, Hbg. 12
8. Magnus the Good, Lund, Hbg. 15

22 We owe a very great thank to Dr. Peter Ilisch, Münster, for his advise about the classification of several German coins.

**9-11.** Svend Estridsen, Lund, Hbg. 13, fragment.

## England

Ethelred II (978-1016)
Long Cross
**13.** Chester, Leoffine, Syll. 497
**14-16.** Lincoln, Edelnod, Syll. 547; Osgut, cfr Syll. 571; Osmund, Syll. 574
**17.** Thetford, Osbern, Syll. 1232.
Helmet
**18.** Canterbury, Leofwic, Hild. 211
**19.** London, Aedelwerd, Syll. 698-699.
Small Cross
**20.** London, BRHFERD, Syll. 719 (die-identical)
**21.** London, PVLRRED, (not in Syll.).

Cnut
Quatrefoil
**22.** Ilchester, Aelfwine, cfr Syll. 941-946
**23.** London, Dodwine, cfr Syll. 2647
**24.** Oxford, Alfwold, cfr Syll. 3246-3247
**25.** Watchet, Gotcild, cfr Syll. 3918.
Pointed helmet
**26.** Hereford, Ælewig, Syll. 1229-1230
**27.** Stanford, Leofwold, cfr Syll. 3615.
Short cross
**28.** Stanford, Durulf, cfr Syll. 3674-3680.
Imitations (Scandinavian)
**29.** Small cross as Ethelred, DORCEL M-O LVND, Syll. 2946 (die-identical),
**30.** ÉLFPINE ON PHRA (imit?).

Harold I
**31.** Fleur de lis, Glouchester, Wulfered, cfr Syll. 139-140
**32.** Fleur de lis, retrograd.

Edward the Confessor
**33.** Radiate small cross, Hereford, Wulfstan
**34.** Radiate small cross, Wulfstan, (fragment).

## Germany

German Empire
**35.** Cfr Verdun, Heinrich I (919-936), but later imitation
**36-37.** Andernach, Dbg. 433b, 449b
**38.** Niederlothringen, Häv. 170
**39-40.** Netherlands?
**41.** Netherlands, Namur?, Huy?
**42.** Bruxelles, Otto III, Dbg. 905
**43-46.** Cologne, cfr Häv. 34
**47.** Cologne, Conrad II, 1036, Häv. 247
**48.** Remagen, Dbg. 431, Häv. 214
**49.** Duisburg, Conrad II, Berghaus 1
**50.** «Mintona», Duisburg-type, Heinrich II
**51.** German imitation of Arabic and Byzantine coin, Dbg. 1185/1240, Vera HATZ, *Commentationes* II, type VI
**52-53.** Deventer, Heinrich II as emperor (1014-1024), Dbg. 564
**54.** Tiel, Heinrich II as king (1002-1014)
**55.** Tiel, Heinrich II-Conrad III, cfr HATZ, 6-12, 26-28
**56.** Tiel, Heinrich II as emperor (1014-1024), Hatz 15-24
**57-59.** Soest, Häv. 849
**60.** Soest, Häv. 849-50
**61.** Goslar, Heinrich III as emperor (1046-1056), Dbg. 668
**62-63.** Goslar, Heinrich III or later, Dbg. 668 seq.
**64.** Goslar, Heinrich IV as king (or Heinrich III), cfr Dbg. 669 seg.
**65-72.** Otto-Adelheid, late types, Hatz III-V
**73.** Otto-Adelheid, Imitation?

**74** Wenderpfennig, cfr Gumowski 429, I
**75.** Cfr Erfurt, Heinrich III (1039-1056), Dbg. 883
**76.** Würzburg, *c.* 1020-1034, cfr Kellner 31
**77-78.** Mainz, Dbg. 778/779
**79-81.** Mainz, Willigis (975-1011), Dbg. 802
**82.** Mainz?, Willigis?, cfr Dbg. 802?
**83-84.** Worms, Dbg. 842
**85.** Speyer?, Dbg. 834?, two fragments
**86-88.** Small fragments.

Poland
**89.** Mieszko I (*c.* 960-992), Suchodolski 1.

# Coin Hoards as an Historical Source Material. Methodological thoughts on the Basis of the Danish Hoards from the Middle Ages

Keld GRINDER-HANSEN*

*a. Introduction to the Danish medieval hoards c. 1050-1550*

During the last decade a group of numismatists and medieval historians at the Danish National Museum has been preparing a major catalogue, concerning all medieval hoards found inside the borders of present Denmark from the period *c*. 1050-1550, in all 327 hoards. This work is now in its final stage and the two volume catalogue will be published in the spring of 1992[1].

The aim of this work has been to collect the total knowledge of the Danish medieval hoards, as it is available in inventories, archives and collections at the National Museum. The medieval hoards constitute a very important historical source material, which now for the first time in its entirety is made accessible for research.

The 327 hoards are distributed over the centuries as follows :

Medieval hoards *c*.1050-1550 :

| Period | Numbers |
|---|---|
| 1050-1100 | 33 |
| 12th Cen. | 29 |
| 13th Cen. | 54 |
| 14th Cen. | 126 |
| 15th Cen. | 53 |
| 1500-1550 | 32 |
| in all | 327 |

Most of the hoards are pure coin hoards (274 out of the total of 327 hoards). Mixed hoards, where other kinds of valuable objects, such as jewellery, bars and hack silver are present, are also common, especially in the 11th and the first half of the 12th century (in all 46 hoards). Among the medieval hoards only 7 are known which exclusively contain shaped precious metal. The numismatic definition of a hoard in our catalogue is : two or more coins, which are lost or buried at the same time. The single found late medieval gold coins are thereby excluded from the catalogue, even though from a point of value they should be considered a hoard rather than many of the small change hoards[2]. During my work with this catalogue it has become more and more evident to me, that before making a scientific exploitation of this large, heterogeneous medieval hoard material it is necessary to consider basic, methodological thoughts on the character of hoards and their general possiblities and restrictions as source material. It is some of these methodological reflections I will thouch upon in this paper, especially focusing on the hoards in the

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* The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. National Museum, Copenhagen.

1 J. STEEN-JENSEN, K BENDIXEN, Fr. LINDAHL, N.-K. LIEBGOTT, under medvirken af K. GRINDER-HANSEN and G. POSSELT, *Danmarks middelalderlige skattefund, ca. 1050-1550*, 2 vols., Copenhagen, 1992, with an Introduction in English.

2 An inventory of the considerable number of single finds of late medieval gold coins from Denmark until 1966 is presented in A. KROMANN & O. MØRKHOLM, *Danske guldmøntfund fra middelalderen*, in *Årbøger over Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1966, p. 71-101.

recovery processes, and the selection processes in the life time of the hoards, ending up with the presentation of a practical model for a classification of hoards[3].

*b. The hoards in the recovery processes*

The coins in a hoard have passed through a number of selection processes from the time of their issue until they reach the numismatist's desk. These can be divided into processes in the life time of the hoards in the Middle Ages and processes connected with the recovery of the coins in modern time[4].

It is only a small fraction of the original circulating body of coins which were picked out and deposited in hoards, and even fewer remained concealed. The high degree of randomness in these selection processes means however that the coin material, which «survives» the processes, in principle must be considered representative towards parts of the original coin circulation. The selection in the recovery phases can and often will interfere with the value as a source of the surviving coin material. It is therefore important to try to separate the elements in the hoards which are a result of the selection in the Middle Ages from the elements which can be attributed to the recovery processes.

The first unavoidable selection of the hoard material in the recovery process lies in the fact that it is only a smaller part of the once buried hoards which will be found again. The degree of recovery inside an area depends on a number of factors :

*Topographical factors* such as the development in the natural surroundings, the intensity of cultivation, the structure of settlement, the population density.

*Human factors*, by which I mean the awareness of the population towards the historical value of the recovered hoards, and the hoard finders' knowledge about and will to observe the existing legislation.

*Research factors*, that is the treatment of the hoards from the time of recovery through the registration processes, to their keeping in the museum collections (Fig. 1).

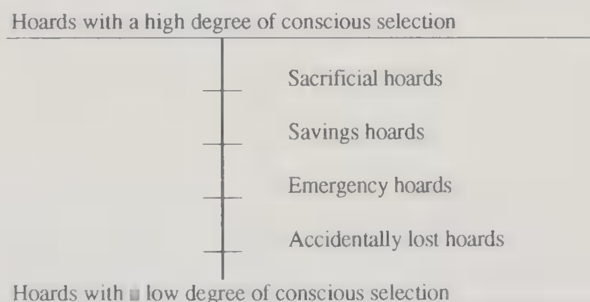



*Fig. 1. A classification of the Danish medieval hoards.*

The find conditions of the Danish medieval hoards are in general insufficiently documented. Only 11 of them have been found during archaeological investigations, and reexamination of the find spots has taken place in only 8 more cases[5]. Another interesting fact in connection with the selection in the recovery phases can be seen in the distribution of Danish medieval hoards after the time of find. The hoards distribute themselves in a very characteristic pattern. An absolut peak in the numbers of recovered hoards is reached in the decades 1840-1890, where 43% of the known medieval hoards or 142 are found.

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3 A more detailed discussion of these methodological aspects is given by the present author in Chapter 5 of the Introduction to *op. cit.*, ref. 1 : *Categories of treasure-hoards and their composition*, p. 119-127.

4 P. SARVAS, *Münzschätze und Münzschatzfunde*, in *Lagom, Festschrift für Peter Berghaus*, ed. by Th. FISCHER and P. ILISCH, Münster, 1981, p. 3-10.

5 Chapter 6 of the Introduction to *op. cit*, ref. 1 : N.-K. LIEBGOTT, *The Find-Contexts of the Hoards*, p. 128-133.

The find concentration in this period must be explaned by changes in the Danish cultural landscape. More intensive cultivation methods in the country resulted in more recovered hoards, just as the increased construction activities in the towns are reflected in the hoard material.

Another interesting feature, which can be observed in the Danish hoard material is that hoards buried in the same period also seem to have a tendency towards being recovered in the same decades. For instance 30 hoards out of a total of 65 hoards from the period 1286-1330, the so-called «civil war period», were found during the last six decades of the 19th century. The explanation could be that the hoards have been buried approximately in the same depth, and that the level of this period's hoards was reached by the new depth ploughing in the second half of the 19th century[6]. To conclude this brief discussion on the hoards in the recovery processes, it can be stated that the hoards lost or buried in the Middle Ages are representative parts of the original coin circulation, while the recovered hoards can be so, depending on the state of their recovery, which must be carefully judged in every single case.

*c. Classification of coin hoards*

While working empirically with the large medieval coin hoard material, it has been necessary for me to establish a classification system, which allows for distinctions between several main groups of hoards[7].

An applicable practical classification for the medieval hoards takes its starting point in the degree of conscious selection in the life time of the coins, as it is reflected in the composition of the hoards.

In that way it will be possible to distinguish between different main types of hoards with different representativity of the original circulating body of coins. This allows a more varied judgment on the source value of every hoard, with regards to the coin circulation in the Middle Ages and the general economic history of the different parts of medieval Denmark.

In its own life time a hoard is formed by both general and individual selection factors. Among the general I can mention the coin issue of the state, the capital export and import ratio, changes in the relation between local and foreign coins in circulation, the inflation rate and the general laws of monetary circulation. The individual factors are linked to the person who has put the hoard together. What was his financial position, and what parts of the coin circulation were chosen for disposal? What function did the hoard have – was it a savings, an everyday sum of money, or a sacrificial hoard? What events caused the dispositing – war, plundering, or illness, or perhaps in many cases other events. In that connection, it should be mentioned that the Danish medieval hoard material does not unambiguously point towards wars and plunderings as the main reasons for the burial of the hoards[8].

In order to find out how these general and individual selection factors have influenced the hoards, you have to examine the coin composition and the find condition of them. You must also make structural comparisons between hoards, which geographically and chronologically belong together, in order to separate – if possible – the individual and the general features in every single hoard. The aim is to reveal to what extent every single hoard can be considered as representative of the original circulating body of coins and with that also to what extent the composition of the hoard reflects a

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6 K. GRINDER-HANSEN, *Some Reflections on the Reason for the Depositing and Recovery of Hoards*, in *NNÅ. Nordic Numismatic Journal*, 1991.

7 A thorough discussion of different classification models for hoard materials is presented in K. GRINDER-HANSEN, *Klassifikation af skattefund*, in *NNUM* (forthcoming).

8 *Op. cit.* ref. 6.

conscious selection in the Middle Ages. From that point of view the following practical classification for the Danish Medieval hoards can be established :

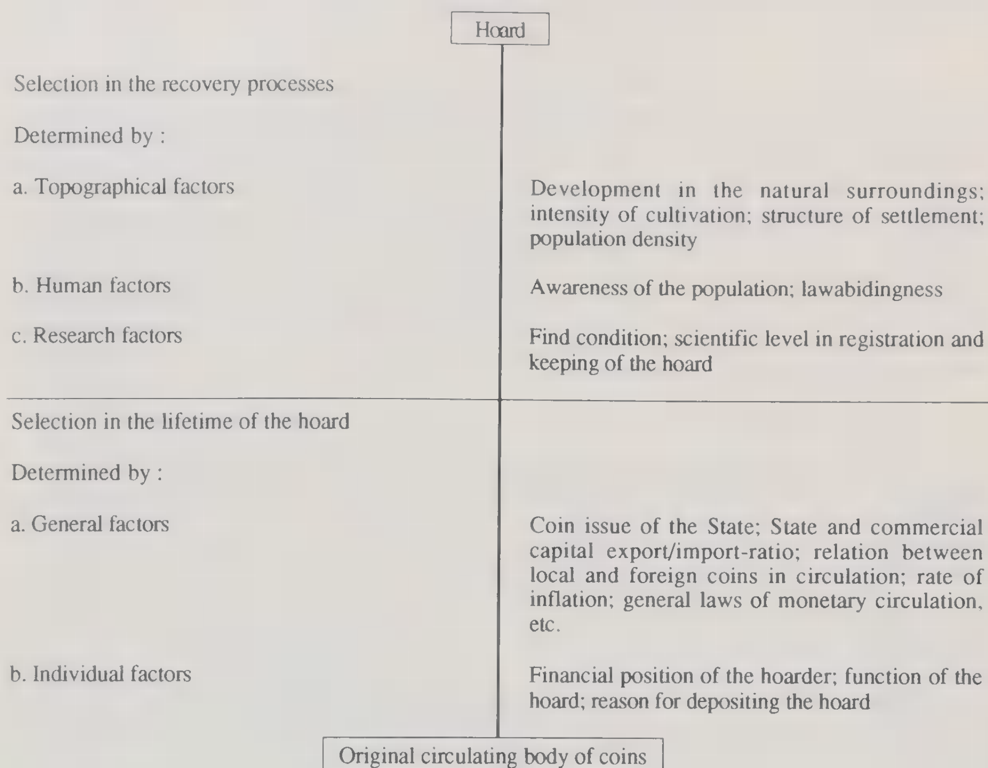



*Fig. 2. The selection processes which form a hoard.*

*1. Sacrificial hoards*

Hoards, which the owners have deliberately parted with, without any wish to recover them later. The composition of these hoards is not determined by monetary conditions. Worn-out coins, often of a considerable age are chosen, just as specially preferred coin types. The numismatic interpretation must therefore be made with the utmost caution. The medieval hoard material contains several examples of the so-called «Dead Man's Treasures», where smaller or larger sums of money were placed in the grave with the dead[9]. Another kind of sacrificial hoard, which is represented in the Danish medieval hoard material is hoards deposited in foundations stones[10].

*2. Savings hoards*

Savings hoards consist of coins, accumulated over a period of time, which are added to at intervals. The spread in the age structure of the hoard is often large, and the coins distribute themselves unevenly inside the temporal frames of the hoard. Savings hoards comprise typically the finest coins, with the highest weight and best condition, which the hoarder had at his disposal. The composition of the savings hoard displays a high degree of conscious selection. The largest Danish medieval gold coin hoard from Slagelse in Zealand seems to be an example of such a savings hoard. Most of the coins,

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9 K. GRINDER-HANSEN, *Penge til færgemanden, Mønter i dødekulten*, in *NatA*, 1988, p. 115-125, with an English summary and ID., *Dødemønter fra de danske kirkegårde og kirkegårde*, in *Hikuin*, 17, 1990, p. 147-162, English summary p. 292-293.

10 Fr. LINDAHL, *Om mønter og medailler som bygningsofre*, in *NatA*, 1956, p. 93-102.

like the represented jewellery, were between 20 and 100 years old when the hoard was buried in the 1370's. Perhaps this hoard has been a pawnbroker's booty or the money box of a wealthy person[11].

*3. Emergency hoards*

Unlike the savings hoard, the emergency hoard is put together with a higher degree of randomness. The coins in the hoard are not especially selected for savings, but represent the available sum of money, which a person had at a given moment, when events of some kind made him hide his capital. The coins will distribute themselves over a shorter or longer period, showing different degrees of wear according to the coin's age and time spent in circulation. The emergency hoard reflects the composition of denominations and their relative frequency in the general circulation pool at the time of the hoarding, with the exception that the base coinage is heavily underrepresented[12]. Denmark's largest hoard from Kirial in Jutland, containing more than 81000 coins, must for instance be regarded as an emergency hoard. Most of the coins are North German bracteates, many of which at the time of the burial, around 1365, were relatively new and commonly reprensented in coin circulation. The use of kitchen vessels also may indicate that a hoard was buried hastily, and did not constitute a savings hoard[13]. Most of the medieval hoards must have been emergency hoards, even though this interpretation for most of the hoards, cannot be ascertained.

*4. Accidentally lost hoards*

A sum of money, which the owner had not planned to end up as a hoard. Unforeseen events of some kind made it into a hoard – the owner's loss of his purse (the Næsbyholm-hoard[14]), or a ship wreck, which sent the merchant's capital to the bottom of the sea (the Vejby-hoard[15]). There is no conscious selection in connection with the depositing of this kind of hoard, which therefore may well be the best direct reflection of the monetary circulation in medieval Denmark. Unfortunately accidentally lost hoards only constitute a very small part of the total hoard material.

*d. Conclusion*

It must be stressed that the theoretical approach to the hoard material, which I have presented here only constitutes the first – but in my opinion crucial – step, when working with a source material as comprehensive as the Danish hoard material. Only by systematizing and defining your theoretical tools of work from the start, is it possible to make full empirical use of such source material.

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11 ID. and J. STEEN JENSEN, *Skattefundet fra Slagelse 1883*, in *Årbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1983, p. 123-178.

12 B. Thordeman first demonstrated this proportionality between numbers of coins issued and numbers of coins deposited in hoards in his study on the coin composition of the Lohe Hoard. B. THORDEMAN, *The Lohe Hoard, a Contribution to the Methodology of Numismatics*, in *NC*, s. 6, 8, 1948, p. 188-204.

13 J. STEEN JENSEN, *Møntfundet fra Kirial pa Djursland*, in *NNÅ*, 1970, p. 37-168.

14 Catalogue no. 14 in *op. cit*, ref. 1.

15 Catalogue no. 210 in *op. cit.*, ref. 1.

# Un débat séculaire : l'application en matière monétaire du *Sachsenspiegel* et de la *Confoederatio* (1220) dans l'Empire

Jean BAERTEN*

Il y a plus d'un siècle que numismates et historiens allemands débattent de la question de savoir si les empereurs allemands frappèrent monnaie en lieu et place des évêques lorsqu'ils réunirent une cour dans la résidence de ceux-ci. Comme toujours en l'absence de textes clairs, on a tenté de combler le vide par l'imagination. Nous présenterons d'abord les sources tant diplomatiques que narratives utilisables, avant de montrer comment elles ont été interprétées et quelle critique nous pouvons en faire, entre autres à la lumière des sources numismatiques. Force nous sera dès lors de conclure en faveur de l'une des thèses en présence.

## *I. Les sources*

Nous distinguons les sources de portée générale de celles qui ont trait à une ville déterminée.

### *A. Sources générales*

Le célèbre livre de droit allemand, le *Sachsenspiegel* que l'on date de plus en plus d'avant 1220, rapporte que la monnaie et le tonlieu sont «vides» dès qu'un roi se rend dans une ville[1]. Le paragraphe 10 de la *Confoederatio cum principibus ecclesiasticis* que l'empereur Frédéric II conclut le 26 avril 1220 avec les princes ecclésiastiques en suivant – comme il le prétend lui-même – l'exemple de son grand père Frédéric Barberousse, précise quelque peu le principe, tout en ne faisant pas état d'émission de monnaie. En effet, l'empereur défend seulement à ses officiers d'émettre des prétentions à l'égard de la *jurisdictio* en matière de tonlieu et de monnaie, sauf pendant une période de huit jours avant et huit jours après la tenue d'une cour annoncée publiquement[2].

À la demande de l'évêque de Worms, il est encore question en novembre 1230 de ces droits dans la *Sententia de regalibus non infeodandis*. Celle-ci interdit aux princes ecclésiastiques d'inféoder sans autorisation impériale les droits régaliens tels que le tonlieu, la monnaie et la justice parce que, lors d'une de ces cours, l'empereur devait pouvoir les percevoir intégralement[3].

L'empereur avait donc des droits, notamment en matière monétaire, sous certaines conditions et pendant une période relativement brève, mais les documents ne précisent pas comment ces droits étaient exercés. La frappe monétaire n'apparaît pas explicitement.

### *B. Textes se rapportant à des villes particulières*

On dispose de quelques textes qui règlementent, depuis le milieu du XIIe jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle, le droit de frappe dans cinq endroits déterminés, à savoir trois ateliers épiscopaux, un atelier impérial et un atelier urbain.

1. Le texte le plus ancien est l'acte de 1165 par lequel Frédéric Ier confirme les droits et devoirs des monétaires de Worms. Ceux-ci étaient tenus de frapper une certaine

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1 *Sachsenspiegel, Landrecht*, éd. K.A. ECKHARDT, Göttingen, 1955, III 60, 2.

2 *M.G.H., L.L. Friderici II constitutiones 1220*, n°73, art. 10.

3 *Ibidem*, n°212.

quantité d'argent fourni par l'empereur et de lui délivrer la même quantité de deniers. Le matériel, les coins et les ouvriers étaient fournis par leur maître[4].

2. Un parallèle intéressant est fourni par un privilège concédé aux monnayeurs de Goslar en 1231-1235 par le roi Henri VII qui remplaça son père Frédéric II. Bien que ce fût un atelier impérial, mais parce que les monétaires avaient formé une «Hausgenossenschaft» qui leur assurait des privilèges étendus[5], le roi dut préciser qu'il lui restait un droit qu'il pouvait exercer lors de la tenue de cours, à savoir que l'atelier avait l'obligation de lui frapper cent marcs d'argent[6].

3. C'est encore d'argent impérial qu'il est question dans l'ordonnance édictée par Henri VI pour Gênes, en 1194. Si on ignore tout ici de l'ampleur de l'émission, on est au moins renseigné sur le fait que la monnaie était frappée *in forma ianuensium*, c'est-à-dire que le type local génois était respecté[7].

4-6. Nous disposons encore de trois textes relatifs à Magdebourg. Dans les deux premiers, Otton IV de Brunswick renonçait en 1200-1209 à s'emparer du tonlieu et de la monnaie pour les convertir à son profit, même pendant les périodes de cours[8]. Ce sont là des concessions énormes accordées en pleine querelle de ce Guelfe avec les Gibelins[9]. Aussi Frédéric II victorieux dut-il en 1216 également abandonner ce qui dans d'autres cités résultait du droit impérial en matière de monnaie et de tonlieu[10]. Quatre ans plus tard la *Confoederatio* devait implicitement mettre fin à cette faveur[11].

7. Enfin, une source normative messine attestée depuis le XIVe siècle, mais plus ancienne[12], affirme que l'empereur avait le droit de battre monnaie à sa guise dans la cité lorraine lorsqu'il y résidait, comme prévu dans la *Confoederatio*[13]. D'après des chroniques, dont la date de rédaction retiendra tout particulièrement notre attention, l'empereur Charles IV aurait, en 1356, usé de ce droit en émettant des gros et des florins[14].

Voilà le dossier qui a alimenté le débat entre défenseurs et opposants de la thèse prônant le droit de frappe effective des empereurs dont nous retraçons ci-dessousun bref état de la question.

*II. État de la question*

*A. Numismates*

Dès 1859, J. Leitzmann fit état de deux points de vue opposés : les uns s'appuient sur le *Sachsenspiegel* et sur l'acte pour Magdebourg pour défendre les émissions impériales, ce qui expliquerait, selon l'auteur, pourquoi certaines pièces représentent à la

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4 *M.G.H.*, *D.D. Friderici I*, n°491, p. 412-413. Voir aussi P. JOSEPH, *Die Münzen von Worms*, Darmstadt, 1906, p. 72-73.

5 N. KAMP, Moneta regis. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der königlichen Münzstätten und der königlichen Münzpolitik in der Stauferzeit*, Diss., Göttingen, 1957, p. 78.

6 *Goslarer Urkundenbuch*, 1, n°533, p. 510.

7 D. MENADIER, *Die Münzen und das Münzrecht der deutschen Rechsäbtissinnen im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1915, p. 37, d'après S. TOECHE, *Heinrich VI*, Leipzig, 1867, n°282.

8 W. JESSE, *Quellenbuch zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Halle, 1924, n°61, p. 20.

9 Ainsi que l'a observé N. KAMP, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

10 *M.G.H.*, *L.L.*, *Constitutiones*, 11, n°56, p. 68 et ss.

11 Voir n. 2.

12 Voir p. 92.

13 Manuscrit n°796 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Metz, p. 101 et J. FRANÇOIS et N. TABOUILLOT, *Histoire de Metz*, VI, Metz, 1787, p. 306-314.

14 Voir p. 91.

fois l'empereur et l'évêque; il avoue que d'autres auteurs limitent les droits de l'empereur à la perception des revenus monétaires[15]. Comme tenants des thèses minimaliste et maximaliste, on peut citer, pendant la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle, H. Grote et J. Cahn. Le premier dénia toute valeur au *Sachsenspiegel*, qui n'aurait fait qu'emprunter aux capitulaires de Charles le Chauve avant d'influencer à son tour l'acte magdebourgois[16]. Cahn fit grand cas des sources messines et admit que le numéraire épiscopal fut chaque fois temporairement retiré de la circulation pour faire place aux pièces impériales[17]. H. Dannenberg ne prit pas position, estimant le problème trop obscur parce que la nature des droits impériaux ne lui paraissait pas claire[18].

Dans la thèse qu'elle défendit en 1915, Dorothea Menadier estimait qu'il était économiquement impossible de retirer les pièces épiscopales de la circulation. En se fondant sur les textes relatifs à Goslar, Worms et Gênes, elle défendit l'idée que les empereurs jouissaient de l'abandon du droit de seigneuriage. Quant au témoignage messin (XIVe siècle), elle le jugea trop tardif pour servir de preuve pour la période antérieure[19].

Il s'en faut de beaucoup que cette thèse, critique certes mais pas assez à l'égard des sources messines, fasse l'unanimité. Il est vrai que H. Buchenau reconnut que les sources manquent trop de précision pour affirmer que les empereurs firent graver de nouveaux coins en arrivant dans une cité épiscopale et que les monnaies épiscopales furent retirées[20]. En outre, A. Loening partageait l'opinion selon laquelle seuls les revenus du droit régalien constituaient l'essentiel des droits impériaux[21]. Toutefois, H. Troe, sans tenir compte du parallélisme frappant entre eux, s'en prit aux textes cités par Menadier : celui de Worms ne règle pas les droits respectifs de l'empereur et de l'évêque alors que celui de Goslar a trait à un atelier royal[22]. R. Gaettens en conclut, un peu vite à notre sens, que l'argumentation de la numismate fut battue en brêche, pour se lancer dans des identifications douteuses en fonction des itinéraires possibles des souverains[23]. Seul A. Suhle demeurait imperturbable : pour lui c'était un peu trop facile d'attribuer des pièces indéterminées en fonction des déplacements des empereurs, et d'exiger de rechercher partout les fondements historiques et juridiques susceptibles d'expliquer l'émission de pièces impériales[24]. Il n'empêche qu'en 1962, G. Hatz donnait toujours la préférence au droit de frappe plutôt qu'au seigneuriage[25].

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15 J. LEITZMANN, *Über die von deutschen Königen in bischöflichen Städten geprägten Münzen*, dans *Numismatische Zeitung*, 25, 1859, p. 113.

16 H. GROTE, *Das Münzrecht der deutschen Könige und die Autorität des Sachsenspiegel*, dans *Münzstudien*, 9, 1877, p. 313-317, 329.

17 J. CAHN, *Ein Beitrag zur Frage des Münzrechts deutscher Könige*, dans *ZfN*, 20, 1897, p. 159 et 162-163.

18 H. DANNENBERG, *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*, 2, Berlin, 1876, p. 5 et 7.

19 D. MENADIER, *op. cit.*, p. 35 et 38.

20 H. BUCHENAU, *Der Brakteatenfund von Gotha*, Munich, 1928, p. 21.

21 A. LOENING, *Das Münzrecht im Erzbistum Bremen*, Weimar, 1937, p. 7-16.

22 H. TROE, *Münz, Zoll und Markt und ihre finanzielle Bedeutung für den Regierungsantritt Karls IV*, dans *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 32, 1937, p. 9-15.

23 R. GAETTENS, *Die Münzrechtsverhältnisse der Hohenstaufenzeit und des nachfolgenden Jahrhunderts*, dans *Blätter für Münzfreunde und Münzforschung*, 83, 1948, p. 15 et ID., *Das Geld- und Münzwesen der Abtei Fulda im Hochmittelalter*, Fulda, 1957, p. 34-35.

24 A. SUHLE, *Das Münzrecht des deutschen Königs in Bischofsstädten*, dans *Festschrift P.E. Schramm*, 1, 1964, p. 283-285 et ID., *Der Fund von Bébange und die Trierer Friedenspfennige*, dans *ZfN*, 34, 1924, p. 321.

25 Cfr G. HATZ, *Anmerkungen zu einigen deutschen Münzen des 11. Jahrhunderts (III)*, dans *HBN*, 16, 1962, p. 261.

*B. Historiens et juristes*

Les historiens du droit et des institutions restent en général près des textes : ils font prudemment état du fait que les droits régaliens monétaires sont vides[26] ou que les empereurs les prennent en main pour leur propre compte[27].

Dans son commentaire approfondi de la *Confoederatio*, E. Klingelhöfer n'utilise que le terme revenus («Einkünfte»)[28], en accord avec Luschin von Ebengreuth, qui toutefois fait appel à la chronique messine pour prouver l'application du *Sachsenspiegel* au XIVe siècle. Il n'en déduit cependant pas l'exercice systématique du droit de frappe[29].

En 1957 et 1967, deux historiens du droit défendirent dans des facultés de droit allemandes des thèses consacrées à la numismatique. Celle que N. Kamp présenta à Göttingen est encore inédite, exceptés deux articles dont nous parlerons plus loin. L'auteur s'est rendu compte de ce que chaque exemple pris à part n'aboutit pas à une conclusion absolument certaine, mais il estime que toutes les données prises dans leur ensemble rendent très probable l'idée que les rois exercèrent pleinement leur droit régalien. Il doute toutefois de ce que les Staufen auraient encore prétendu exercer dans tous les ateliers un droit autonome de frappe; le matériel numismatique connu n'autorise, selon lui, en aucune manière pareille conclusion[30]. Si Kamp se rendit compte de la faiblesse de l'argumentation avancée par les tenants de la thèse maximaliste, il ne la rejeta pas pour autant. Inédites, les nuances qu'il apporta n'eurent aucun effet, si l'on en juge par la thèse que l'élève de Gaettens, P. Volz, publia dix ans plus tard à Heidelberg. Pour ce dernier, il ne fait aucun doute que le roi avait le droit de prendre en main les ateliers ecclésiastiques où il réunit sa cour et qu'il émit de la monnaie royale proprement dite[31].

Dans les années soixante-dix, une explication nouvelle apparaît chez deux historiens. Au lieu de faire appel au *Sachsenspiegel*, E. Wadle et W. Metz rattachent les émissions royales dans les villes épiscopales aux services dus au roi : les *statuta servitia*[32] ou le *servitium regis*[33]. Metz combine la thèse maximaliste et la thèse minimaliste en suggérant que, lors de séjours de courte durée, le droit de frappe pouvait être remplacé par le prélèvement du seigneuriage[34]. En outre, conformément au souhait de Suhle, il envisage que le droit de frappe pourrait être cherché ailleurs; ainsi à Regensburg, il pourrait trouver son origine dans les droits des ducs de Bavière[35]. Malheureusement, dans le cas de Maastricht, il fait intervenir inutilement le *servitium regis*[36] alors que l'empereur avait conservé une partie de la ville et un atelier jusqu'à ce qu'au début du XIIIe siècle, il les cède au duc de Brabant[37].

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26 H. CONRAD, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I, Karlsruhe, 1962, p. 273.

27 K. SCHROEDER-VON KUENSTBERG, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1919[6], p. 569.

28 E. KLINGELHÖFER, *Die Reichsgesetze von 1220, 1231/2 und 1235. Ihr Werden und ihre Wirkung im deutschen Staat Friedrichs II*, Weimar, 1955, p. 44.

29 A. LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH, *Allgemeine Münzkunde und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Munich, 1973[2], p. 242.

30 N. KAMP, *Moneta regis*, Göttingen, 1957 (dactylographié), p. 89.

31 P. VOLZ, *Königliche Münzhoheit und Münzprivilegien im Karolingischen Reich und die Entwicklung in der sächsischen und fränkischen Zeit*, Heidelberg, 1967, p. 120.

32 E. WADLE, *Mittelalterliches Zoll-und Münzrecht im Spiegel der* Confoederatio cum principibus ecclesiasticis, dans *JNG*, 21, 1971, p. 197.

33 W. METZ, *Das* servitium regis, Darmstadt, 1978, p. 106.

34 *Ibidem*, p. 110.

35 *Ibidem*, p. 109.

36 W. METZ, *Quellenstudien*, dans *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 22, 1976, p. 229-230.

37 J. BAERTEN, *De tweeherigheid van Maastricht op numismatisch gebied*, dans *JEGMP*, 4, 1986, p. 9-14.

Nous pouvons clôturer cet état de la question par un article de N. Kamp qui résume bien le désarroi des tenants de la thèse maximaliste qui n'ont toujours pas trouvé d'arguments. Vingt-cinq ans après sa thèse déjà empreinte de doute, l'auteur avoue que, même si l'on connaissait mieux les itinéraires des empereurs ainsi que les coutumes, il serait douteux que toutes, voire même une partie seulement des monnaies royales ou des monnaies épiscopales pourvues d'attributs royaux provenant de cités épiscopales, puissent être expliquées par le retour temporaire des droits régaliens aux souverains[38].

La discussion lors du congrès de Bruxelles, en particulier l'intervention de notre collègue P. Berghaus, prouve cependant que la thèse maximaliste est loin d'être abandonnée outre-Rhin. C'est pourquoi il est nécessaire de poursuivre l'étude des sources messines, les seules qui soient explicitement favorables à ce point de vue, et de les soumettre à une critique sévère.

*III. Enquête historiographique*

Nous avons été frappé par le fait que les chroniques que le XIVe siècle nous a léguées ne rapportent rien au sujet de l'émission de Charles IV à Metz. Pourtant certaines d'entre elles sont bien informées[39]. Il en va de même de leurs successeurs du XVe. Jaique Dex, bien au fait de l'histoire de Metz, consacre une notice très développée au séjour de Charles IV dans la ville lorraine, mais ne souffle mot de la frappe monétaire[40]. Le doyen de Saint Thiébault[41] et les «Chroniques de la noble ville et cité de Metz»[42] n'en disent rien non plus.

La source la plus complète est sans conteste la chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles. Lui aussi ignore tout des gros et des florins frappés et distribués[43]. C'est pourtant lui que l'on trouve cité dans la littérature numismatique comme source principale. La confusion provient de la publication par Huguenin de diverses chroniques messines sous le nom de la plus connue : Philippe de Vigneulles[44].

Le premier auteur à attribuer une émission messine à Charles IV, du moins de monnaie d'argent, s'appelle Jacomin Husson, dont la chronique proprement dite se termine en 1518. Chose curieuse, il n'en fait état qu'à la date de 1438 où il ouvre une parenthèse pour fournir ce renseignement complémentaire qu'il n'avait pas communiqué

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38 N. KAMP, *Probleme des Münzrechts und der Münzprägung in salischer Zeit*, dans *Beiträge zum hochmittelalterlichen Städtewesen* (rééd. B. DEISTELKAMP) (*Städteforschung*, 11), Cologne-Vienne, 1982.

39 G. WOLFRAM, *Chronica episcoporum Metensium 1260-1376 (1530)*, dans *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 10, 1898, p. 325-327; *Chronica universalis Mettensis*, dans *M.C.H., S.S.*, XXIV, p. 524; *Heinricus de Diessenhoven, Chronik 1316*, éd. A. HUBER, dans *Fontes rerum Germanicarum* uitg. J.F. BÖHMER, IV, Stuttgart, 1868, p. 106; *Die Chronik des Mathias von Neuenburg*, éd. A. HOFMEISTER, 1955[2], dans *M.C.H., S.S. rerum Germanicarum*, N.S., IV, p. 486; *Chronik des Jacob Twinger von Königshofen*, dans C. HEGEL, *Die Chroniken oberrheinischen Städte Strassburg. Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, VIII, Leipzig, 1870, p. 482-483; *Chronicon Benessii de Weitmil in Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, IV, éd. J. EMLER, Prague, 1884, p. 525-526. Sur la valeur de cette source, écrite par un familier de Charles IV voir J. LOSERTH, *Die Chronik des Benesch Krabice von Weitmühl. Beitrag zur Kritik derselben*, dans *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, 53, 1875, p. 301-333.

40 *Die Metzer Chronik des Jaique Dex (Jacques d'Esch)*, éd. G. WOLFRAM (*Quellen zur lothringischen Geschichte*, IV), Metz, 1906, p. 303-307.

41 Manuscrit n°1008 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Metz, f°5 r°6 r°, publié par Dom CALMET, *Histoire de Lorraine*, V, Nancy, 1752, p. XII-XIII.

42 Dom CALMET, *op. cit.*, III, Nancy, 1740, p. CCXCI.

43 M. DORNER, *Philippe de Vigneulles. Un chroniqueur messin des XVe-XVIe siècles*, dans *Mémoires de l'Académie de Metz*, XLI-XLIII, 1913-1914 (1921) et Ch. BRUNEAU, *La chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles*, I, Metz, 1927, p. XV-XVII et II, Metz, 1929, p 36-38.

44 J.F. HUGUENIN, *Les chroniques de la ville de Metz*, Metz, 1838.

en traitant de la visite impériale[45]. Marie Dorner a naguère examiné les liens possibles entre de Vigneulles et Husson : elle rejette l'influence de l'un sur l'autre. Si elle écarte l'idée d'une source commune de ces auteurs, elle envisage par contre que leurs sources respectives auraient puisé à une source X commune, du moins pour la période antérieure à 1400. Après cette date, elle n'a plus constaté de parenté de source, sauf à partir de l'année 1464, lorsque commence Jean Aubrion, dont l'un et l'autre sont tributaires[46]. Le passage concernant la monnaie confirme son point de vue. Il faudrait toutefois ajouter une source Y, devant laquelle de Vigneulles et Husson auraient réagi différemment.

Nous y reviendrons[47] après avoir examiné la chronique dite de Praillon qui donne encore de plus amples détails en matière monétaire. Cette source importante, rédigée entre 1543 et 1556 – et que Huguenin publia sous le nom de Philippe de Vigneulles – rapporte la frappe de gros et de florins[48]. Dex étant muet sur le sujet, ce n'est évidemment pas à lui que ces renseignements peuvent être empruntés, contrairement à d'autres[49]. La question primordiale qui se pose est de savoir si l'un et l'autre ont utilisé une source contemporaine des faits que leurs prédécesseurs – Dex par exemple – et leurs collègues, tel Philippe de Vigneulles, auraient ignorée ou utilisée différemment. Avant qu'une telle hypothèse puisse être envisagée, il faut évidemment contrôler l'exactitude de l'informtion.

*IV. Enquête numismatique*

Elle a pour but de vérifier si les descriptions sont conformes à ce que l'on sait du monnayage de Charles IV. Les équivalences en monnaie messine sont conformes aux atours monétaires, mais il va de soi que ceux-ci se trouvaient aussi bien à la disposition des chroniqueurs qu'à celle des Bénédictins qui les publièrent[50].

Il en va tout autrement des types :

1. Les florins connus de Charles IV sont de deux ordres :
- ou bien le type florentin classique au saint Jean et au lys, frappé tant à Francfort[51] qu'à Luxembourg[52]
- ou bien le type à l'empereur couronné avec sceptre et globe au droit, et le lion de Bohême au revers[53].

On est donc loin du type accouplant l'empereur et l'aigle décrit par le chroniqueur.

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45 J. HUSSON, *Chronique de Metz 1200-1525*, éd. H. MICHELANT, Metz, 1870, p. 22, 70-71.

46 M. DORNER, *op. cit.*, p. 92, 95, 98.

47 Voir plus loin, p. 93.

48 Chronique dite de Praillon, manuscrit n°131 à la Bibliothèque municipale d'Épinal, f°84 r°-v°.

49 Voir l'introduction de l'édition citée n. 15.

50 Voir les atours en matière monétaire de 1340, 1359, 1364, publiés par J. FRANÇOIS et N. TABOUILLOT, *Histoire de Metz*, IV, Metz, 1787, preuves, p. 88-89 et 211-213; voir d'autre part J. SCHNEIDER, *Le mouvement économique à Metz pendant la deuxième moitié du XIVe siècle d'après les registres de la maltote*, dans *Bulletin philologique et historique jusqu'à 1715, 1948-50*, Paris, 1952, p. 61 et ID., *La ville de Metz aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Nancy, 1950, p. 258-259, dont l'information a été reprise par P. SPUFFORD, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, Londres, 1986, p. 182.

51 P. JOSEPH et E. FELLNER, *Die Münzen von Frankfurt-am-Main*, Francfort, 1896, p. 25-26 et p. 112 n°96, fig. 34.

52 E. BERNAYS et J. VANNÉRUS, *Histoire numismatique du comté puis duché de Luxembourg et de ses fiefs*, Bruxelles, 1910, p. 189-190, n°120.

53 K. CASTELIN, *O českých dukátech 14. století* [*On the Bohemain Gold Coins of the 14th Century*], dans *Numismaticky Časopis*, 19, 1950, p. 61-63 et A. ENGEL et R. SERRURE, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge*, III, Paris, 1891-1905, p. 1307.

2. Il existe également deux types de gros :

- ceux frappés en Bohême sont au type du gros tournois : au droit, le châtel tournois et, au revers, la croix courte entourée d'une double légende[54].

- ceux en provenance de Bonn[55] et de Luxembourg[56] portent bien l'aigle au lieu du châtel, mais le buste impérial au glaive décrit par les chroniqueurs n'y figure pas.

Si les pièces telles qu'elles sont présentées par les sources écrites ne correspondent pas aux types émis au XIVe siècle, la monnaie d'or ressemble bien plus aux florins de Sigismond[57] et celle en argent aux réaux, toutes pièces datant du XVe siècle[58]. Ce n'est donc pas à une source contemporaine perdue que les chroniques de Husson et de Praillon empruntèrent leurs descriptions mais à un monnayage tardif.

*V. Conclusions*

Il n'y a dès lors pas de doute possible : les sources messines invoquées comme argument sont à rejeter; il y a eu fabulation et le faussaire s'est démasqué en ajoutant des détails anachroniques. Reste à reconstruire le cheminement de cette fabulation.

Pour en connaître le point de départ, il faut se pencher sur une source normative très importante de Metz. Un manuscrit du XIVe siècle[59] ainsi qu'un *vidimus* de 1486[60] contiennent, en effet, une déclaration sur les droits de l'empereur explicitant le texte de la *Confoederatio* sans toutefois la citer. On constate beaucoup de parallèles avec ceux des évêques. Ces droits sont à la fois absolus et vagues. On voit moins bien que dans l'exemple relatif à Worms comment ils se réalisent dans la pratique. Le texte présente assez de traits archaïques pour le dater d'avant 1207. Qu'il soit antérieur à 1227 est démontré par la référence faite à Saint-Trond[61], échangé en cette année-là pour une possession liégeoise[62]. Mendel a fait remarquer pour sa part que les treize jurés, qui firent leur apparition à Metz en 1207 au plus tard, ne sont pas encore mentionnés dans le règlement monétaire[63]. Il est dès lors certain que ce dernier est antérieur à la *Confoederatio*, ce qui constitue une preuve du fait que celle-ci est bien le renouvellement d'un accord conclu par Frédéric Barberousse (1152/1155-1190)[64]. Les textes pour Magdebourg vont incontestablement dans le même sens[65].

Ce règlement vénérable, traduction d'un texte latin datant de la fin du XIIe ou du début du XIIIe siècle, fut recopié en annexe par Philippe de Vigneulles sans qu'il prétende en avoir connu une application concrète; Husson ne cite pas la source normative mais doit avoir cru qu'elle fut appliquée (frappe de gros), ce que la chronique de Praillon étendit encore à la frappe de florins.

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54 A. ENGEL et R. SERRURE, *op. cit.*, III, p. 1280-1281.

55 A. NOSS, *König Karl IV prägte in Bonn*, dans *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, 46, 1911, col. 4777-4779. Voir aussi A. SUHLE, *Deutsche Münz- und Geldgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1964, p. 172.

56 E. BERNAYS et J. VANNÉRUS, *op. cit.*, n. 128, pl. IX.

57 A. SUHLE, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

58 H. ENNO VAN GELDER et M. HOC, *Les monnaies des Pays-Bas bourguignons et espagnols 1434-1713*, Amsterdam, 1960, p. 42, pl. 6 n°67-5.

59 Le n°796 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Metz, p. 101.

60 J. FRANÇOIS et N. TABOUILLOT, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 306-314.

61 *Ibidem*, p.307.

62 *Ibidem*. *Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, éd. S. BORMANS et E. SCHOOLMEESTERS, I, Bruxelles, 1893, p. 221-222.

63 P. MENDEL, *Les Atours de la ville de Metz. Étude sur la législation municipale de Metz au moyen âge*, Metz, 1932, p. 62-63.

64 Voir n. 2.

65 Voir p. 88.

L'unique preuve avancée par les maximalistes se trouve ainsi anéantie. Il n'est pas attesté que Charles IV émit monnaie à Metz. Et lorsque son fils Wenceslas fut en visite dans la ville lorraine, en 1384, ce n'est pas lui qui en produisit; le maître-échevin lui offrit un calice plein de florins messins[66].

La conclusion générale qui découle de cet examen critique des sources doit nécessairement prendre la forme d'une mise en garde contre l'utilisation systématique par les numismates et les historiens du principe du retour des droits régaliens monétaires au suzerain, y compris la frappe effective en lieu et place des princes ecclésiastiques qui les tenaient en fief. Même pour la période antérieure aux Staufen, la thèse maximaliste est intenable. Il suffit de comparer les itinéraires fournis par W. Metz jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle avec les monnaies répertoriées par Dannenberg pour se rendre compte du manque de corrélation entre ces données :

| | présence sans monnaie | monnaie sans présence |
|---|---|---|
| Würzburg | depuis Henri III | Otton II et III |
| Spire | depuis Henri IV | Otton I et II, Conrad II |
| Cologne | depuis Henri IV | Otton II, Conrad II |
| Salzbourg | Frédéric Ier | Otton I-III |
| Magdebourg | Otton I-II et Henri II | |
| Bamberg | depuis Henri III | |
| Augsbourg | depuis Henri IV | |
| Strasbourg | idem | |
| Worms | Conrad II et depuis Henri V. | |

66 N. VAN WERVEKE, *Les relations entre Metz et Luxembourg sous le règne de Wenceslas, roi des Romains et duc de Luxembourg (1383-1419)*, dans *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 3, 1891, p. 297.

# The Location of the Mint of London in the Eleventh Century in the Light of the Recently Discovered Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coin-Dies of Cnut, William I, Stephen and Henry I

Michael Dennis O'HARA*

In 1981, the recent find in York of an early 10th century die for a Viking penny was the only known example of a die from the Anglo-Saxon period. A little later in the same area the damaged top part of a die of Athelstan (924-939) was uncovered. Before these finds the earliest English die extant was that of a penny of Stephen (1135-1154) and this may not have been «official». The only other «coining implement» of the early medieval period known was the Carolingian die, found during excavations of Melle.

In the last year or so there have been a number of important finds saved from certain oblivion by the good work of various treasure hunters, who have sorted through the spoil removed from the site of the Thames Exchange and dumped in various in-fill sites in Kent or the South coast. A good, if short, account of how this has come about is given by Thomas B.Curtis in his 1989 article in Spink's Circular. Among the many treasures saved for posterity was the «Cnut Die» (cfr Fig. 1). This brings the number of dies from the «Thames Exchange» to the astonishing total of *four* - three of the Norman period, and one of the late Saxon period! (cfr Fig. 2a, b, and c).



*Fig. 1. A front view, and a Three-quarter frontal view with the die held in the hand of O'Hara! It is expected that the Cnut Die will be fully published in due course by Leicester University Press in the volume of the proceedings of the* International Conference on Cnut *held at Manchester University in March, 1990, where the preliminary discussion was first presented. The Cnut Die will be exhibited in the XXIIIth Council of Europe exhibition which will be held in Paris-Berlin-Copenhagen during 1992.* Vikings and Christians : the Scandinavians in Europe 800-1200, *March to December 1992, but until that date, and then from 1993 onwards, the die will be available for study in London.*

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* Eggington, Bedfordshire.



*Fig. 2. All trussels or reverse dies, showing front and side views : a. William I (1066-1087); b. Henry I (1100-1135); and c. Stephen (1135-1159). The illustrations of the William and Stephen dies are by courtesy of Marion Archibald of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum.*

The first two Norman dies, which will be published fully in due course by Marion Archibald (British Museum) and Peter Stott (previously at the Museum of London), are trussels for William I (1066-1087) and Stephen (1135-1154) (they are now in the British Museum and part of the National collection). The third Norman die is a trussel of Henry I (1100-1135) and it is thought that this will also be fully published in due course. It is in an excellent state of preservation and was found in July 1990 by an experienced metal detectorist who was going over the recently levelled spoil on an in-fill site (in the region of Dartford and Crayford), known to have been a receiving area for the spoil removed from the Thames Exchange. There is no doubt that all four dies were either found on the site of the Thames Exchange or found in spoil removed from that site (cfr Fig. 3).

London E.C. 4




*Fig. 3. A modern map showing the probable location of the Mint. The area in black shows the site of the building work. The emergency rescue dig by the Museum of London was mainly confined to the top section of the black area, near the road.*
*The map was prepared by courtesy of David Durrans of S & F Designs in Bedfordshire.*

During the course of the last year the almost unbelievable report of yet another die was made. This, however, was found in Lincoln, and at present is in the hands of the Lincoln Archaeological Trust. It is in very poor condition and in an extremely fragile state of preservation and may never be completely identified. The writer has been given the opportunity of examining it and it would seem, from this preliminary examination, to be a reverse or trussel for a penny of Ethelred II. It is thought that it will be published in due course by Mark Blackburn.

*The location of the London Die-Cutting Centre*

The precise location of both the Southwark mint and the London mint before 1279, has never been identified. The question has been put «were the regional die-cutting centre and the mint for the production of London's (and Southwark's) coins necessarily one and the same workshop, sharing one site[1]»?

During the second half of the twelfth century it has been suggested that the work of individual moneyers had become more closely linked and that they were therefore probably housed in a single location. In the thirteenth century this mint is placed by one

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1 Elizabeth Pirie, private correspondence.

account in «Old Change», conveniently close to the goldsmiths quarter of Cheapside. In the Norman period it is thought that about ten moneyers were perhaps active at any one time in London, and that these may have had separate establishments. To quote Dyer in his excellent little book on the Royal Mint : «Where he suggested that the most likely area would have been around Saint Pauls where goldsmiths were congregated, but it is possible that there were also minting workshops near the Walbrook (cfr Fig. 2) and close to modern Lombard Street[2]». P. Nightingale also inclined towards this general area as a likely «moneying quarter», since Friday Street was where the goldsmiths were congregated, and noted that in 1128 the moneyer Theoderic held land in Old Fish Street, a street later known as Old Exchange which ran past the East end of St. Paul's into Cheap[3]. It has been suggested by Metcalf and Dolley[4] that the very large «Walbrook» hoard[5] may possibly have been official stocks of bullion, similar to the Chancton hoard[6] or the Sedlescombe hoard[7] – the latter, it is thought, may be considered to have been part of the bullion reserve of the Hastings mint at the time of the Conquest. Ten per cent of the seven thousand pennies constituting the Walbrook hoard were struck before the accession of Edward the Confessor[8]. These hoards, however, are not treated as being of an official nature in a recent paper by Marion Archibald[9].

It would seem from the Walbrook evidence and that of the finds from the Thames Exchange site (very closely situated to the mouth of the Walbrook), which include large numbers of tenth and eleventh century foreign coins, extremely rare Anglo-Saxon numular brooches and the four dies, that there was certainly a good deal of economic activity in this particular area. It is known that London generally was a special case, and archaeological and topographical investigation in the 1960's reinforced what the political history had long suggested, namely that the importance of London grew disproportionately to the growth of all the rest of the country between *c.* A.D. 950 and 1066[10]. This view of active occupation has recently been supported in a paper by Professor Martin Biddle[11], and he has shown particularly that the main centre of occupation in the reign of Cnut was in an area around the location of the Thames Exchange! In view of the foregoing, and the fact that no less than four dies have been uncovered it may not be too fanciful to suggest that the Thames Exchange could

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2 G.P. DYER, *The Royal Mint*, Cardiff, 1967, p. 8-9.

3 P. NIGHTINGALE, *Some London Moneyers and Reflections on the Organisation of English Mints in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, in *NC*, 142, 1982, p. 46.

4 R.H.M. DOLLEY and D.M. METCALF, *The Reform of the English Coinage under Eadgar*, in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, London, 1961, p. 136-168, 158.

5 J.D.A. THOMPSON, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500*, London, 1956, 255, p. 92-99. Found *c.* 1872, seven thousand Anglo-Saxon, Norman and foreign coins, deposited *c.* 1070. The find was made during excavation but great secrecy was observed about the exact site and circumstances of the discovery (p. 99). The Anglo-Saxon, Norman and foreign element is comparable with the various coins, many as yet unpublished, which have come from the Thames Exchange site, including the Northern German mint town of Celle!

6 *Ibidem*, 81, p. 25-27. More than one thousand seven hundred and fifty Anglo-Saxon pennies, found 21st December 1866, deposited *c.* 1066.

7 *Ibidem*, 327, p. 120-122. Two to three thousand Anglo-Saxon pennies, over a thousand fragments and a silver bar, found 26th of August 1876, deposited *c.* 1066. The coins were originally mistaken for «hop» talleys and many were therefore dispersed in the village. In relation to the Chancton and Sedlescombe hoards, Thompson remarks that they contain an almost complete series of Edward the Confessor's pennies covering the whole reign (1042-1066). He observes that the ultimate loss of these sums of money was due directly to the Norman invasion, but that they might easily have been accumulated in some safe place (in the ground or elsewhere) over a long period before 1066 (p. xvi).

8 M. ARCHIBALD, *English Medieval Coins as Dating Evidence*, in *Coins and the Archaeologist*, ed. J. CASEY and R. REECE, London, 1988, p. 264-301, p. 277, cf. also p. 298-9, note 52.

9 *Ibidem*, p. 299.

10 G. JONES, *A History of the Vikings*, Oxford, 1968, p. 136.

11 *The International Conference on Cnut, Manchester University, March 23rd to 25th 1990*, Manchester.

conveniently be provisionally identified as the site of the Mint of London, at least from the middle of the eleventh century, if not earlier. Against this is the fact that, although the full findings from the rescue dig at Thames Exchange have not yet been published, Peter Stott has indicated that no evidence suggesting the existence of metal-working establishments, such as that found at York, has been identified. However, given the nature of the rescue dig, which in any event only covered a small area of the site, this in itself does not preclude the possibility of the mint being sited there. It is known that the Cnut Die was found in spoil removed from an area some thirty or more yards from the site of the Museum of London's excavations. But even direct evidence of metal working is not enough for some scholars – as one reviewer[12] of «The Post Roman Coins from the York Excavations» observes : «of particular importance, the minting evidence as illustrated by the exciting finds of two iron coin-dies and three lead trial pieces. Despite lengthy consideration of these items much remains uncertain. Even on the sites where they were found surely the structures (were) too flimsy and unprotected to be the mint or even the workshop of the die engraver for the die itself was an object of value and importance».

One cannot help but wonder that if the premise put forward for the location of the mint is correct, how many other dies contained in the unsorted tons of spoil removed from the Thames Exchange site will now be lost forever under the concrete foundations of buildings around the country!

In around 1279 the London mint was situated in the Treasury or Exchequer buildings at Westminster, but in 1300 a new mint comprising a building four hundred feet long was erected in the Tower of London between the inner and outer walls[13]. This was moved to Tower Hill in 1811, and one hundred and seventy five years later moved to its present position in South Wales.

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12 «S.B.», *NumCirc*, 95, 5, June 1987, p. 153 in a review of *The Archaeology of York*, 18, Fascicule/part 1, 1986. *Post Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971-1981*, E.J.E. PIRIE, p. 34, 44-45 and 130. This volume is reviewed by W. MALKMUS, *SAN*, 17, 3, June 1988, p. 50 and 59. Other references to these important finds are given in this review : *Archaeology* magazine, issues May/June 1980, p. 14-22, and Sept/Oct 1985, p. 34-39; also a survey article in the magazine *Scientific American*, March 1980, p. 76-86. Cf. also M.A.S. BLACKBURN, in *BNJ*, 56, 1986, p. 191-192, due tribute is paid to Elizabeth Pirie's substantive and important fascicule, and the review ends with the observation that «the York excavation material is of outstanding importance and we are indeed fortunate that it has been accorded such a high standard of publication». Other reviews of this important work, communicated to the writer by Mr Malkmus, are as follows : I. GEDAI, *NK*, 86-87, 1987-1988, p. 195-196; D.M. METCALF, *NC*, 149, 1989, p. 270; H. PAGAN, *AntJ*, 67, 1987, p. 179-180; P. STOTT, *Post-Medieval Arch*, 21, 1987, p. 310-311.

13 G.P. DYER, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

# Hochmittelalterliche Falschmünzen aus Aachen

Volker ZEDELIUS*

Historische Falschmünzen, d.h. Fälschungen jeweils gängigen (zeitgenössischen) Geldes, hat es zu allen Zeiten gegeben.

Aber während mittelalterliche und neuzeitliche schriftliche Quellen über Falschmünzerei durchaus nicht ungewöhnlich sind und die drakonischen Strafen für dieses Delikt nachweislich auch vollstreckt wurden, begegnen die Fälschungen selbst, die Münzen, außerordentlich selten oder besser gesagt, sie sind nur sporadisch beobachtet und bisher kaum publiziert.

Im Jahre 1985 kamen im Stadtkern von Aachen, bei Bauarbeiten südlich des Münsters zufällig 18 Falschmünzen des 13. Jh. zum Vorschein, die das Rheinische Landesmuseum Bonn für sein Münzkabinett erwerben konnte[1].

Der Finder berichtete von dunklem, stark humosen und von Abfällen durchsetzten Boden, in welchem sie gelegen hätten : Offenbar mit der Inhalt einer mittelalterlichen Schwind- oder Fäkaliengrube. Schon im Fundzustand war den Münzen anzusehen, daß es sich kaum um Silberstücke handelte, also kein reguläres Münzgeld, und mechanische Versuche ergaben dann auch, daß sich die Münzen leicht verbiegen ließen ohne elastisch in die Ausgangsposition zurückzugehen. Bild und Schrift – zwar etwas flau – waren jedoch von guter Qualität. Folgende Stücke liegen vor :

1. Inv. 85.0247. Fälschung d. 13. Jh.
   Philipp I. Arabs (244-249),
   An (244-247 Rom), 3,36g, ø 19,5 mm, 12 h
   *RIC* 26 (b).
2. Inv. 85.0248. Wie 1.
   für Philipp II. (247-249)
   An (248 Rom), 4,08 g, ø 21,8 mm, 12 h
   *RIC* 224.
3. Inv. 85.0249. Fälschung d. 13. Jh.
   Erzbistum Köln, Konrad v. Hochstaden (1238-61)
   Pfennig (nach 1244 Köln), 1,22 g, ø 17,2 mm, 12 h
   Hävernick 665 Typ.
4. Inv. 85. 0250. Wie 3.
   gußgleich
   1,18 g, ø 17,2 mm, 12h
5. Inv. 85.0251. Wie 3.
   gußgleich
   1,05 g, ø 17,0 mm, 12h
6. Inv. 85.0252. Wie 3.
   gußgleich
   0,88 g (ausgebrochen), ø 16,8 mm, 12h
7. Inv. 85.0253. Erzbistum Köln
   Konrad v. Hochstaden (1238-1261)
   Pfennig (nach 1244 Köln), 1,32 g, ø 16,5 mm, 12h
   Hävernick 665 Typ.

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* Münzkabinett, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.

1 Es ist zu hoffen, daß dieser Vorbericht mit der Materialvorlage, dem eine ausführliche Publikation mit den naturwissenschaftlichen Daten folgen wird, dazu anregt, auch andere historische Falsifikate zu veröffentlichen.

**8.** Inv. 85.0254. Wie 7.
gußgleich
0,97 g (ausgebrochen), ø 16,4 mm, 12h

**9.** Inv. 85.0255. Wie 7.
gußgleich ?
0,90 g (noch korrodiert), ø 16,2 mm, 12h

**10.** Inv. 85.0256. Wie 7.
gußgleich ?
0,83 g (noch korrodiert), ø 16,7 mm, 12h

**11.** Inv. 85.0257 Erzbistum Köln
Konrad v. Hochstaden (1238-1261)
Pfennig (nach 1244 Köln), 1,33 g, ø 16,1 mm, 9 h
Hävernick 668.

**12.** Inv. 85.0258. Fälschung d. 13. Jh.
Bistum Metz
Johann I. v. Apremont (1224-1238)
Denar (a. leichten Fuß), 0,77 g, ø 15,0 mm, 8 h
de Saulcy 49 var.

**13.** Inv. 85.0259. Wie 12.
gußgleich
0,71 g, ø 14,8 mm, 8 h

**14.** Inv. 85.0260. Wie 12.
gußgleich
0,60 g, ø 14,3 mm, 8 h

**15.** Inv. 850261. Wie 12.
1,01 g (noch korrodiert, ausgebrochen), ø 13,2 mm

**16.** Inv. 85.0262. Wie 12 ?
0,76 g (noch korrodiert, ausgebrochen), ø 14,9 mm

**17.** Inv. 85.0263. Bistum Metz
Johann I. v. Apremont (1224-38)
Denar (a. leichter Fuß)
1,31 g (noch korrodiert), ø 16,3 mm
de Saulcy 46 Typ.

**18.** Inv. 85.0264. Wie 17.
gußgleich
1,18 g (noch korrodiert), ø 16,0 mm

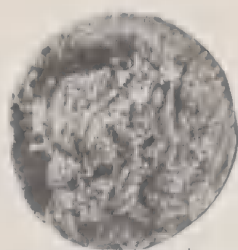
Daß es sich bei den 18 Münzen (Inv. 85.0247-85.0264) nicht um geschlagene Stücke, sondern um Gußfalsifikate aus einem relativ weichen Metall, vermutlich einer Blei-Zinn-Legierung, handelte, war bei der Klangprobe, bei mechanischer Belastung, sowie an der Oberfläche und an dem diffusen Kontur des Münzbildes bereits zu erkennen (s. Abb. II).

Wenigstens 9 Münzen sind gußgleich, d.h. (bis auf die «antiken») aus identischer bzw. durch wiederholtes Abdrücken von Originalprägungen, also einst gültigen Zahlungsmitteln in Ton, gewonnerer gleicher Form.

Das seinerzeit verwendete Gießmaterial braucht dabei nicht homogen zu sein. Bei über der Hälfte der Stücke sind die Achsen von Avers und Revers parallel (= 12 h), d.h. die Fälschungen sind seitwendig (wie die bundesrepublikanischen Münzen), und das bedeutet, die beiden Form-Hälften sind – wohl markiert – richtig aufeinandergepaßt worden. Wir haben im Institut für Strahlen- und Kernphysik der Universität Bonn Analysen durchführen lassen, um festzustellen :

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*Taf. II. 1.-3. Gußfälschungen von Pfennigen von Konrad v. Hochstaden (1238-1261) (gußgleich); 4.-5. Gußfälschungen Konrads v. Hochstaden; 6.-8. Gußgleichungen von Johann I. v. Apremont (gußgleich); 9.-10. Gußfälschungen von Antoninianen Philipps I. und Philipps II.* ›


1

2

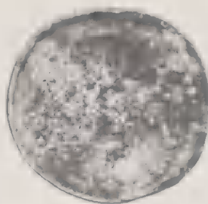
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1. um welches Material handelt es sich, qualitativ und quantitativ ?
2. unterscheidet sich das verwendete Material, etwa bei den antiken Prägungen nachgegossenen Stücken oder bei den gußgleichen ?

Die zerstörungsfreie, teilcheninduzierte Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse, «particle induced x-ray emission» (PIXE) hatte folgendes Ergebnis : Silber (Ar) ist überhaupt nicht vorhanden oder ließ sich, falls die Stücke ursprünglich versilbert gewesen sein sollten, nicht nachweisen. Fünf (5) der sechs (6) Kölner Denare und ein Metzer Denar bestehen zu mehr als 99% aus Zinn (Sn), mit geringen Verunreinigungen von Blei (Pb) und Kupfer (Cu). Die übrigen Exemplare haben eine Zusammensetzung von etwa 90% Zinn and 9% Blei, sowie 1-2% Kupfer, mit Spuren von Eisen (Fe) and Zink (Zn)[2].

Die Daten der Zinn- und Zinn-Blei-Fälschungen lassen den Schluß einer zeitlich nicht wesentlich verschiedenen Produktion aus demselben Ausgangsmaterial zu.

Interessant ist dabei, daß die beiden den Typen des 3. Jh. nachgegossenen Stücke keine signifikant andere Legierung aufweisen. Das bedeutet, daß sie – zu welchem Zweck ist unbekannt – mit den Typen des 13. Jh. gleichzeitig angefertigt worden sind.

Der Besitzer der Gußformen hat offenbar die leicht differierenden Legierungen getestet. Sicher war der Hersteller, auch wenn noch im Stadium des Experimentierens, jemand, der über gewisse Erfahrungen im Metallhandwerk verfügte und gewußt hat, wo er sich das Ausgangsmaterial beschaffen konnte. Die Annahme, daß er der ehrbaren Zunft der Zinngießer entstammte, die an der Massenproduktion von Pilgerzeichen und deren Absatz beteiligt gewesen sind, ist natürlich Hypothese.

Zu Zeiten der großen Pelegrinatio, der sog. Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt zum Aachener Rock, als die Stadt von Fremden und Pilgern überfüllt war, konnte man möglicherweise hoffen, derartige Fälschungen loszuwerden.

Aber einmal als Falsifikate erkannt, mochte man sich ihrer rasch entledigt und sie einfach weggeworfen haben.
Hier am Münster und Markt befand sich im 13. Jh. eine Pilgerherberge, die im 14. Jh. in ein Spital umgebaut worden ist[3].

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2 Die Analysen wurden u.a. gewonnen von H.-J. REHAGEN, *Röntgenfluoreszenzanalyse verschiedener hochmittelalterlichen Fälschmünzen aus Aachen* (Ungedr. schriftl. Hausarbeit im Rahmen der ersten Staatsprüfung für das Lehramt der Sekundarstufe II, Bonn, 1988, Institut für Strahlen- und Kernphysik der Universität Bonn.)

3 Für freundliche Unterstützung und Auskunft wird gedankt, Frau Dr. Herta Lepie, Das Domkapitel Aachen - Domschatzkammer.

# Mint Attributions of the «petits deniers à la croix brabançonne»

Mark BLACKBURN*

During much of the thirteenth century the coinage of Brabant consisted solely of *petits deniers* and related *oboles* with the distinctive *croix brabançonne* reverse design. They were considerably lighter than the preceding deniers of Brabant, and more uniform, having smaller round flans with slightly turned up edges, presumably a result of having been hammered on their sides after striking. In their module they resemble the Flemish *petits deniers*, but the Brabantine deniers were somewhat heavier and of higher value, 12 deniers of Brabant being worth 13 of Flanders in the early 1270s.[1]. Within the Brabantine issues Ghyssens has distinguished two phases[2]. The coins of phase I are of superior style and struck to a closely regulated standard of *c.* 0.62g, while those of phase II are on a standard of *c.* 0.54g. Coins of these two phases survive in very unequal quantities since all but one of the hoards in which they occur were deposited towards the end of phase II or later. Thus coins of the first phase are known in only a few hundred specimens, while more than 50,000 coins of the second have survived. The chronology of the issues is a little uncertain, but phase I appears to have been introduced *c.* 1215-1220[3], and replaced by phase II during the 1230s.[4]. Phase II lasted for some forty years or more, ceasing on or shortly after the introduction of a new multi-denominational system in the mid 1270s. Phase I then belongs essentially to the latter part of Duke Henry I's reign (1190-1235), and phase II to the reigns of Henry II, III, IV (1235-1248, 1248-1261, 1261-1267) and the opening years of John I (1267-1294).

The coins of phase I employ seven different obverse designs : Horseman, Church Façade, Lamb of God, Double-headed Imperial Eagle, Simple Eagle, Boat, and Clerical Bust (Fig. 1a). Only two of these designs, Imperial Eagle and Simple Eagle, carry on into phase II, and seven new obverse types occur : Castle, Bridge, Lion Shield (of Brabant), Lion Rampant, Lion's Foreparts, Church with Crozier, and Plant (Fig. 1b). The change of design at most mints was presumably ordered so that coins struck to the lighter weight standard could be distinguished from those of the preceding issue. The reverses in both phases share the same basic *croix brabançonne*, but there are various forms of decoration on the cross which De Mey has classified into 11 types (Fig. 2)[5].




*Fig. 1a. Obverse types of Phase I.*

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1 J. GHYSSENS, *Les petits deniers de Flandre des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Brussels, 1971, p. 21.

2 ID., *Essai de classement chronologique des monnaies brabançonnes*, Brussels, 1983; see also *BCEN*, 20, 1983, p. 55-59.

3 Based on its absence from the Millen and Tillet hoards (deposited *c.* 1215) and on the copying of its designs on coins of William II of Holland (1203-1222).

4 The first phase must have continued into the 1230s since there was a joint issue at Maestricht with John of Aps, bishop of Liège (1229-1238), but by the time the Tongeren hoard was assembled (*c.* 1245) phase I coins had been replaced by ones of phase II.

5 J.-R. DE MEY, *Les deniers à la croix brabançonne* (*Numismatic pocket*, 28), Brussels, 1982.

Most coins of phase I are uninscribed, but within the Horseman type on the obverse one group has DVX and another has BASTIN, this latter being generally assumed to be the name of the moneyer or financier responsible for the issue. No coins of phase I have inscriptions on the reverse. Within phase II, only coins of the Lion Shield type have obverse inscriptions, normally H DVCIS, but occasionally H DVX or BASTI, and late in the issue what appears to be a deliberate evasion, VN/NV. The phase II reverses, on the other hand, are usually inscribed, with two or four letters disposed in the angles of the cross. BAST, presumably for the same *Bastin*, occurs frequently. Another common inscription is BATI or TIBA depending on where it is understood as commencing; a contraction mark over the I on coins of the finest style suggests that BATI is the correct form in which case it is likely to be another variant of Bastinus. Other forms that probably represent personal names include BOLL, FRAN, GERA, GILO, and TENI. Only one inscription has been interpreted as a mint name, AN for Antwerp, but it too could be a moneyer's name.




*Fig. 1b. Obverse types of Phase II.*

The coinage of phase II is complicated to classify because of the considerable mixing of designs and inscriptions which results in a large number of combinations. It is necessary therefore to distinguish the principal types from the more minor varieties. De Witte's excellent and very comprehensive line drawings on their own do not permit this[6], but De Mey has provided the necessary data, having quantified the number of specimens of each variety recorded from various sources, assembling a corpus of over 55,000 coins[7].

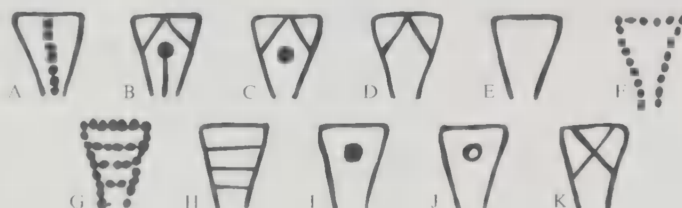



*Fig. 2. De Mey's classification of reverse crosses.*

6 A. DE WITTE, *Histoire monétaire des comtes de Louvain, ducs de Brabant et marquis du Saint Empire romain*, I, Antwerp, 1894.

7 J.-R. DE MEY, *op. cit.*

Most scholars have taken the obverse types to be the distinctive badges of several mints, and the attributions proposed by Piot[8] in 1848 have largely been followed by De Witte[9] and others. Thus the Lion Shield and the Lion Rampant types which incorporate the emblem of Brabant have been identified with Leuven, the ancient seat of the counts and dukes of Leuven/Brabant. The ladder-like Bridge was thought to reflect the etymology of the name Brussels (Flemish *Brug-sele*, bridge-place), and the attribution is supported by a later issue of John I with this device and the inscription BRVX (De Witte 132). The Castle type – a crenellated keep with two towers – was given to Antwerp because of similarities with a seal of the city of 1231 and because many of the coins have the letters AN (or NA) on the reverse. The Imperial Eagle type was attributed to the small town of Haelen by Piot, De Witte and Serrure[10], but to Antwerp by Baerten[11], in each case by analogy with their municipal seals. Similarly the Lamb of God type has been attributed to Tienen and the Church Façade type to Vilvoorde. The two ecclesiastical types have been attributed to the only two abbeys known to have received a grant of minting rights, Gembloux (Clerical Bust)[12] and Nivelles (Church with Crozier)[13]. For the Plant type, of which only two specimens are known, s'Hertogenbosch, Maestricht and Loon have each been suggested[14]. For two types – the Boat and Simple Eagle – no parallels have been found on contemporary seals, and they are usually described as of uncertain mint.

In two works published more or less simultaneously in 1982/83, Ghyssens[15] and De Mey[16] have sought to attribute the *petits deniers* to mints on the basis of the forms of the reverse cross, rather than the obverse types. Ghyssens asserts that there is no evidence that there were more than three mints in Brabant at this period – Antwerp, Brussels and Leuven – and he divides the coins between them, though leaving a certain number of types as of uncertain attribution. Unfortunately his case is not argued, the attributions merely being shown in tabular form with only some short remarks in the preface[17] and in a lecture to the Cercle d'Études Numismatiques[18]. De Mey's work, presented as a separate booklet in his series *Numismatic pocket*, includes a critical introduction as well as the detailed catalogue already referred to. His approach to the mint attributions was inspired, he says, by earlier works on the uninscribed deniers of Alsace[19], which suggested that the reverse designs had as much significance as the obverse in determining their mints. However, the Alsatian coins are rather different from those of Brabant in that they have distinctive pictorial types on both obverse and reverse. The eleven forms of reverse cross which he has distinguished on the Brabantine deniers are attributed to five mints as follows : A - Antwerp; B, D, E - Leuven; F, G, H - Brussels; I, J - Tienen; K - Vilvoorde.

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8 C. PIOT, *Études sur les types : imitation des sceaux des communes sur les monnaies des provinces méridionales des Pays-Bas et du pays de Liège*, in *RBN*, 4, 1848, p. 1-45.

9 A. DE WITTE, *op. cit.*, p. 55-65.

10 A. ENGEL and R. SERRURE, *Traité de numismatique du moyen âge*, II, Paris, 1894, p. 568.

11 J. BAERTEN, *Les deniers à l'aigle bicéphale du XIIIe siècle attribués à Halen*, in *BCEN*, 2 1965, p. 65.

12 P.O. VAN DER CHIJS, *De munten der leenen van de voormalige hertogdommen Braband en Limburg*, Haarlem, 1862, p. 1-2.

13 R. CHALON, *Monnaies de l'abbesse de Nivelles*, in *RBN*, 1, 1845, p. 161-163.

14 C. PIOT, *De middeleeuwse munten te 's Hertogenbosch geslagen*, in *Handelingen van het provinciaal genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen in Noordbrabant*, 's Hertogenbosch, 1862, p. 68; A. DE WITTE, *op. cit.*, p. 63; J.-R. DE MEY, *op. cit.*, no. 180.

15 J. GHYSSENS, *Essai*.

16 J.-R. DE MEY, *op. cit.*

17 J. GHYSSENS, *Essai*, p. 5.

18 Summarised in *BCEN*, 20, 1983, p. 55-59, at p. 55-56.

19 J.-R. DE MEY, *Les monnaies d'Alsace* (*Numismatic pocket*, 23), Brussels, 1976; ID., *Les monnaies de Strasbourg* (*Numismatic pocket*, 24), Brussels, 1976.

This is similar to Ghyssens' division, save that he would classify I and J as Antwerp, and K as uncertain mint.
Table I summarises these results.

TABLE I. PETITS DENIERS OF BRABANT ARRANGED BY TYPES.

| *Obverse type* | *Obverse inscription* | *Reverse cross* | *Reverse inscription* | *No. of specimens* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PHASE I | | | | | |
| Horseman | DVX | A | - | 48 | |
| | BASTIN | A | - | 12 | |
| | - | A | - | 16 | |
| | | F | - | 2 | |
| | | G | - | 6 | |
| | | H | - | 21 | |
| | | I | - | 11 | 116 |
| Church Façade | - | J | - | 68 | |
| | | K | - | 36 | |
| | | I | - | 6 | 110 |
| Lamb of God | - | I | - | 38 | 38 |
| Imperial Eagle | - | F | - | 5 | 5 |
| Simple Eagle | - | I | - | 1 | 1 |
| Boat | - | A | - | 3 | 3 |
| Clerical Bust | - | A | - | 7 | 7 |
| *Total Phase I* | | | | | 280 |
| PHASE II | | | | | |
| Castle | - | A | AN or NA | 544 | |
| | | | - | 88 | 632 |
| | | H | AN or NA | 100 | |
| | | | TIBA or BATI | 5 | |
| | | | - | 303 | 408 |
| | | B or D | BAST | 37 | |
| | | | TIBA or BATI | 124 | 161 |
| | | I | - | 66 | 66 |
| | | | | | 1267 |
| Bridge | - | H | TIBA or BATI | 198 | |
| | | | TI or TT | 1781 | |
| | | | BA | 40 | |
| | | | GOLI | 13 | |
| | | | - | 4195 | 6227 |
| | | C | TIBA or BATI | 46 | 46 |
| | | D | - | 84 | 84 |
| | | - | BRVX | 1 | 1 |
| | | | | | 6358 |
| Lion Shield | - | B | BAST | 3223 | 3223 |
| | | E | BAST | 113 | 113 |
| | | D | BA | 8 | 8 |
| | | | | | 3344 |
| | BASTI | B | BAST | 532 | 532 |
| | H DVX | D | BAST | 36 | 36 |
| | | B | - | 1 | 1 |
| | | | | | 37 |
| | H DVCIS | B | BAST | 17204 | |
| | | | GOLI | 1 | |
| | | | ITAL | 6 | |
| | | | - | 1 | 17212 |
| | VN, NV, or NN | B | BAST | 15676 | 15676 |
| | | | | | 36801 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lion Rampant | | B | BAST | 2680 | |
| | | | TIBA or BATI | 2817 | |
| | | | TISA | 3 | |
| | | | BOLL | 244 | 5744 |
| | | C | TIBA or BATI | 1199 | 1199 |
| | | H | TT | 207 | |
| | | | BA | 123 | |
| | | | BOLL | 174 | 504 |
| | | A | AN or NA | 23 | |
| | | | - | 88 | 111 |
| | | | | | 7558 |
| Lion Foreparts | - | I | - | 93 | 93 |
| Imperial Eagle | - | H | GILO | 717 | |
| | | | TINE | 23 | 740 |
| | | G | - | 13 | 13 |
| | | F | - | 10 | 10 |
| | | | | | 763 |
| Simple eagle | - | H | TENI, TEIN, or TINEN | 1247 | |
| | | | GILO | 86 | |
| | | | FRAN | 66 | |
| | | | GERA | 54 | |
| | | - | | 296 | 1749 |
| Plant | - | B | BAST | 2 | 2 |
| Nivelles abbey | - | H | - | 1493 | 1493 |
| *Total Phase II* | | | | | 56084 |

As a result Ghyssens and De Mey attribute all the coins of the Lion Shield type and most of those of the Lion Rampant type to Leuven, but with a few coins of the Lion Rampant type given to Antwerp and Brussels. The majority of the Bridge coins are given to Brussels, with a few to Leuven, while the Castle type is divided between Antwerp, Brussels and Leuven. Ghyssens departs from the strict classification by reverse type to give to Antwerp certain coins which have the reverse cross H (otherwise Brussels); these are coins of the Castle type with the letters AN on the reverse and, following Baertens attribution, coins of the Imperial Eagle type. Underlying Ghyssens' and De Mey's classifications is an assumption that the obverse types were originally intended to indicate the mint of origin, for they form the basis for the identification of the reverse crosses with particular mints. However, the authors would presumably argue that in course of time the obverse type ceased to have local significance, and the reverse cross became more important as the badge of the mint. But this is an arbitrary assumption for which there is no evidence. Indeed, it leads to the unlikely conclusion that each of the mints occasionally struck coins with the badge of another mint. Thus Antwerp, which normally used the Castle and (per Ghyssens) Imperial Eagle types, also struck coins with Leuven's Lion Rampant type. Leuven's coins were mainly of the Lion Shield or Lion Rampant types, but a few had the Castle of Antwerp or the Bridge of Brussels. Brussels' coins were generally of the Bridge or (per Ghyssens) the Simple Eagle types but some were of Antwerp's Castle type or Brussels' Bridge type.

Anticipating these objections, De Mey has sought to distinguish between the mint and the issuing place of each coin. He suggests that the issuing place is indicated by the obverse type, while the town or city in which it was struck is shown by the form of the reverse cross. But this implies that coins of Antwerp were struck not only at Antwerp, but also at Brussels and Leuven, that coins of Brussels were struck at Brussels and Leuven, and coins of Leuven at Leuven, Antwerp and Brussels.

This all seems highly improbable, for while one could envisage exceptional circumstances in which emergency minting at another centre might occasionally have been required, it is unlikely to have arisen as frequently or in so complex a way as

suggested by De Mey. It is much more likely that the form of reverse cross held no special significance, and although in practice a mint would usually employ one main form, it might occasionally vary it and copy a reverse commonly used by another mint. Moreover, reverse dies could easily be borrowed – the mints, after all, were only a short distance apart. In addition, some of the coins may be unofficial imitations or forgeries that mixed the obverse and reverse designs of the coins they were copying. A typical Leuven reverse with cross B and BAST in the angles was, for example, copied on the coinage of Arnold IV of Loon[20].

The obverse type, the badge of the town, was a much clearer way of indicating the issuing authority than the use of subtle differences in what was basically the same reverse design. This would have been necessary in order that the issuers of the municipal or quasi-municipal coinages of Brabant and Flanders should be accountable for their weight and fineness[21]. Another reason is suggested by the royal charter issued by Henry of Hohenstaufen at Worms on 30 April 1231[22], which accorded to towns within the Empire the right to require that all transactions be carried out in local coins, provided that they were clearly marked so that they could be distinguished from the products of other mints.

I therefore believe that the *obverse* design indicates the coin's issuing place, and that we may assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that it was also minted there. Die-studies or a close stylistic analysis may eventually reveal cases where dies have been cut or coins struck at neighbouring mints, but these I would expect to be exceptional events. Evidence may also come to light of imitation or forgery on a significant scale, as it has for the thirteenth-century pennies of Holland. The general scheme of attributions proposed by Piot and followed by De Witte should therefore be restored, subject to some amendments that now seem in order. I will end this paper by summarising the most probable attributions, details of which will be given by Professor Grierson and myself in our forthcoming *Medieval European Coinage*, 7 (i).

The Horseman type in phase I and the Lion Shield type in phase II appear to be the products of a ducal mint at Leuven. These are the only issues to carry a ducal inscription and occasionally the name Bastin on the obverse. They are the most plentiful issue in each phase. Virtually all the phase II coins also have the inscription BAST on the reverse. The Lion Rampant type, the next most prolific issue, is generally attributed to Leuven as well. This is supported by the reverses, most of which are inscribed with either BAST or BATI, yet the hoards suggest that they were parallel issues and if so from separate ateliers. One possibility is that the Lion Rampant was a municipal issue of Leuven, although this would imply two rival issuing authorities in the one town.

To Antwerp in phase I we should perhaps consider attributing the Church Façade type, succeeded in phase II by the Castle type. The Church Façade type has usually been given to Vilvoorde based on a similarity to its seal, but a church is an obvious emblem for almost any town, and some mint-signed coin of Antwerp from earlier in Henry I's reign has a rather similar church façade showing a central portico flanked by two tall towers (De Witte 77). Given that the Church Façade type is the second most common issue in phase I, an attribution to one of the major mints of Brabant, such as Antwerp or even Brussels, seems the more probable.

There can be no doubt about the identification of the Bridge type in phase II with Brussels. It is the third most prolific type. The majority of specimens are uninscribed. A few have BATI, but this appears to be merely copied from the Lion Rampant type since it

20 J. BAERTEN, *De Munten van de Graven van Loon 12de-14de eeuw*, Saint-Trond, 1981, no. 2. The obverse is inspired by the Lion Shield type, but with the arms of Loon and remarkably the inscription HO-LOVI-AI, for *Moneta Lovaniensis*, which does not even appear on the prototype.

21 The much discussed question of the status of these coinages, whether municipal or ducal/comital, will be considered in *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 7 (i).

22 A. DE WITTE, *op. cit.*, p. 36, dating it 1235 in error; W. JESSE, *Quellenbuch zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters*, Halle, 1924, no. 67.

soon degenerates into merely TI or TT. In phase I, there are no coins that can be identified positively with Brussels, but given its commercial importance it is very likely that one of our known series of coins was struck there. The Lamb of God type, which is moderately plentiful, might come from this town rather than Tienen to which it is usually attributed, or conceivably the Church Façade type discussed above.

The seven types just considered account for 94% of the coins of phase I and 93% of the coins of phase II. Of the remaining issues, the two ecclesiastical types are attributed to Gembloux and Nivelles with reasonable assurance. The two Eagle types have several features in common. They are the only designs that were carried over from phase I; they both use reverse type H for virtually all the coins; they share in common two moneyers, GILO and TI'NE/TENI, who do not occur in any other types; and there are comparatively more oboles of these types than any other in phase II, though they are still extremely rare. There is a case, therefore, for regarding both types as a product of the same mint, with the Simple Eagle being the later of the two in phase II. The failure to change the design on the introduction of the new phase II weight standard, may only mean that the mint was not active at that time and that when it was revived it could continue using the same type with minimal risk of confusion. Piot's attribution to Haelen seems the most likely. The Lion Foreparts type is a very small but quite distinct issue. It may be from the town of Léau, to which Piot had attributed the Lion Rampant type, for the lion is on its seal as well as being a pun on its name. This leaves only two very rare issues, the Boat type in phase I and the Plant types in phase II, for which no likely attribution can be suggested.

# Die mittelalterlichen Münzschatzfunde in Österreich : 1986 - 1990

Michael ALRAM*

Das Zeitalter der mittelalterlichen Schatzfunde beginnt in Österreich erst um die Mitte des 12. Jh., in einer Zeit, in der die zunehmenden Handelsaktivitäten in Verbindung mit dem wirtschaftlichen Aufblühen der Städte die Herstellung eigenen Münzgeldes bereits notwendig gemacht hatte.

Der älteste mittelalterliche Münzschatz auf heute österreichischem Boden ist jener von Hainburg a.d. Donau (Niederösterreich, östlich von Wien), der um 1145 unter die Erde gekommen ist. Zusammen mit dem etwas älteren Schatz von Rakwice bei Breclav aus der heutigen Tschechoslowakei (um 1140 vergraben)[1], kommt dem Hainburger Fund eine Schlüsselstellung für den Beginn der österreichischen Münzprägung unter den Babenberger Markgrafen in Krems um 1110/20 zu.

In der Folge besitzen wir für den großen Währungsblock des Wiener Pfennigs, der ja aus dem Kremser hervorgegangen ist, ab den 70er Jahren des 12. Jh. ein relativ dichtes Netz kleinerer und grösserer Schatzfunde, wobei wegen der überwiegenden Anonymität der Gepräge jedem einzelnen ein besonderer Stellenwert für die recht mühsame Rekonstruktion der chronologischen Ordnung zuerkannt werden muß.

Die klassische Periode des Wiener Pfennigs beginnt um die Mitte des 13. Jh. und ist vor allem geprägt von der jährlichen Pfennig-Erneuerung, die jeweils um den 24. Juni (dem Fest Johannes d. Täufers) durchgeführt worden ist. Die Produktion der Pfennige erfolgte in drei Münzstätten : Wien, Enns und Wiener Neustadt.

Das 1983 von Bernhard Koch vorgelegte Corpus zum Wiener Pfennig ist heute das klassische Handbuch schlechthin und eine unentbehrliche Grundlage für jede weitere Forschung[2]. Diese konzentriert sich auf dem rein numismatischen Sektor in erster Linie auf die noch offenen Fragen der Chronologie, der Typologie, des Beizeichen- und Kontrollwesens sowie auf nominalischem Gebiet etwa auf das Problem der Hälblingsprägung, das nicht zuletzt auch die brisante Frage der ungarischen Imitationen umschließt. Hinzu kommt eine noch ausstehende Untersuchung der Prägeintensitäten in den drei genannten Münzstätten, die nicht immer gleichzeitig in Betrieb gewesen sind und oft extreme Schwankungen in ihren Produktionskapazitäten aufweisen, woraus sich wichtige Indizien für politische und wirtschaftliche Prozesse gewinnen lassen – ein Aspekt, der in der bisherigen Forschung weitgehend vernachlässigt worden ist.

Die hier nun vorzustellenden neuen Funde der Jahre 1986-90 haben doch einiges zu den eben angeschnittenen Fragenkomplexen eingebracht, wenngleich vorausgeschickt werden muß, daß die meisten dieser Funde noch in Bearbeitung stehen und daher auch noch nicht vollständig ausgewertet sind. Ich bitte Sie daher, meine Ausführungen als eine Art informativen Vorbericht zu betrachten.

Der älteste aus dem Währungsgebiet des Wiener Pfennigs stammende neue Schatzfund ist jener von Mödling[3] (wenige Kilometer südlich von Wien), der sich ausschließlich aus Pfennigen König Ottokars II. v. Böhmen (1251-1276) aus der Münzstätte Wien zusammensetzt. Er ist in seiner Art der erste Komplex Wiener Pfennige,

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1 Vgl. das Fundverzeichnis bei B. KOCH, *Der Wiener Pfennig* (= Sonderausgabe des 97. Bandes der *NZ*), Wien, 1983, p. 57 ff.

2 B. KOCH, *op. cit.*

3 M. ALRAM, *Ein mittelalterlicher Münzschatz aus Mödling*, in *MÖNG*, 29, 1989, p. 66 ff.

der nur aus Geprägen König Ottokars besteht und vermutlich um 1275 verborgen worden.

Im Verein mit den bereits bekannten Schatzfunden ähnlicher Zeitstellung hat sich nun unter anderem gezeigt, daß in den letzten Jahren der Herrschaft König Ottokars in Österreich (ab *c.* 1272-75) die Nebenmünzstätten Enns und Wiener Neustadt nicht gearbeitet haben, sondern für Ottokar nur mehr die Wiener Münzstätte tätig gewesen ist.

Noch nicht vollständig ausgewertet ist der 1990 gemachte Fund von St. Pölten-Ochsenburg (etwa 40 km westlich von Wien), der neben 845 Wiener Pfennigen auch einige wenige Salzburger, Passauer und Pfennige bayerischer Herzöge enthält. Der Anteil der Wiener Pfennige reicht vom österreichischen Interregnum (1246/51) bis in die Zeit Friedrichs des Schönen als Herzog (1306-1314) und hat seinen mengenmäßigen Schwerpunkt klar unter Herzog Albrecht I. (1282-1298), also in den letzten 20 Jahren des 13. Jh.

Gleichfalls noch mitten in der Bearbeitung – jedoch am Institut für Numismatik der Universität Wien, unter der Leitung meiner Kollegin R. Denk – steckt der Fund von Tulln, der eine ganz ähnliche Zeitstellung wie der Ochsenburger Münzschatz aufweist, nur etwas später, wohl in den 20er Jahren des 14. Jh. under die Erde gekommen sein dürfte. Mit seinen 10.339 Stück, ist er einer der größten mittelalterlichen Münzschätze Österreichs überhaupt und dürfte, so viel kann man heute schon sagen, vor allem für das Ende der Herrschaft Friedrichs des Schönen geringfügige Korrekturen der Koch'schen Abfolge ergeben.

Bereits ausgewertet und im Druck ist der 1987 entdeckte Schatz von St. Pölten-Spratzern[4], der um 1385 schließt und mit seinen 7.092 Stück gleichfalls zu den größten seiner Zeitstellung zählt. In seiner Zusammensetzung entspricht er dem gewohnten Bild des Geldumlaufs auf österreichischem Boden im ausgehenden 14. Jh. : 83,13 % (= 5.899 Stk.) entfallen auf den Wiener Pfennig, während die Wittelsbacher Herzöge mit 11,25 % (= 813 Stk.) das zweitstärkste Kontingent stellen. Die Spanne der Wiener Pfennige reicht von König Ottokar II. (1251-1276) bis zu Herzog Albrecht III. (1365-1395), bedeckt also mehr als ein Jahrhundert. Mit 51 % des österreichischen Anteils (= 3.013 Stk.) bilden die Pfennige aus der Regierungszeit Albrechts II. (1330-1358) den mengenmäßigen Schwerpunkt des Fundes. Den Schlußpunkt setzen die sog. Böckler-Pfennige Albrechts III., die ab 1368 bis über die Mitte der 80er Jahre ausgegeben wurden.

Der Spratzerner Münzschatz fügt sich damit nahtlos in eine Reihe österreichischer Schatzfunde des ausgehenden 14. Jh., die allesamt den Böckler als Schlußmünze aufweisen. Vergleicht man die wichtigsten dieser Funde – nämlich Pfarrwerfen (3.395 Stk.), Wiener Neustadt (6.021 Stk.) und Mitterndorf (515 Stk.)[5] – miteinander, so ergeben sich durchaus übereinstimmende Werte bezüglich der anteilsmäßigen Verteilung der einzelnen Typen auf die verschiedenen Prägeherren. Die Böckler-Pfennige als Schlußmünzen liegen stets unter dem dominierenden Anteil Albrechts II., stellen aber immer das zweitstärkste Kontingent. Die Höhe des Anteils hängt hier unmittelbar mit dem Verbergungsdatum zusammen, wobei sich daraus – bei aller gebotener Vorsicht – eine relativchronologische Abfolge der Funde bezüglich ihrer Verbergung erkennen läßt.

Das herausragendste Novum des Spratzerner Fundes ist ein Pfennig Herzog Rudolfs IV. (1358-1365), der ein zweifelsfrei erkennbares Rückseitenbild trägt. Man hat bisher angenommen, daß ab Rudolf IV., mit dessen Ungeldpatent die jährliche Pfennig-Erneuerung in Österreich endgültig abgeschafft worden war und die Münzproduktion bereits nur mehr zentral in Wien erfolgte, die Pfennige auch nur mehr einseitig ausgeprägt wurden. Der Spratzerner Pfennig hat nun jedoch den Nachweis erbracht, daß auch für

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4 ID., *Ein mittelalterlicher Münzschatz aus St.Pölten-Spratzern*, in *NZ*, 101, 1990, p. 65 ff.

5 Vgl die Fundliste bei B. KOCH, *op. cit.*

Rudolf ein Rückseitenbild vorgesehen war und die einseitige Pfennig-Prägung demnach erst mit dem Böckler Albrechts III. beginnt.

Der Gesamtbetrag des Spratzerner Fundes lag bei etwa 29 Pfund Pfennigen, wobei alleine die Wiener eine Summe von 24,5 Pfund ausmachen. Um ein ungefähres Bild von der Kaufkraft dieser Summe zu bekommen, bietet das Urkundenbuch des Chorherrenstiftes St. Pölten, in dessen unmittelbarem Wirtschaftsbereich der Besitzer unseres Schatzes gelebt haben muß, eine recht instruktive Quelle. Aus der Fülle der dort genannten Verträge betreffend Käufe oder Verkäufe von jährlichen Diensten, Häusern, Äckern und Weingärten möchte ich eine etwas anders gelagerte Urkunde herausgreifen, die eine Stiftung beinhaltet, die an der Wiener Universität für Angehörige des St. Pöltener Klosters am 13. Oktober 1370 eingerichtet worden war[6]. Aus einer Stiftungssumme von 304 Pfund in bar (= 72.960 Pf.) sowie 5 Pfund aus jährlichen Einkünften (= 1.200 Pf.) sollten Studium und Lehre dreier sog. Sublectores und eines Studenten an der Wiener Universität bezahlt werden. Jeder sollte jährlich 6 Pfund in 4 Raten zu je 12 Schilling (= 360 Pf.) bei freiem Quartier zur Verfügung gestellt bekommen, insgesamt also 24 Pfund pro Jahr (= 35.760 Pf.) – wobei dieser Betrag nun ziemlich genau jener Summe entspricht, die im Spratzerner Fund an Wiener Pfennigen enthalten ist.

Völlig außerhalb des bisher Bekannten steht der letzte noch zu besprechende Fund, der 1987 in Treubach bei Braunau im oberösterreichischen Innviertel bei Renovierungsarbeiten der Treubacher Pfarrkirche entdeckt worden ist. Der Fund gelangte erst 1989 auf Umwegen an das Wiener Münzkabinett, sodaß seine Bearbeitung gleichfalls noch nicht abgeschlossen ist.

Von den 2.358 in einem Tonkrug geborgenen Silbermünzen sind 2.079 Stück Handheller der Reichsmünzstätte Schwäbisch Hall[7]. Hinzu treten 77 bereits gekennzeichnete Heller der Reichsmünzstätten Isny, Nürnberg und Frankfurt, der bischöflich-augsburgischen Münzstätte Dillingen sowie bischöfliche und städtische Heller von Speyer. Mit nur 18 Exemplaren mehr als mager ist der Anteil der bayerischen Pfennige der Münzstätten Regensburg, München, Ingolstadt (?) und Passau. Die Zahl der Wiener Pfennige, in dessen Währungsgebiet der Fundort schließlich liegt, ist gleichfalls gering und beträgt nur 70 Stück. Sie reichen von Albrecht I. (1282-1298) bis Albrecht II. (1330-1358), dessen komplette Typenreihe, wenn auch nur in Einzelexemplaren, nahezu vollständig belegt ist.

Mehr als außergewöhnlich ist jedoch die mit 102 Exemplaren zweitstärkste Währungsgruppe des Treubacher Fundes, die sich aus Agleier Denaren der Görzer Grafen aus der Münzstätte Lienz in Osttirol zusammensetzt. Vertreten sind hier Gepräge der Grafen Meinhard III. (1232-1258), Meinhard IV. (1258-1271) und Albert II. (1271-1304).

Hinzu kommen noch ein Meraner Vierer der Grafschaft Tirol (zwischen 1335 u. 1341 geprägt)[8] sowie 5 Denare des Patriarchen Bertrandus aus Aquileia (1334-1350).

Das Schlußdatum des Fundes liegt damit irgendwo in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 14. Jahrhunderts. Ungewöhnlich dabei ist, daß die Gruppe der Görzer Denare noch vor 1300 schließt, wodurch sich eine Lücke, vor allem zu den unmittelbar benachbarten Aquileienser Denaren, von nahezu 50 Jahren ergibt. Die Ordnung der Görzer Gepräge ist auch seit langem ein offenes Desiderat, wobei ich darauf verweisen möchte, daß eine umfassende Publikation unter dem Titel *Münzgeschichte des alttirolischen Raumes im*

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6 J. LAMPEL, *Acta Austriae Inferioris. Niederösterreichisches Urkundenbuch* (ed. Verein für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich), Bd. I : *Urkundenbuch des aufgehobenen Chorherrenstiftes St. Pölten*, II. Teil : *1368-1400*, Wien, 1901, Nrn. 648, 649, 653.

7 Wie im bekannten Fund von Belzheim sind auch im Treubacher Schatz nahezu alle Heller-Typen vertreten.

8 Die genaue Datierung verdankte ich H. Rizzolli.

*Mittelalter* von H. Rizzolli (Bozen) in Vorbereitung steht und noch in diesem Jahr erscheinen soll[9].

Ähnlich dem von H.J. Kellner 1981 publizierten oberbayerischen Fund von Schongau II[10], ist der Treubacher Münzschatz ein deutliches Zeugnis für jene Handelsströme, die vom deutschen Raum über Österreich nach Italien geführt haben. In unserem Fall folgte der Weg wohl der Donau-Inn-Salzach-Linie und führte über das oberösterreichische Innviertel, Salzburg, die sog. *Obere Straße* über die Alpen nach Osttirol, an Lienz vorbei, vermutlich bis Venedig. Nicht unerwähnt darf in diesem Zusammenhang bleiben, daß gerade die Görzer Grafen bis in das 14. Jh. das Zoll- und Geleitsrecht in Osttirol sowie Teilen Kärntens und den angrenzenden südlichen Marken ausgeübt haben : Spittal, Greifenburg, Oberdrauburg, Lienz und das wichtige Venzone, das sie um die Mitte des 14. Jh. abtreten mußten, sind hier als Kontrollpunkte zu nennen.

Die einzige, wenn auch schlagende Parallele hat der Treubacher Münzschatz in einem wenig beachteten, 1926 von F. Dworschak leider auch nur kursorisch publizierten Fund aus Zell am See, das bezeichnenderweise direkt an der eben besprochenen *Oberen Straße* über die Heiligenbluter Tauern liegt[11]. Nach den Angaben Dworschaks enthielt der Zeller Fund 30-40 Handheller, vermischt mit 4 Lienzer Denaren der Grafen von Görz und einem Denar des Patriarchen Ottobonus v. Aquileia (1302-1315). Unter den Görzer Geprägen befanden sich Denare des Grafen Albert II., die auch in Treubach enthalten sind sowie – in Treubach fehlend – ein jüngerer Wappentyp, der dem Grafen Heinrich II. (1304-1323) zuzuweisen ist. Genaueres, so vor allem zu den einzelnen Heller-Typen, läßt sich nicht berichten, da, wie gesagt, eine detaillierte Publikation nicht erfolgt ist.

Der Haller selbst hat in Österreich nur am Rande eine Rolle gespielt. Stärkere Auswirkungen auf den Geldverkehr sind bisher nur an der N-Grenze des heutigen Bundeslandes Tirol nachweisbar[12]. So ist auch der Treubacher Münzschatz, abgesehen von dem viel kleineren aus Zell am See, der erste und einzige große Schatzfund Haller Heller, der auf österreichischem Territorium gefunden worden ist – allerdings ist er sicher nicht signifikant für den normalen Geldverkehr südlich des Inn. Der Fundort Treubach liegt auch gerade an jener Währungsgrenze, die Franz Bastian in seinem Runtinger-Buch für den Umlauf des Hellers um 1350 aufgezeigt hat[13].

Sonst ist der Heller in Österreich nur vereinzelt in größeren Fundkomplexen des ausgehenden 14. und 15. Jh. zu finden und als Streufundmünze, interessanterweise vor allem bei Kirchengrabungen, vom nördlichen Niederösterreich, über Oberösterreich, Salzburg, Tirol bis Vorarlberg immer wieder belegt.

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9 Der Band VI des *Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*, in dem auch die Görzer Gepräge enthalten sind, ist leider voll von Fehlern und daher als Zitiergrundlage unbrauchbar.

10 H.-J. KELLNER, *Ein Münzschatz des 14. Jahrhunderts aus Schongau, Ausstellungskataloge der prähistorischen Staatssammlung*, Bd. 9, München, 1981.

11 F. DWORSCHAK, *Der Münzfund von Zell am See*, in *MÖNG*, 15, 1926, p. 324.

12 B. KOCH, *Grundzüge einer mittelalterlichen Währungsgeographie Österreichs*, in *NZ*, 78, 1959, p. 70.

13 F. BASTIAN, *Das Runtingerbuch 1383-1407 und verwandtes Material zum Regensburger-Südostdeutschen Handel und Münzwesen* (*Deutsche Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, VI), Bd. I, Regensburg, 1954, p. 644 f.

# Mint Control in France under Charles VI (1380-1422)

David W. SORENSON*

The control of the various aspects of production in late medieval mints was a complicated business. The problems of control in France were perhaps greater than elsewhere in western Europe, because of the number of mints, both royal and feudal, within the borders of the kingdom. By 1380, most of the feudal coinages had long been gone, but some survived in the powerful duchies such as Burgundy and Brittany. With feudal coinages, however, this paper has little to do, since the royal coinage is sufficiently complex.

It should be noted at the outset that the remarks in this paper are specially intended to refer to silver or billon coins; many of the remarks can be equally applied to the gold coinage. As the subject of the round table, and hence of the papers presented, is that of mint-marks and their use, and the mint-marks used were in most cases identical for the two metals, at least in France, most of the comments can be applied to both.

A short numismatic history of the reign may be helpful at this point, since the coinage of the reign is a complicated study. Charles VI was crowned in 1380 at the death of his father Charles V. The new king was at that time still a minor. It is thus not surprising that the coinage of his first few years was identical to that of his father.

The real numismatic history of the reign begins five years later. In 1385 the coinage was reformed. Previous to this, the silver coin consisted of a billon *gros* of 15 *deniers* and its third, along with various petty coins. The new issue of 1385 consisted of a new *blanc* of ten *deniers tournois* : the surviving mint documents refer to it as the «blanc guenar». The half *blanc* appeared later, in 1388 : up to that time, the old *gros* survived, devalued to five *deniers*.

The reform of the coinage was, according to the *ordonnances*, brought also as a result of problems such as counterfeit coins and overvalued foreign and domestic coins of all sorts. The new issue was designed to restore public confidence in the royal coinage.

In 1389, as a part of the reorganization plan of the so-called «Marmousets» who at that time had charge of the government under the king, the system of mintmarks was developed[1]. The idea seems have been to allow a coin to be traced back to its producer. For the first time in centuries, it would be possible to attribute a coin to its mint of origin, and thus to the mintmaster responsible. Thus, if a mintmaster produced bad coin and sent in as his samples good coins from another mint as if they were his production, for example, the fraud would be easily detected. The marks were points placed under various letters of the legends, on both obverse and reverse of the coins, in addition to the issue marks which had been placed on coins for many years. This system, with modifications, remained in use until at least the middle of the sixteenth century.

The issue marks, found on the 1389 emission as well as those subsequent, were also very minor design features. The issue of 1385 had the letter O oval (0), whereas that of 1389 had round Os. The short-lived issue of 1405 had a point under the initial cross. The issue of 1411 had the mint-mark as an annulet rather than as a point and so on. The marks were designed to be secret, and the secret of the marks was kept with varying success.

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* Wollaston, USA.

1 F. ARTRAUD, *Charles VI*, Paris, 1986, p. 214-215.

The emission of 1389 was slightly debased from its predecessor. This issue was followed by two ones before the English invasion became a serious problem in 1417. That of 1405 was of little consequence : for uncertain reasons the entire issue (with the exception of a very few specimens which had probably been sent to the *cour des monnaies* for testing) was remelted. The 1389 issue then was produced again until 1411, when the coinage was again slightly debased and the issue mark was changed, as noted above.

Passing over the relatively scarce and unimportant *gros* issues of 1413, we find that the next important changes came with the English invasion of 1417. The invaders had to be resisted, and the war cost money. Debasement was one of the ways the money was raised. In this year the new *gros* of 20 *deniers*, commonly known as the «florette» was first issued. This coin was issued by various governmental entities up to 1422 in some places; the future Charles VII issued 21 different emissions. His last ones were only a fortieth part silver. In the territories controlled by the English and Burgundians the debasements were less severe, and they ended in 1421 with the introduction of the «niquet» of two *deniers tournois*. This is not the place to discuss the strange economics of a situation where two years the main coin in circulation was very small change indeed; suffice it to say that for all these issues the system of issue and mint-marks continued in use.

The investigator is fortunate when examining the coinage of this period, because of the wealth of surviving documentary evidence. The mint accounts, it is true, are fragmentary. Occasionally something new does turn up; there are, for example, pieces of the roll of the silver mint of Paris serving at the present time as labels for documents of the *Corporation des Monnayeurs*. These pieces, in the *Archives Nationales* in Paris[2], are an example of what may still be found. However, in terms of information concerning the operation of the mints, the records currently known are very useful.

As far as the precise attribution of the mint-marks of 1389 to 1417 is concerned, this information is contained in the text of the original ordonnance of 11.IX.1389 and is described in detail both by de Saulcy and Lafaurie[3], and the issue marks are also described by there respective ordonnances. After 1417 the situation is complicated by the opening of large numbers of new mints for which the old system was inadequate. There are just so many letters in a coin's legend. It became necessary to develop some alternative method of handling the new mints. The first one was Lyons which opened in 1416; its mint-mark was a trefoil placed originally in place of the initial cross. After 1417 the new mints were accomodated by assigning them some letter or symbol to be placed between the last letter of the legends and the initial cross. For this system some information has survived, but there are extant coins with unattributed marks, and there are marks decreed for mints which do not appear to have issued any coins. The issue marks were another source of problems. In the territory controlled by the Dauphin, most of the issue marks were simply added to the old dies to save time. Most of these marks are well known from official documents, but unfortunately they were not always properly used. Duplessy lists several groups of as many as three emissions which cannot be distinguished by marks[4]. Occasionally a coin turns up which cannot be properly attributed to any issue, since it bears the marks of an emission not documented as having been struck at the particular mint. Many of the problems can be explained in the light of the political climate.

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2 These fragments are at present in use as labels for loose documents in the boxes of papers of the *Corporation des Monnayeurs* in the *Archives Nationales* (A. N.) in Paris, inventoried under class $T^{1491}$. For a discussion, see D. SORENSON, *Silver and Billon Coinage in France under Charles VI*, unpublished thesis, Cambridge, 1988, appendix C.

3 F. DE SAULCY, *Recueil de monuments monétaires*, 2, Caen, 1888, p. 53-57; J. LAFAURIE, *Les monnaies des rois de France*, I, Paris, 1951, p. 70-73; J. DUPLESSY, *Les monnaies françaises royales*, I, Paris, 1988, p. 164-167.

4 J. DUPLESSY, *op. cit.*, p. 189-190.



*Fig. 1.* Guénar *of 1385, first emission, showing point in upper left angle of the initial cross; 2.* Guénar *of 1385, first emission, showing point between top of shield and inner circle; 3.* Guénar *of 1389, second emission. Romans mint, showing point under the second letter of the legend; 4. Reverse of* Guénar *of 1411, fourth emission. Tournai mint, showing annulet under the sixteenth letter of the legend, and three pellet punctuation between words; 5.* Guénar *of 1389, second emission. Sainte-Menehould mint, showing special punctuation between words; 6.* Maille tournois *of 1389, showing unidentified mark of a pellet between the fourth and fifth letters of the legend, and above rather than below them; 7. Delphinal* florette *of 1419, third-fifth emission. Limoges mint, annulet under the tenth letter, initial cross with two pellets to right, round O; 8. Delphinal* florette *of 1419, sixth or seventh emission. Bourges mint, B at end of legends, long 0, cross «batonnée» at start of legend; 9. Delphinal* florette *of 1421, thirteenth or fourteenth emission. Mouzon mint, M with annulet below at end of legend, round O, annulets under crown obverse and small crown reverse; 10. Delphinal* florette *of 1421, fifteenth emission. Orleans mint, O at end of legend, long 0 open at top and bottom, with point, annulet under small crown reverse.*

Early in the reign the mints were not expected to do much more than pay their own expenses[5]. During the war, the mint profit was of vital importance, and when debasements occurred (and they occurred frequently) it was considered far more important to collect the profit than it was to ensure that everything was carried out according to the rules[6]. Thus such things as issue marks would be forgotten occasionally

5 The total of the mint profits was always low unless a new issue had been recently introduced. The tables provided by Rey show that mint profit, as opposed to the samples provided for testing, was usually on the order of 0.5-0.8 % of the total receipts of the treasury; the test samples were usually much larger. See M. REY, *Le domaine du roi et les finances extraordinaires sous Charles VI*, Paris, 1965, p. 80-101, as well as the various expense accounts of the mint records in the $Z^{1B}$ series in the A.N.

6 See e.g. the order of March 1419, cited in F. DE SAULCY, *op. cit.*, p. 423., where substandard coin was declared acceptable because of the great scarcity of and need for small coins.

or it might be considered necessary to strike the coins before the die-gravers could convert all the dies to the new pattern. Since the changes between issues were for the most part minor (e.g. adding a point somewhere around the initial cross), this would seem to have been trivial; but with only one graver for the entire province of Dauphiné, the work was not always possible to perform at short notice[7].

A quite different phenomenon appears when we look at coins of the first emission of 1385. At that time there were no official marks of any sort on the coins. Even the issue mark was not really a distinguishing feature, as there was at the time no other issue from which it had to be distinguished. Nevertheless there were several marks added to some of the coin dies, some of which can be found on surviving coins.

The most common of these marks involves punctuation. The main variety replaces the stops of two annulets on the reverse of the *blanc* with three pellets. This mark can be attributed, since it continues in use in later emissions as well, despite the fact that it is not official, and is not documented. The mark appears on coins of Tournai and its «satellite», Saint-Quentin, of the emissions of 1389 and 1411, and thus can reasonably be attributed to them when found on coins of the issue of 1385 as well. Another mark, a T between the initial cross and the first letter of the legends, has been attributed to Toulouse.

Lafaurie and Duplessy describe a number of other marks, none of which can be attributed with certainty[8]. There are several more which neither of them lists. Most consist of points distributed in various places around the design. Examples include one with a point between two of the arms of the initial cross, and another with a point between the top of the shield and the inner circle of the obverse. These two are illustrated in the Figure.

It is possible to speculate (although not to do more than that) about the meaning of these marks. It is possible that they are an indication of the master responsible. It would seem more likely, however, that if they were someone's signature, that person was the graver who signed his handwork.

Adding to the complications is the fact that a number of mints appear in the documents which do not seem to have produced attributable coins. Thus in 1389 the mints of Mount-Dôme and Issoudon appear in the treasury reports, and Condom appears as late as 1402, albeit listed as not producing anything[9]. While these mints may well not have minted anything after 1389, they might well have done so before then. The ordonnance of 11 September 1389 does not list these mints; instead, it lists Sainte-Menehould among the mints, despite the fact that it did not open until 1393[10].

The marks on the coins, whether official or not, served to distinguish various issues of coin. The official ones were intended to be secret, and the handling of this «classified information» was entrusted to the *garde*, or warden, of each mint. The

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7 *Archives Départementales de l'Isère* (A.I.), B2824 f. 134r., cited in D. SORENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 168-169. In emergencies, the dies were altered by the wardens; see *Ibidem*, 127r. for a set of instructions to this effect.

8 J. LAFAURIE, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

9 A.N. KK14. In passing it should be noted that it is possible in some instances to determine the delay between the production of coins and the appearance of related records in the treasury accounts. In Dijon, at the *Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or* (A.O.), there exist production records for Dijon mint, as well as detailed treasury accounts which allow comparison (B11215, mint accounts for 1417-23; B1594 and B1598 for receipts 1417-9). An examination indicates that, at least at those place and time, the mint receipts were processed usually between one and eight months after production, and this can be confirmed for the mint of Troyes. The most common interval was two to five months.

10 The mint was listed among those assigned mintmarks in 1389; see F. DE SAULCY, *op. cit.*, p. 57. However, the mint was not even created on paper until late 1392 and the graver for that mint was not named until January of 1393 (new style). See *Ibidem*, p. 78.

masters of these mints usually worked for themselves; the two wardens of each mint acted as the agents of the crown, and served as the major instruments of royal control.

In the archives at Grenoble is preserved a set of instructions for a warden, dated to 1417[11]. The intend of these instructions seems to have been to teach security to the wardens. The system of control was complex, producing many independant records of bullion and production, and ensuring that those who used the means of production (e.g. the dies) had no access to them after regular hours (the dies were locked in a chest by the wardens, and the keys retained). As far as accounting was concerned, the quantities of coinage produced were written down many times, from accounts of daily production by each pair of coiners to the final accounts of the receipt of the test samples into the treasury. Opportunities for fraud were few, but there were those willing to try it. The master of a mint probably had the least opportunity, if for no other reason than that he was the natural opponent of the other officers : the master worked for himself, whereas the wardens worked for the crown and the *contregarde*, or comptroller, represented the interests of the bullion sellers (at least in theory).

Fraud was, of course, not eliminated by these measures. It was simply made more complicated. It was no longer possible, after 1389, to produce base coins and substitute those of some other mint in the required test samples. Dishonest masters turned to other schemes. In 1407, for example, an investigation uncovered the situation in the mint of St-André, where the master and wardens conspired to eliminate the offices of graver and assayer, allowing the wardens to hold them, and split the salaries with the master[12]. This scheme was brought to light because the warden performing the essays was not very skilful. Most of the time, however, the fraud consisted of cheating a little on the weight and fineness of the coins, and hoping that nobody found it out. This sort of business is probably the explanation of the series of problems brought to light by the *Cour des Monnaies*' examination of the state of affairs at Ste-Menehould in 1403[13].

Mint control had other aspects as well. As a result of the English invasion of 1417, the French mints for the first time in many years became a significant source of crown revenue. The best route to short-term profits was that of debasement, either of weight, fineness, or both. Beginning in 1417, this route was well-travelled; at one point the mint profit was as much as 80% of the total crown receipts[14].

The debasements worked using a simple scheme. The price paid at the mints for bullion was raised. To compensate this, the standards of the coin were lowered to more than make up the difference. The mint price was public knowledge : the coinage standards were secret. The sellers of bullion were led to believe that they were getting more for their metal. This was of course an illusion, which required secrecy on the part of the mint officers regarding the coinage standards.

An example of how this worked can be seen in the numbers involved in one such stage of debasement. The coinage standards in force under the Dauphin in August 1420 were such that a total of 10,838 *deniers tournois* were struck from a pure marc of silver. The mint price at the time was 6,000 deniers for that marc. The seigneurage for the striking of that marc was 4,800 *deniers*, and the remaining 1,200 were the master's profit. In September, the coinage was further debased. The new standard had the pure marc yielding 12,051 *deniers*. The mint price was raised to 6,480 *deniers*, an increase of

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11 These instructions are transcribed and discussed in D. SORENSON, *op. cit.*, appendix A and p. 154-160. The original is to be found as A.I. B2824, ff. 76r.-81r.

12 D. SORENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 148-149, citing F. DE SAULCY, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

13 F. DE SAULCY, *op. cit.*, p. 121 ff. It seems likely that the change in the arrangement of the punctuation on the coins was an effort to distinguish the coins struck before and after the series of problems. See *Ibidem*, p. 121.

14 M. REY, *op. cit.*, p. 125, among others.

8%. The seigneurage was raised to 5,520 *deniers*, an increase of 15%. The master's profit declined to 51 *deniers*[15].

In order to do this successfully, the issues had to be distinguished from each other, but in such a way that nobody not in on the secret had much chance of finding out. Thus one of the factors involved in choosing a warden, or his lieutenant, was that he could keep secrets[16]. Even today the marks which distinguish the various issues are not always easy to determine. It must be noted, however, that the secrets were sometimes open ones : in Dauphiné, in November 1419, for example, we have a letter complaining, among other things, that the bullion merchants knew the difference between the good coins and the bad ones as well as the mintmasters themselves did[17].

Thus the mints of France exercised mint control in various ways. The mintmasters were agents of this control, but they were also targets of the control procedures as well. The entire system within the mints consisted of a sort of «checks and balances'» arrangements ensuring that nobody would be able to perpetrate large-scale frauds. The system of «secret marks» was not only directed at the mint personnel, however. Other marks were used to allow payments for bullion to be made using the basest possible coin available, and thus allowing payment of the lowest possible price. As far as effectiveness is concerned, the system appears to have worked fairly well, since those few reported frauds seem to have netted very little compared with the quantities of coins and bullion handled.

Note : the emissions noted for the florettes are according to DUPLESSY, *op. cit.*, p. 189-190.

15 Calculations from the tables in D. SORENSON, *op. cit.*, appendix D. The data there are calculated from a variety of mint accounts and notes of bullion prices.

16 D. SORENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

17 A.I. B2428, ff. 138r.-140r., transcribed in D. SORENSON, *op. cit.*, p. 322-324.

# Diners de la Torre del Baró, Viladecans (Barcelona). Un ejemplo de la economía fiduciaria en la Cataluña de la Baja Edad Media

Maria CLUA I MERCADAL*

En el año 1987, durante los trabajos de excavación en la Torre del Baró de Viladecans, fue hallado un tesoro de 300 *diners* pertenecientes a la Baja Edad Media.

*1. El yacimiento*

La Torre del Baró se encuentra situada en el término municipal de Viladecans, en la provincia de Barcelona. El municipio está atravesado por dos caminos históricos : el camino real de Barcelona y el camino real de Valencia. La torre, un edificio fortificado, queda emplazada en el centro urbano de la villa.

El Servicio del Patrimonio Arquitectónico de la Diputación de Barcelona realizó una excavación arqueológica previa a la restauración del edificio. Los trabajos de investigación se prolongaron durante el período 1986-89, dando como resultado nuevos datos sobre la vida del edificio y respuesta a numerosas cuestiones históricas que la documentación escrita no recogía.

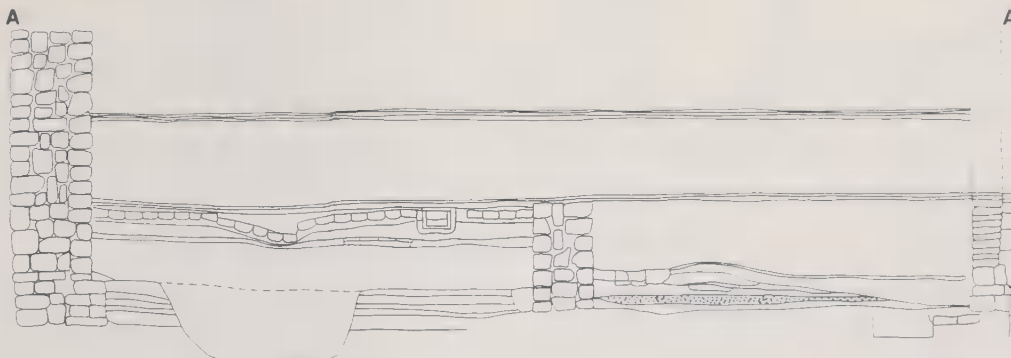



*Fig. 1. Sección de la Torre del Baró, A-A, direcció este-oeste, donde se localiza el estrato 449, nivel en el que se encontró el tesoro ( estrato del hallazgo).*

Las primeras noticias sobre Viladecans se remontan a un documento del Cartulario del monasterio de Sant Cugat, donde en el año 1010 aparece el topónimo *canis vallis*. Otras crónicas hacen referencia al señor de Viladecans que viviría en la Torre del Baró. La documentación escrita sobre el yacimiento continua hasta nuestros días.

*2. Circunstancias del hallazgo*

Los trabajos de excavación constataron la presencia de las siguientes fases : la primera abarcaba los siglos XI y XII, momento en el que se definía el perímetro cuadrangular del edificio. A finales del siglo XIII se amplió la construcción quedando la torre tal y como se conoce actualmente. Las reformas realizadas en el siglo XIV anularon elementos de etapas anteriores, como el estribo de un arco, junto a cuyos cimientos apareció el tesoro. El pavimento que amortizaba esta fase se data a finales del siglo XIV, no sólo por la aparición de las monedas, sino también por las cerámicas que se

* Barcelona.

encontraron. Son piezas grises cuya forma más generalizada es la olla globular de labio exvasado de pasta bien cocida y poco desgrasante[1].

El tesoro apareció en el sector suroeste de la habitación A, en el estrato 449, debajo de un pavimento de cal. Las monedas estaban agrupadas con restos de lo que podía haber sido su contenedor, una bolsa de algún tipo de tejido. La posición del hallazgo en la estratigrafía, el tipo de cerámicas encontrado, y por supuesto el mismo tesoro que abarca desde el reinado de Jaume I (1213-1276) hasta Pere III (1336-1387) daban una cronología de finales del siglo XIV.

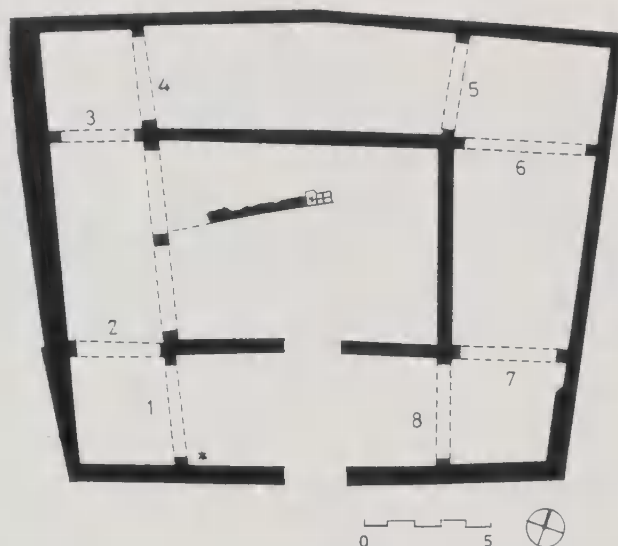



*Fig. 2. Planta de la Torre del Baró durante el siglo XIV, * habitación del hallazgo.*

Las monedas más antiguas presentan un desgaste mayor que las modernas. Parece que hubieran tenido una larga circulación sin perder su valor a lo largo del tiempo. Estas características hacen pensar en un tesoro de tipo accidental[2]. Todas las monedas que aperecen en el tesoro circulaban en el momento de su ocultación, perdiéndose de un modo accidental por causas desconocidas.

*3. Las monedas*

El tesoro está compuesto por 299 *diners* y 1 *òbol*, entre las que no se encuentra ninguna pieza inédita. Como ya se ha mencionado, su cronología abarca desde el reinado de Jaume I hasta el de Pere III. Están representados todos los talleres monetarios que funcionaban en el territorio peninsular de la Corona de Aragón, además del de Montpeller.

1 V. NIÑO, *Investigación arqueológica en la Torre del Baró de Viladecans*, in *II Congreso de Arqueología Medieval*, 2, Madrid, 1987, p. 229-238.

2 Ph. GRIERSON, *Numismatics*, Oxford, 1975, p. 124-130.

| autoritad | valor | cronología | ceca | n° | piezas - % | total | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jaume I | diner | 1258 | Barcelona | 73 | 24,33 | | |
| | diner | 1270 | Barcelona | 63 | 21 | | |
| | diner | 1271 | Valencia | 60 | 20 | | |
| | diner | 1236 | Aragón | 3 | 1 | 199 | 66,33 |
| Jaume II | diner | 1291-1327 | Barcelona | 67 | 22,33 | | |
| | òbol | 1291-1327 | Barcelona | 1 | 0,33 | | |
| | diner | 1308 | Aragón | 4 | 1,33 | 72 | 24 |
| Alfons III | diner | 1327-1336 | Barcelona | 4 | 1,33 | 4 | 1,33 |
| Pere III | diner | 1336-1387 | Barcelona | 15 | 5 | | |
| | diner | 1350 | Aragón | 1 | 0,33 | 16 | 5,33 |
| Montpeller | diner | 1204-1349 | | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Ilegibles | diner | | Barcelona | 3 | 1 | | |
| | diner | | incerta | 3 | 1 | 6 | 2 |
| TOTAL | | | | | | 300 | |

### *3.1 Inventario*

<u>JAUME I (1213-1276) :</u> *Diners*, ceca de Barcelona

Emisión del año 1258 :

1-22 : a/ + BARQINO : Busto coronado del rey a la izq.
r/ -IA-CO-B'R-EX : Cruz patada, en el 1° y 4° espacio una anilla y en el 2° y 3° tres puntos.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 165; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 153.
0,67 - 0,66 - 0,65 - 0,63 - 0,61 - 0,59 - 0,52 - 0,52 - 0,47 - 0,38 (r)[3] - 0,35 (r) - 0,28 (r).

23-24 : a/ ídem.
r/ ídem. En el 1° y 4° espacio tres puntos, y en el 2° y 3° una anilla.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 169; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 153-1.
0,96 - 0,80 - 0,75 - 0,73 - 0,67 - 0,63 - 0,57 - 0,56 - 0,48 (r) - 0,46 (r) - 0,36 (r).

35-55 : a/ + : BARQINO : ídem.
r/ : IA-CO-B'R-EX : En el 1° y 4° espacio tres puntos, y en el 2° y 3° una anilla.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 169.
0,82 - 0,79 - 0,76 - 0,74 - 0,70 - 0,66 - 0,64 - 0,62 - 0,60 - 0,57 - 0,55 (r) - 0,54 - 0,51 (r) - 0,46 - 0,43 - 0,42 (r) - 0,41 (r).

56-73 : Tipo no indentificable.
0,68 - 0,64 - 0,63 - 0,59 - 0,57 - 0,56 - 0,53 - 0,51 - 0,50 (r) - 0,46 - 0,44 - 0,41 (r) - 0,35 (r) - 0,28 (r).

Emisión del año 1270 :

74-92 : a/ + BARQINONA : Busto coronado del rey a izq.
r/ IA-CO-B'R-EX- : En el 1° y 4° espacio una anilla, y en el 2° y 3° tres puntos.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 171; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 155.
0,98 - 0, 81 - 0,79 - 0,78 - 0,77 - 0,73 - 0,71 - 0,70 - 0,69 - 0,66 - 0,64 - 0,63 - 0,59 (r) - 0,57 - 0, 52 - 0,50 (r) - 0,49 - 0,47 (r).

93-134 : a/ ídem.
r/ ídem. En el 1° y 4° espacio tres puntos y en el 2° y 3° una anilla.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 172; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 155-1.
0,96 - 0,89 (r) - 0,88 - 0,86 - 0,85 - 0,83 (r) - 0,81 - 0,77 - 0,76 - 0,75 - 0,74 - 0,73 - 0,72 (r) - 0,69 - 0,67 - 0,65 - 0,64 (r) - 0,63 - 0,61 - 0,60 (r) - 0,59 (r) - 0,57 (r) - 0,56 (r) - 0, 55 (r) - 0,54 (r) - 0,50 - 0,49 (r).

135-136 : Tipo no indentificable.
0,88 - 0,68 (r).

*Diners*, ceca de Valencia :

137-196 : a/ : IACOBVS REX : Busto coronado del rey a izq.
r/ + VALE-NCIE : Arbol estilizado con cruz superior.
Mateu, 1929 : lám. I, n° 3; Crusafont, 982 : n° 163.

3 (r) = rota, falta un pequeño fragmento.

0,89 - 0,88 - 0,87 - 0,76 - 0,74 - 0,73 - 0,71 - 0,70 - 0,69 (r) - 0,68 - 0,67 - 0,66 (r) - 0,65 (r) - 0,64 - 0,62 (r) - 0,60 - 0,59 (r) - 0,58 - 0,56 (r) - 0,55 (r) - 0,54 - 0, 53 (r) - 0,52 (r) - 0,51 - 0,50 (r) - 0,49 (r) - 0,48 - 0,47 (r) - 0,46 - 0,45 (r) - 0,41 - 0,40 (r) - 0,38 (r) - 0,37 - 0,33 (r).

*Diners*, ceca de Aragón :

197-199 : a/ ARA-GON : Busto coronado del rey a izq.
r/ : IACOBVS REX : Cruz patriarcal.
Heiss, 1867 : n° 1; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 166.
0,67 - 0,60 - 0,40 (r).

## JAUME II (1291-1327) : Diners, ceca de Barcelona

200-215 : a/ IACOBVS REX : (letras latinas) Busto coronado del rey a izq.
r/ -BA-QI-NO-NA : Cruz patada, en el 1° y 4° espacio una anilla y en el 2° y 3° tres puntos.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 195; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 180.
0,94 - 0,86 - 0,85 - 0,78 - 0,77 - 0,75 - 0,73 - 0,72 - 0,71 - 0,70 - 0,69 - 0,65 (r) - 0,61 (r).

216-230 : a/ ídem (letras góticas).
r/ ídem.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 199; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 180-1.
0,99 - 0,84 - 0,82 - 0,79 - 0,78 - 0,76 (r) - 0,75 - 0,72 (r) - 0,68 - 0,67 (r) - 0,60 (r) - 0,59 - 0,54.

231-245 : a/ + IACOBVS REX : (letras latinas). Idem.
r/ -BA-QI-NO-NA- : Idem, en el 1° y 4° espacio tres puntos, y en el 2° y 3° una anilla.
Crusafont, 1982 : n° 180-3.
1,22 - 0,80 (r) - 0,79 - 0,77 - 0,75 - 0,73 - 0,71 - 0,69 (r) - 0,65 - 0,64 (r) - 0,54 - 0,52 (r).

246-266 : a/ ídem (letras góticas).
r/ ídem.
Crusafont, 1982 : n° 180-5.
0,99 (r) - 0,90 - 0,87 - 0,76 (r) - 0,75 - 0,74 - 0,71 - 0,67 (r) - 0,65 - 0,63 - 0,62 - 0,61 - 0,56 - 0,43 (r).

*Obol*, ceca de Barcelona :

267 : a/ + IACOBVS REX : (letras latinas) Idem.
r/ -BA-QI-NO-NA : (igual n. 200-215).
Botet, 1908-11 : n° 196; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 181.
0,76 g.

*Diners*, ceca de Aragón :

268-271 : a/ ARA-GON : Busto coronado del rey a izq.
r/ IACOBVS REX : Cruz con doble travesaño.
Heiss, 1867 : n° 1; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 189.
0,74 - 0,71 - 0,44 (r).

## ALFONS III (1327-1336) : *Diners*, ceca de Barcelona

272-274 : a/ + ALFONSVS REX : Busto coronado del rey a izq.
r/ -BA-QI-NO-NA- : Cruz patada, en el 1° y 4° espacios una anilla, y en el 2° y 3° tres puntos.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 206; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 192.
0,76 - 0,75 - 0,61.

275 : a/ ídem.
r/ ídem : En el 1° y 4° espacios tres puntos, y en el 2° y 3° una anilla.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 207; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 192-1.
0,85.

PERE III (1327-1387) : *Diners*, ceca de Barcelona

276-281 : a/ + PETRVS REX : (letras latinas) Busto coronado del rey a izq, vestido decorado con tres puntos.
r/ -BA-QI-NO-NA- : Cruz patada, en el 1° y 4° espacios una anilla y en el 2° y 3° tres puntos.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 229; Vilaret, 1977 : n° 1.
1,05 - 1,02 - 0,95 - 0,79 - 0,75 - 0,71.

282 : a: ídem : (letras góticas). Cuatro puntos en el vestido.
r/ ídem : En el 1° y 4° espacios tres puntos, y en el 2° y 3° una anilla.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 231; Vilaret, 1977 : n° 13.
0,84.

283-288 : a/ ídem : (letras latinas) Vestido con legüetas marcadas.
r/ ídem : En el 1° y 4° espacios una anilla, y en el 2° y 3° tres puntos.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 224; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 232.
0,96 - 0,88 - 0,80 - 0,78 - 0,70 - 0,65.

289-290 : a/ ídem : (letras latinas) Vestido con lengüetas.
r/ ídem : En el 1° y 4° espacios tres puntos, y en el 2° y 3° una anilla.
Botet, 1908-1911 : n° 223; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 223-1.

*Diners*, ceca de Aragón.

291 : a/ ARAGON : Busto coronado del rey a izq.
r/ PETRVS DEI GRA REX : Cruz con doble travesaño.
Heiss, 1867 : n° 1; Crusafont, 1982 : n° 262.
0,82.

SEÑORÍO DE MONTPELLER : *Diners melgoresos.*

292-294 : a/ RAIMVNO : Palo custodiado por dos estandartes formando una cruz.
r/ NARBONA : Cuatro anillos y un punto en el centro.
Poey d'Avant, 1853 : n° 15.
0,56 - 0,50 - 0,26 (r).

## *4. Comentario*

La comparación del tesoro de Viladecans con otro hallazgo similar ayudará a establecer las pautas de comportamiento de la moneda en la Baja Edad Media (vid. gráfica). El tesoro hallado en el Paseo de Colón, de la ciudad de Barcelona, estudiado por Mateu Llopis[4] y comentado por A. Ma. Balaguer[5], tiene una composición similar al de Viladecans. Ambos hallazgos se sitúan en la zona litoral catalana, aunque la cronología final del tesoro de Barcelona es posterior : mediados de siglo XV. La composición del tesoro de Barcelona es la siguiente :

| autoritad | valor | cronología | ceca | n° | piezas - % | total | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jaume I | diner | 1258 | Barcelona | 17 | 22,66 | | |
| | diner | 1270 | Barcelona | 22 | 29,33 | | |
| | diner | 1271 | Valencia | 11 | 14,68 | 50 | 66,66 |
| Jaume II | diner | 1291-1327 | Barcelona | 18 | 24 | 18 | 24 |
| Pere III | diner | 1327-1387 | Barcelona | 5 | 6,66 | 5 | 6,66 |
| Alfons IV | diner | 1451-1458 | Valencia | 1 | 1,33 | | |
| | diner | 1416-1458 | Rosellón | 1 | 1,33 | 2 | 2,66 |
| TOTAL | | | | | | 75 | |

4 J. MATEU LLOPIS, *Tesorillo de vellón de los siglos XIII-XIV en Barcelona*, in *Cuadernos de Arqueología e Historia de la Ciudad*, 12, Barcelona, 1969, p. 80-90.

5 A.M. BALAGUER, *La circulació monetària al pla de Barcelona a l'època medieval*, in *I Congrés d'Història del Pla de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1982, p. 215-230.

El volumen de moneda de Jaume I es similar en ambos tesoros, un 66 % del total, y la ceca de Barcelona es la más representada. La primera emisión de este taller que se realizó en el año 1258, está representada en Viladecans con un 24,33 % y en el de Barcelona con un 22,66 %. Estas producciones marcaron la tipología del *diner* de terno. El rey juró que ni él ni sus sucesores variarían la ley y el tipo de las monedas, y fue declarada perpetua[6]. Estas emisiones duraron hasta el año 1270, en que el rey hizo una nueva acuñación por valor de 25.000 marcos de plata[7]. En el tesoro de Viladecans, de esta nueva emisión, hay un 21 % y en el de Barcelona un 29,33 %. Así pues, la elevada presencia del numerario de Jaume I de la ceca de Barcelona, es lógica si se considera la larga perduración de estas emisiones.

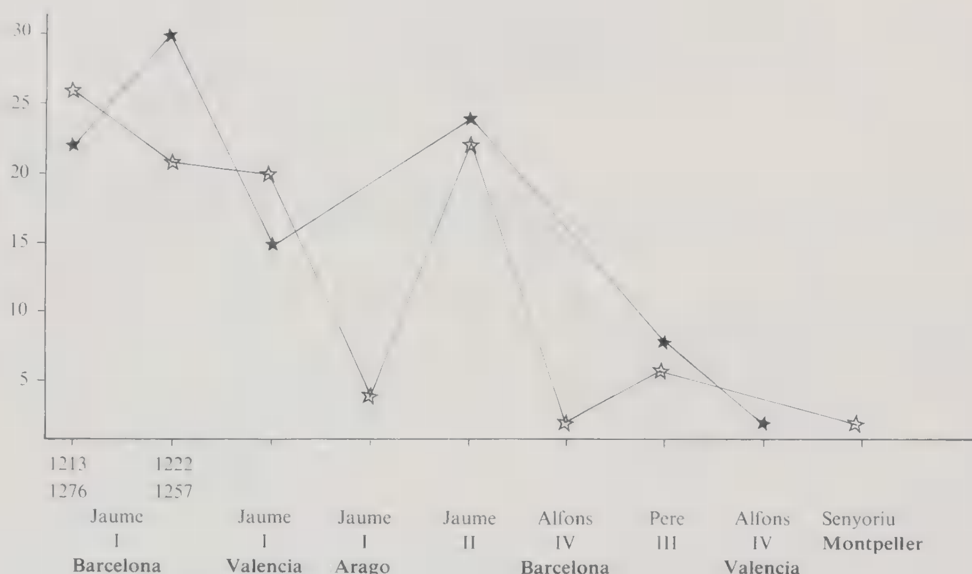



*Fig. 3. Comparación del hallazgo de la Torre del Baró con el de la ciudad de Barcelona.*
*- - + - - Torre del Baró; — - * - - ciudad de Barcelona.*

Las acuñaciones de Valencia, a nombre de Jaume I, son comunes en ambos tesoros: Viladecans 20 % y Barcelona 14,66 %. En los dos sólo se encuentran piezas del tipo establecido en el año 1271. A pesar de quedar fuera del límite del condado de Barcelona, las monedas valencianas no son extrañas en los hallazgos de esta zona. La moneda a nombre del «Conquistador» se acuñó en grandes proporciones, incluso después de su muerte, en la ceca de Valencia y el rey dejó disposiciones sobre su funcionamiento[8]. Ningún otro rey, hasta Alfons IV el «Magnánimo», fabricó moneda de terno, a su nombre en el taller de Valencia. Por lo que es difícil precisar en que momento se incorpora a los tesoros este numerario.

Las piezas de la ceca de Aragón acuñadas por Jaume I sólo se encuentran en Viladecans, 1,33 % del total. La ceca aragonesa fue la primera en acuñar moneda de terno a nombre de Jaume I, en el año 1236. Por disposición oficial, todos los pagos se

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6 J. BOTET, *Les monedes Catalanes*, Barcelona, 1908-1911, p. 40.

7 ID., *op. cit.*, p. 42.

8 J. MATEU LLOPIS, *La ceca de Valencia y las acuñaciones de los siglos XIII al XVIII*, Valencia, 1929, p. 6-7.

efectuaban en moneda de terno[9] y su circulación estaba vinculada al territorio aragonés, incluidas las ciudades de Lérida y Tortosa. Lo que explica la poca presencia de moneda jaquesa en la costa catalana.

El porcentaje de moneda aparecido a nombre de Jaume II es idéntico en los dos tesoros, un 24 %. Los *diners* de la ceca de Barcelona tienen un porcentaje del 22,33 % en Viladecans, además de la presencia de un *òbol*, y un 24 % en Barcelona. El rey Jaume II en las cortes del día 10 de abril de 1291 confirmó y otorgó perpetuidad a la moneda de terno[10]. A partir de este momento se realizaron varias emisiones, siendo difícil establecer el volumen de las mismas[11]. La aparición de un solo divisor muestra como la circulación de las piezas fraccionarias era menor.

En el tesoro de Viladecans se repite de nuevo la escasa presencia de moneda jaquesa a nombre de Jaume II, un 1,33 % del total. Este monarca acuñó, en el reino de Aragón, la cantidad de cuatro cuentos y medio de moneda, puesto que las emisiones de Jaume I estaban ya agotadas[12].

Del reinado de Alfons III sólo se encuentran monedas en el tesoro de Viladecans y todas son de la ceca de Barcelona, un 1,33 % del total. La ausencia de moneda de este período en el tesoro de Barcelona y la baja presencia en el de Viladecans, no es extraña ya que el reinado de Alfons III fue corto y sus emisiones escasas. Una de las piezas aparece finamente recortada hasta alcanzar el módulo de los *òbols*, pero su peso es superior al de aquéllos. La problématica sobre los *òbols* de este período ha sido tratada por Crusafont[13]. El hecho descrito constata que hay una falta de moneda pequeña en el circuito y que las emisiones de *òbols* eran realmente escasas.

Las emisiones de Pere III aparecen en proporción similar en ambos tesoros, en el de Viladecans hay un 5 % de *diners* y en el de Barcelona un 6,66 %. La ceca de Barcelona, en este período, tiene una gran diversidad de tipos, pero por el momento no se tienen datos suficientes para establecer el volumen de producción ni su cronología[14]. Así pues, la presencia de sólo un 5 % de moneda de Pere III en el tesoro de Viladecans, cantidad similar al tesoro de Barcelona, muestra fielmente la proporción del numerario circulante a nombre de este monarca en esta época. Nada indicaría una proporción extraña como apunta A. Ma. Balaguer[15]. El estudio de estos tesoros muestra como el volumen de emisiones de *diners* de Pere III no alcanzan las proporciones del material acuñado a nombre de Jaume I en Barcelona.

En el tesoro de Viladecans aparece también un *diner* del taller de Aragón a nombre de Pere III. Es un hecho a considerar puesto que la acuñación de estas piezas, en la ciudad de Zaragoza, duró un corto período de tiempo - 1350-1353[16]. Encontrar moneda jaquesa fuera de su área legal de circulación, también se documenta en el hallazgo de Voltrera[17] y en el tesoro de l'Ariège[18].

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9 P. BELTRÀN, *Obra completa. II Numismática de la Edad Media y de los reyes Católicos*, Zaragoza, 1972, p. 397.

10 J. BOTET, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

11 F. DOMINGO, *Diners barcelonins de Jaume II*, in *ActaNum*, 16, 1986, p. 154.

12 P. BELTRAN., *op. cit.*, p. 445.

13 M. CRUSAFONT, *L'òbol de Barcelona d'Alfons III (1327-1335)*, in *GacNum*, 46, 1977, p. 15-22.

14 J. VILARET, *Els diners barcelonins de Pere Terç*, in *ActaNum*, 7, 1977, p. 194.

15 A.M. BALAGUER, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

16 J. BOTET, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

17 A.M. BALAGUER, *Troballa del Castell de Voltrera*, in *ActaNum*, 11, 1981, p. 262-265.

18 G. SAVES, L. VILLARONGA, *Les monnaies de la Péninsule Ibérique trouvées en France dans la région Midi-Pyrénées (II)*, in *ActaNum*, 4, 1974, p. 235-264.

El conjunto monetario de Viladecans se cierra en el reinado de Pere III y el de Barcelona continuará hasta el reinado de Alfons IV, con dos piezas : un divisor de la ceca de Valencia y otro acuñado en Rosellón. En esta etapa la ceca de Barcelona no batió moneda.

En cuanto a las monedas de Montpeller, éstas sólo aparecen en el tesoro de Viladecans. Los *diners melgoresos* son tipos inmovilizados que circulan sin interrupción desde el 1204 hasta el 1349[19] y funcionaban como divisa fuerte en las transacciones comerciales[20]. La circulación de estas piezas junto con monedas de la Corona aragonesa, es habitual dadas las relaciones existentes entre ambos territorios.

*5. Conclusiones*

El tesoro de Viladecans es un hallazgo fundamental para empezar a establecer un modelo de circulación monetaria, de *diners* y *òbols*, en la zona del condado de Barcelona durante la Baja Edad Media. Hasta el momento, para establecer las conclusiones sobre circulación, se disponía del tesoro de Barcelona, estudiado por Mateu[21], además de hallazgos de tipo aislado como es el caso del castillo de Voltrera[22], pudiendo incluir también el tesoro de l'Ariège, localizado fuera del territorio peninsular[23]. Del tesoro de Viladecans se pueden destacar los siguientes puntos :

La circulación de moneda de vellón a finales de siglo XIV es muy «vieja». Hay un elevado porcentaje de moneda residual a nombre de Jaume I (66,33 %), las piezas de sus sucesores nunca alcanzan este volumen. Esto concuerda con los datos conocidos, hasta el momento, sobre la producción de moneda en estos reinados.

La ceca más representada es la de Barcelona, aunque también aparecen monedas de los talleres de Valencia, al sur, y de Aragón, en el interior del reino. Esto documenta, como el *diner* de terno desde su inicio en Aragón, el año 1236, hasta su unificación en toda la Corona a partir del 1257, circuló con la misma ley y el mismo valor. El cambio de monarca no significaba la retirada del monetario circulante a su nombre. Apoyándose en la fórmula del «pactismo», las Cortes de los distintos reinos, junto con el rey establecían las nuevas emisiones de moneda.

Otro hecho a destacar es la escasa presencia de *diners* del rey Pere III. A pesar de conocerse una variedad de tipológica considerable, el bajo porcentaje de esta moneda en los tesoros de Viladecans y Barcelona documenta una producción limitada de estas piezas.

Los *diners* de terno eran monedas de curso legal utilizadas para pequeñas transacciones comerciales. En ninguno de los dos tesoros aparecen monedas de mayor valor como *croats*, *florins* o moneda extranjera. El atesoramiento refleja exclusivamente la circulación de moneda pequeña.

Las monedas de la Torre del Baró son un fiel reflejo de la economía fiduciaria en la Baja Edad Media. A finales del siglo XIV poco se podía comprar con 300 *diners* pero tampoco resultaba fácil ahorrar dicha cantidad.

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19 M. CRUSAFONT, *Les monedes catalanes del Llenguadoc i Provença*, in *I Simposium Numismático de Barcelona*, II, Barcelona, 1979, p. 257.

20 M. BOMPAIRE, *Les ateliers de Melgueil, Cahors et Rodez d'après les sources écrites*, in *Trésors et émissions monétaires du Languedoc et de Gascogne (XIIe et XIIIe siècles)*, Toulouse, 1987, p. 11-52.

21 J. MATEU LLOPIS, *op. cit.*

22 A.M. BALAGUER, *Troballa del Castell de Voltrera*, in *ActaNum*, 11, 1981, p. 262-265.

23 G. SAVES, L. VILLARONGA, *Les monnaies de la Péninsule Ibérique trouvées en France dans la région Midi-Pyrénées (II)*, in *ActaNum*, 4, 1974, p. 235-264.

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A. HEISS, *Monedas Hispano-cristianas. Desde la invasión de los árabes*, Madrid, 1867.

F. POEY D'AVANT, *Monnaies féodales de France*, Paris, 1858.

A. SESMA MUÑOZ, *Fiscalidad y poder. La fiscalidad centralizada como instrumento de poder en la Corona de Aragón (siglo XIV)*, in *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, Madrid, serie III, *Historia Medieval*, 1, 1988, p. 447-463.

J. VILARET, *Els diners més tardans de Jaume II*, in *ActaNum*, 5, 1979, p. 49-54.

# I follari salernitani a nome di Fulco de Basacers

Giuseppe LIBERO MANGIERI*

La monetazione in rame dell'Italia meridionale della seconda metà dell'XI secolo, sia longobarda che normanna, presenta, in genere, caratteristiche decisamente insolite e per la poca accuratezza con cui sono state coniate non poche serie, e per l'uso quasi costante delle riconiazioni. Ma circostanza del tutto inusuale, nonchè curiosa, è la presenza di una legenda che fa riferimento a personaggi non legati istituzionalmente all'emissione di moneta. Tale fenomeno appare in due gruppi : il primo a legenda MANSO VICEDUX, di cui ci si è occupati in altra sede[1], il secondo a legenda FVLCVI DE BASACERS. Quest'ultimo appare ancora più strano in quanto il personaggio cui si fa riferimento – come si evince dalla stessa legenda – al contrario di Mansone, e come si approfondirà successivamente, non occupó alcuna carica pubblica. Le associazioni su esemplari bizantini potrebbero essere considerate, forse, il prototipo imitato; tuttavia, in questo caso, siamo sempre in una logica ben precisa, in cui il sovrano si affianca il futuro sostituto, o comunque fa imprimere i nomi di affini.

Tali monete (Fig. I, 1) non sono passate inosservate; infatti esse sono state oggetto di studi approfonditi, con risultati apprezzabili ma non esaustivi. Proprio per tale ragione è possibile riaffrontare nuovamente l'argomento.

La legenda, come è possibile verificare dal catalogo, è quasi sempre incompleta, spesso illeggibile a causa delle varie riconiazioni che coinvolgono tutti gli esemplari. Non meravigli, pertanto, se solo negli anni venti del secolo, il duca E. Catemario di Quadri riuscì a darne, per la prima volta, la giusta lettura, avendo rinvenuto dei documenti precisi in cui tale personaggio veniva citato[2]; va, però, segnalato che già il Foresio, nel 1891, mostrava un disegno con legenda corretta e quasi completa, anche se lo studioso non fu in grado di interpretarla[3]. La corretta interpretazione della legenda, insieme all'approssimativa collocazione cronologica del personaggio, ha permesso di poter escludere l'ipotesi del Sambon che ne assegnava il periodo di coniazione all'epoca di Guaimario IV[4], nonchè quella del Cagiati che, parimenti, opinava per una data oscillante fra il 1043 ed il 1080[5].

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* Soprintendenza archeologica delle Province di Salerno, Avellino e Benevento.
Per la cortese autorizzazione allo studio ed alla pubblicazione del materiale si ringrazia i padri benedettini della Badia di Cava dei Tirreni, la Direzione dei Musei Provinciali di Salerno, gli eredi Figliolia, ed in particolare l'amico e maestro Philip Grierson. Le numerazioni del Museo di Salerno e della collezione Figliolia (ad eccezione del n. 128) sono provvisorie. Le abbreviazioni utilizzate nel catalogo sono reperibili nelle note ad eccezione di Berlino, sigla con la quale si fa riferimento al Museo statale di tale città; a Montenapoleone, sigle che fa rinutie ad un'asta.

1 G. LIBERO MANGIERI, *I follari amalfitani di Mansone V*, in *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, n.s., 7, 1, 13, 1990, p. 49-79.

2 Si desume da una nota a piè pagina nel catalogo Sambon Giliberti del 1921. Si veda anche L. DELL'ERBA, *Induzioni circa un follaro di Ruggiero II normanno in unione con Fulco di Basacers probabilmente battuto a Capua (1134?)*, in *BollCircNumNapoletano*, 13, 1932, n. 1, p. 7.

3 G. FORESIO, *Le monete delle zecche di Salerno*. I, Salerno, 1891, tav. I, n. 24. Il disegno rispetta fedelmente i caratteri della moneta, che peró cosí com'è descritta non esiste nella collezione Foresio; infatti delle tre monete (cat. 18, 20, 21) segnalate nel catalogo, nessuna conserva i caratteri epigrafici dati nel disegno. Fra l'altro l'interpretazione del tipo datane dal Foresio è errata in quanto confuso con uno di Gisulfo II.

4 A. SAMBON, *Recueil des monnaies médiévales du Sud de l'Italie avant la domination des Normands*, Paris, 1919, p. 191, per la verità lo studioso parla di Guaimario V che è ora riconosciuto come IV. Cfr C. CARLONE, *I principi Guaimario ed i monaci cavensi nel vallo di Diano*, in *Archivio e Cultura*, 10, 1976, p. 47-60.

5 M. CAGIATI, *I tipi monetali della zecca di Salerno. Atlante prezzario*, Napoli, 1925, p. 45, n. 52.

Successivamente il Dell'Erba[6] cui dobbiamo lo studio più ampio ed articolato sull'argomento, riteneva che tali monete fossero state emesse dalla zecca di Capua intorno al 1134. Il riesame di queste emissioni – inserite in un discorso ben più ampio sulla monetazione salernitana – veniva poi effettuato dal Grierson[7], il quale, senza pronunciarsi sulla località di emissione, prospettava la possibilità che esse fossero da far risalire al 1077, cioè all'epoca del Guiscardo, sottolineando anche la possibilità di una loro vita prolungata, fino al ducato di Ruggero Borsa. Inoltre lo studioso proponeva la località francese di Bazoches come la probabile patria del personaggio in questione. Da ultimo il Cappelli, nel suo studio generale sulla monetazione di Salerno[8], riteneva che tali monete fossero state emesse nel 1127, e non nella zecca salernitana.

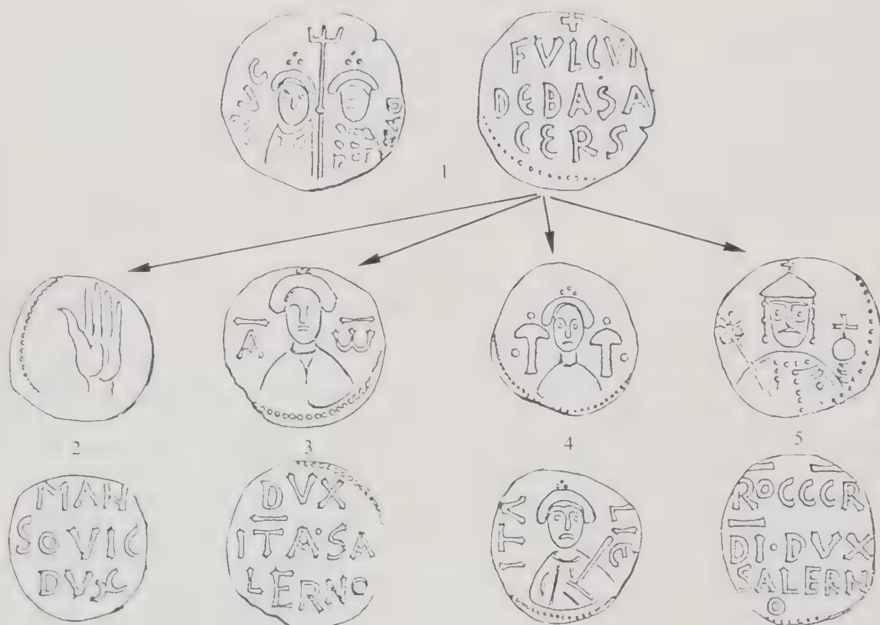



*Fig. I.*




*Fig. II.*

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6 L. DELL'ERBA, *op. cit.* a n. 2.

7 P. GRIERSON, *La monetazione salernitana di Gisulfo II (1052-1077) e di Roberto il Guiscardo (1077-1085)*, in *BollCircNumNapoletano*, 42, 1957, p. 39-40.

8 R. CAPPELLI, *Le monete della zecca di Salerno*, Roma, 1972, p. 35, n. 103.

Gli esemplari, nel loro aspetto integro, conservano le seguenti caratteristiche :

Dr. : A s. RVC, a d. DVX
Due busti maschili stanti di prospetto, con copricapo sormontato da tre punti triangolari; fra di essi croce astile. Bordo perlinato.
Rv. : Su tre linee FVLCVI / DEBASA / CERS, in alto piccola croce. Bordo perlinato.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sambon, Repertorio 882<br>Rv. : FULCV [I] / DEBASA / CERS | 4,90 g | |
| 2. | Museo Provinciale di Salerno 1 (Fig. III, 2)<br>Dr. : Legenda illeggibile.<br>Rv. : ..]BASA / CERS.<br>Riconiazione : Rv. : a s. DVX, sotto [ I ] T [A], rovescio di Cagiati 53 (Fig. I, 3). | 4,75 g | ø 24,30 |
| 3. | Museo Provinciale di Salerno 2 (Fig. III, 3)<br>Dr. : RVC [DVX] R/ [...] DEBA [SA] / CERS | 3,95 g | ø 23,50 |
| 4. | Grierson 250 (Fig. III, 4)<br>Dr. : Legenda illeggibile.<br>Rv. : FVLC] VI / DEBAS /[ACE] R [S]<br>Riconiazione : Dr. in alto X di DVX di Cagiati 53 (Fig. I, 3).<br>Provenienza : Baldwin 21.3.46; ex Grantley 33002; ex Sambon Giliberti 158. | 3,38 g | |
| 5. | Figliolia 128<br>Riconiato su Libero Mangieri 1990 [v. n. 1], gruppo V (Fig. I, 2). | 3,05 g | ø 26,20 |
| 6. | Figliolia I | 3,02 g | ø 23,20 |
| 7. | Grierson 9461 (Fig. III, 7)<br>Dr. : RVC [DVX];<br>Rv. : FV] LCVI / [D] EBASA / [C] ERS<br>Provenienza : Ratto 12.4.58. | 2,69 g | |
| 8. | Figliolia II | 2,48 g | ø 20,50 |
| 9. | Figliolia III | 2,42 g | ø 21,00 |
| 10. | Grierson 2514 (Fig. III, 10)<br>Dr. : Legenda illeggibile<br>Rv. : FVL] CVI / D [EBASA]/ CE [RS]<br>Riconiazione : Rv. In alto a s. [I] T [A..] parte della legenda di Cagiati 53 (Fig. I, 3).<br>Provenienza : Baldwin 21.3.46; ex Grantley 3302. | 2,34 g | |
| 11. | Museo Provinciale di Salerno 3 (Fig. III, 11)<br>Dr. : RVC [DVX]<br>Rv. : [...] DEBAS [A] / CERS | 2,30 g | ø 22,00 |
| 12. | American Numismatic Society 52 (Fig. III, 12)<br>Dr. : Legenda illeggibile.<br>Rv. : FULCV [I] / [D] EBA [SA] / [CERS] | 2,23 g | |
| 13. | Figliolia IV | 2,08 g | ø 23,10 |
| 14. | Figliolia V | 2,00 g | ø 19,90 |
| 15. | Figliolia VI | 1,74 g | ø 21,00 |
| 16. | Berlino (Fig. III, 16)<br>Dr. : Legenda illeggibile<br>Rv. : FUL] CVI/ [DE] BASA/ [C] ERS | 1,71 g | |
| 17. | Figliolia VII<br>Esemplare non integro. | 1,68 g | ø 18,90 |
| 18. | Foresio 1891, Tav. I, 20<br>Dr. : [RVC] DVX<br>Rv. : FVLC [VI] / DE [ BASA] / C [ERS]<br>Riconiazione : R/ A, lettera del Diritto di Cagiati, 53 (Fig. I, 3). | 1,20 g | ø 25,00 |
| 19. | Figliolia VIII<br>Esemplare non integro. | 0,99 g | ø 20,00 |
| 20. | Foresio 1891, Tav. I, 24<br>Dr. : Legenda illeggibile, tracce del tipo.<br>Rv. : Illeggibile. | 0,65 g | ø 20,00 |
| 21. | Foresio 1891, Tav. I, 18<br>Dr. : R V [C] Tracce di un solo personaggio e croce.<br>Rv. : FV[LCVI] / D [EBASA] / C [ERS] | 0,60 g | ø 18,00 |
| 22. | Cappelli 1972, n. 103 Tav. III<br>Rv. : FVLC[VI] / [D] EBASA / CERS<br>Riconiato su Cagiati 54 (Fig. I, 4). | | |

**23.** Dell'Erba 1932, n. 4
Riconiato su Cagiati 53 (Fig. I, 3).
**24.** Dell'Erba 1932, n. 5 (coll. Prota)
Riconiato su Cagiati 53 (Fig. I, 3).
**25.** Dell'Erba 1932, n. 6 (coll. Scacchi)
Riconiato su Cagiati 53 (Fig. I, 3).
**26.** Dell'Erba 1932, n. 7 (coll. Prota)
Riconiato su Cagiati 73 (Fig. I, 5).
**27.** Montenapoleone 1985, p. 104 n. 1499
Dr. : Legenda illeggibile.
Rv. : F] VL [CVI] / DEBA [SA] / [CERS

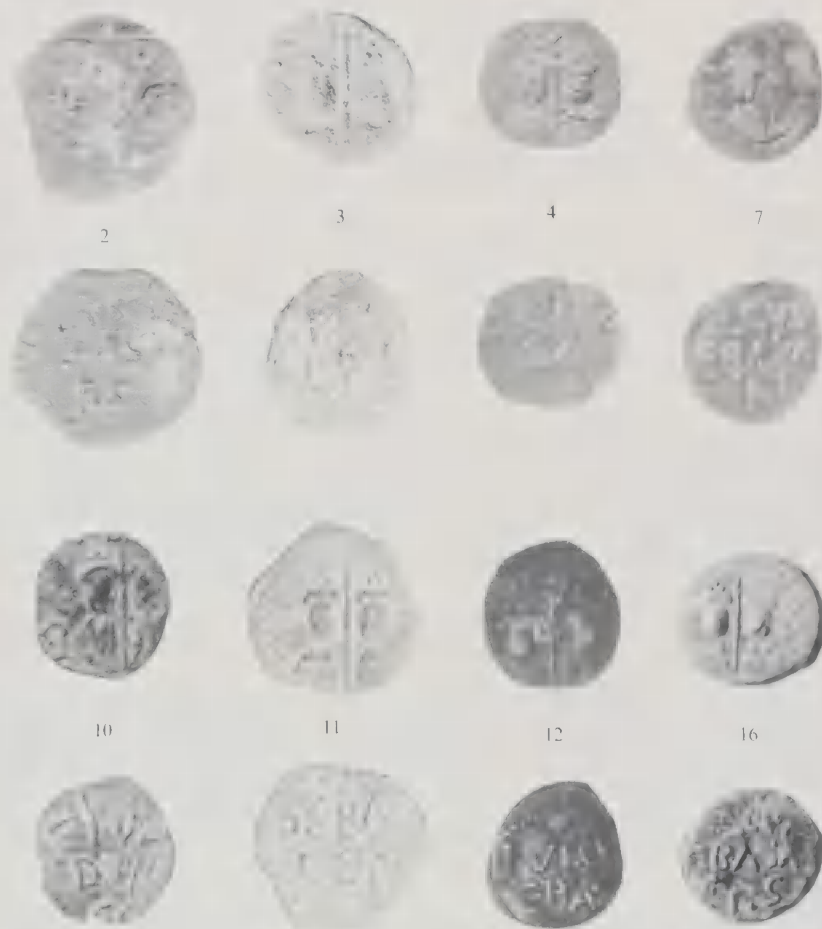



*Fig. III.*

Come è possibile osservare dall'elenco del materiale gli esemplari presentano un'oscillazione ponderale rilevante con quota massima di 4,90 g e minima di 1,20 g (i nominali con peso inferiore al grammo non sono da prendere in considerazione in quanto non integri). La media complessiva è di 2,71 g. Si potrebbero ricavare altri dati ma, a parte l'incompletezza – infatti l'elenco dato in questa sede non è esaustivo –, potrebbero essere non utili in quanto è evidente che non esiste un'articolazione ponderale all'interno del gruppo, nè tantomeno è possibile ricostruire un valore ponderale medio, od un punto di addensamento attendibili, dal momento che l'utilizzo di altre monete come sottotipi fa naturalmente saltare qualsiasi discorso relativo alla loro eventuale precisione ponderale. Del resto anche in questo caso è possibile applicare lo stesso criterio utilizzato per la

monetazione di Gisulfo II e Roberto il Guiscardo, per cui si rinvia alla monografia dello scrivente sulla monetazione di Salerno : in definitiva è da ritenersi che gli esemplari in questione non possono essere dei multipli o sottomultipli dell'unità; essi sono tutti follari[9].

Va ancora detto che il Cappelli[10] segnala cinque quote ponderali di cui la più alta che si conosca (7,02 g) decisamente superiore a quelle registrate in questa sede, peso che, però, non può essere preso in considerazione in quanto lo studioso nell'annotare le quote ponderali non ne indica i riferimenti bibliografici, per cui non è possibile effettuare il necessario controllo. Comunque, l'effettiva esistenza di un esemplare così pesante potrebbe avere come possibile giustificazione l'utilizzo di un sottotipo bizantino, cosa comune ad altre serie della monetazione longobarda e normanna del periodo[11].

A livello epigrafico v'è da osservare che la legenda del diritto è ricostruibile nella sua intierezza solo in due esemplari, cioè i nn. 1 e 22 del catalogo. Gli esemplari della collezione Figliolia, da chi scrive esaminati sommariamente, qualche anno fa, non sono utilizzabili a livello epigrafico in quanto non è stato possibile effettuare un controllo più accurato in tempi recenti relativamente alla parte inedita. Comunque, dal momento che gli elementi tipologici non differiscono, pur nella confusione creata dalle ribattiture[12], tenendo conto anche che il materiale in nostro possesso non è assolutamente cospicuo, si può facilmente ipotizzare che il gruppo sia rappresentato da una sola coppia di conî, al massimo due : si intuisce che l'emissione in esame ha avuto un carattere straordinario e pertanto è assolutamente circoscritta cronologicamente.

Inoltre il cattivo stato di conservazione, dovuto in buona parte alle riconiazioni, se da una parte determina sicuramente dei guazzabugli tipologici, dall'altra, in genere, permette di ipotizzare una collocazione cronologica proprio grazie all'identificazione di *undertypes* e *overtypes* meglio databili. Nel nostro caso sono attestate quattro ribattiture, come dal prospetto (v. Fig. I-III). La prima su di un esemplare di Mansone (cat. n. 5); la seconda, su di una moneta a legenda DVX ITA SALERNO, leggibile in ben sette esemplari (cat. n. 2, 4, 10, 18, 23, 24, 25); la terza su di un'emissione a legenda ITALIE (cat. n. 22); la quarta su di un nominale a legenda ROCCCR DI. DVX SALERNO (cat. n. 26).

Il discorso, a questo punto si complica. Infatti, a parte la serie Mansone che è la più diffusa e nota, e di recente sistemata ed assegnata ad Amalfi durante il dominio del Guiscardo[13], per quel che riguarda gli altri tre gruppi utilizzati come sottotipi, il problema di una loro collocazione cronologica è ancora aperto. Infatti il secondo fu assegnato dal Sambon, in un primo momento, al Guiscardo, poi a Guaimario IV (1027-1052)[14]. Il Cagiati lo ritenne normanno, coniato fra il 1043 ed il 1080[15]. Il Grierson, con una

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9 Rinvio alle osservazioni fatte sui valori ponderali della monetazione di Gisulfo II e Roberto il Guiscardo, in G. LIBERO MANGIERI, *La monetazione medievale di Salerno nella collezione Figliolia. I. Da Siconolfo a Roberto il Guiscardo (840-1085)*, Salerno, 1991, p. 31-32, 45-46.

10 R. CAPPELLI, *op. cit.* a n. 7.

11 Si veda G. LIBERO MANGIERI, *La monetazione medievale.., op. cit.* a n. 9, p. 21-22, 41.

12 Già il L. DELL'ERBA, *op. cit.* a n. 2, p. 9-10, notava che un buon numero di monete di Fulco presentavano numerose ribattiture, ed in particolare le più diffuse riconiazioni avvenivano su Cagiati 53, circostanza, del resto, ribadita in questa sede.

13 Cfr G. LIBERO MANGIERI, *I follari ... op. cit.*, a n. 2, e ID., *La monetazione medievale..., op. cit.* a n. 9. Contre : P. PEDUTO, *Il gruzzolo di S. Salvatore «de fondaco» a Salerno : follari, tarè e denari del secolo XI*, in *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, 8, 2, 16, 1991, p. 33-71. Le argomentazioni del Peduto sono inesistenti. Cfr G. LIBERO MANGIERI, *La monetazione di Salerno ed Amalfi alla luce del ripostiglio di S. Salvatore de fondaco*, in *Rassegna Storica Salernitana*, 9, 1, 17, p. 267-275.

14 A. SAMBON, *Monete salernitane col titolo di «duca d'Italia» e monete dell'insurrezione pugliese*, in *Miscellanea Numismatica*, 1921, II, p. 19-21.

15 M. CAGIATI, *op. cit.* a n. 5, p. 45, n. 53.

motivazione molto articolata optò per il Guiscardo[16]. Decisamente senza fondamento l'ipotesi sbrigativa del Cappelli che l'attribuiva a Guglielmo I[17]. Il terzo gruppo veniva normalmente assegnato al primo periodo normanno dal Cagiati, mentre il Grierson propendeva ancora una volta per il Guiscardo[18]; il Cappelli attribuiva anche tale emissione a Guglielmo I[19]. Il quarto veniva solitamente assegnato a Ruggero II, ma il Grierson più opportunamente l'ha attribuito a Ruggero Borsa[20], seguito dal Cappelli, che però non ne spiegava le motivazioni[21].

Un preciso elemento accomuna le monete di Fulco, quelle ribattute di Mansone e quelle a legenda DVX ITA con altri due gruppi di Mansone (Fig. II, 9-10) e con tre di Gisulfo II (Fig. II, 6-8)[22], ed è il berretto semicircolare apposto al diritto sul capo delle figure illustrate. Non mi risulta che tale copricapo venga riproposto su altri tipi in monete successive, per cui deve essere un preciso riferimento al gusto del periodo. Ancora la legenda SALERNO che ricorre al rovescio di Cagiati 53 (Fig. I, 3) è attestata solo su altri due gruppi, su Cagiati 73 (Fig. I, 5) e su un'emissione di Gisulfo II databile 1059-1062[23]. Anche la legenda, in questa forma, non è ripetuta su monete successive.

Bisogna dire che la monetazione di Gisulfo II e quella coeva è una matassa ardua da sbrogliare, perchè, al di là delle sequenze delle riconiazioni, non offre elementi certi di aggancio cronologico. Pertanto riuscire a stabilire validi collegamenti tipologici ed epigrafici anche se, in senso assoluto, non rappresenta una garanzia solida per l'eventuale attribuzione, in questo caso, però, in mancanza di altri elementi, costituisce almeno un preciso punto di riferimento de tenere nel debito conto. Comunque, dal momento che, in pratica, le correlazioni fra i gruppi in esame sono piuttosto evidenti – essi sembrano appartenere ad uno stesso periodo cronologico – risulta ovvio che riuscire a dare una collocazione al gruppo di Fulco, può offrire un termine *post quem non* per gli *undertypes*.

Ricapitolando, gli elementi offerti dalla analisi delle monete, su cui basare la collocazione degli esemplari oggetto di questa nota, sono in primo luogo la legenda del diritto che li collega ad un Ruggero *dux*, quindi l'aggancio alla serie Mansone, databile al periodo del Guiscardo, ed ancora l'elemento tipologico, nella fattispecie il copricapo, e quello epigrafico – la scritta SALERNO – che ci riporta nuovamente al periodo di Gisulfo II e di Roberto il Guiscardo.

Ma esistono ancora altri elementi da esaminare. Infatti, come si è detto precedentemente, vi sono dei documenti specifici in cui si accenna al personaggio in questione. Il primo, in ordine cronologico, è conservato alla Badia della SS. Trinità di Cava dei Tirreni[24]. È un documento del settembre del 1094. In esso si parla ampiamente di una donazione effettuata da Ruggero Borsa a Pietro, abate della Badia. Il nome che ci interessa, lo ritroviamo alla fine del documento – SIGNUM FULCOY DE BASONGERIIS –, dopo quello di altri, tutti in funzione di testimoni attestanti la donazione.

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16 P. GRIERSON, *op. cit.* a n. 7, p. 38-39.

17 R. CAPPELLI, *op. cit.* a n. 8, p. XLVI, p. 26, 71.

18 M. CAGIATI, *op. cit.* a n. 5, p. 45, n. 54; P. GRIERSON, *op. cit.* a n. 7, p. 39.

19 R. CAPPELLI, *op. cit.* a n. 8, p. 26, 72.

20 P. GRIERSON, *op. cit.* a n. 7, p. 20, n. 21.

21 R. CAPPELLI, *op. cit.* a n. 8, p. 25, 70.

22 Per le monete di Mansone, cfr G. LIBERO MANGIERI, *I follari amalfitani ... op. cit.*a n. 1, gruppi III e IV; sulle monete di Gisulfo II, cfr ID., *La monetazione medievale ...op. cit.* a n. 9, gruppo XVII.

23 G. LIBERO MANGIERI, *La monetazione medievale...op. cit.* a n. 9, gruppo XVII.

24 P. GUILLAUME, *Essai historique sur l'Abbaye de la Cava*, Cava dei Tirreni, 1877, Appendice, doc. V, p. XVII; sett. 1094, indiz. III; Arca Magna, doc. 2.

Il personaggio è segnalato ancore in un secondo documento del 1095[25].

Il terzo documento è del novembre del 1112, anch'esso un atto di donazione, in questo caso della terra di S. Apollinare, fatto all' Abbazia della Santa Madre di Dio, ed è, questa volta, un atto proprio del personaggio, infatti il documento inizia : EGO FVLCO DE BASUGERI[26]. Il Batiffol, che segnalava il documento, affermava che si trattava di un falso, in quanto riteneva il personaggio inesistente; ma l'affermazione dello studioso non è da prendere in considerazione e perchè – come si evince dagli altri documenti e dalle monete – Fulco è realmente un personaggio storico, e perchè la fonte del Batiffol, il Rende, riportava che il documento originale, redatto in carta membranacea era suggellato dal sigillo del *comte* Ruggero.

Il quarto documento è del maggio del 1130[27] e recita : ... *Eidem autem confirmavi et territorium Ascettini Portzellae, in quo S. Apollinarem fundavit, cum omnibus suis possessionibus, aliisque praediis et vineis, olivibus, colonis, et si quid aliud a duce habuit, quaeque emit protonotarius Christodulos et Amiras cum possessionibus Phulci de Basolzeris sicut eius sigilla declarant.* È evidente che si conferma quanto scritto nel precedente documento, come appare ovvio che Fulco si era già spento al momento della stesura.

Quel che emerge dalle fonti è che Fulco era un personaggio di rilievo alla corte di Ruggero Borsa, anche se come suggerisce la prima testimonianza, sembra che pur avendo avuto l'onore di svolgere le funzioni di testimone, egli doveva comunque risultare, in quel momento, cioè nel 1094, personaggio emergente, ma di secondo piano rispetto ai precendenti firmatari. Il terzo documento, confermato ed integrato in modo definitivo dal successivo, ci mostra un nobile, latifondista, proprietario di beni nella valle del Chratis, talmente ricco da permettersi di fare donazioni. In base a tali documenti si può ragionevolmente supporre che la scomparsa di Fulco sia da collocare fra il 1112 ed il 1130, mentre la sua acmè fra il 1094 ed il 1112. Da quanto detto risulta conseguenziale che l'emissione di queste monete sia da ascrivere al periodo del Borsa; ed anche l'officina di produzione deve essere localizzata a Salerno, probabilmente proprio fra il 1094 ed il 1111. Infine anche gli *undertypes* vanno ascritti allo spesso periodo.

Prima di concludere occorre far riferimento ad un'ipotesi del Grierson che riteneva Fulco un eventuale ribelle[28]. I motivi che ostano a convalidare tale affermazione sono diversi. Innanzittuto la legenda del diritto delle monete rinvia ad un duca, cioè ad un'autorità evidentemente superiore, quindi la legenda del rovescio segnala solo un nome ma senza un titolo, come ad esempio il già citato Manso *vicedux*; ancora la tipologia del diritto, due personaggi accostati, non può che essere interpretata come un messaggio di solidarietà, di associazione e non certamente di inimicizia. Infine gli stessi documenti non esprimono alcuna tensione fra Ruggero e Fulco, anzi il contrario.

In conclusione Fulco era certamente un personaggio di spicco alla corte del Borsa, un signore possessore di ricche terre. Non sappiamo però a quale meritoria opera dobbiamo la menzione sulla moneta. Di più, non credo sia possibile dire.

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25 Arch. Capit. di Troia, G X. Non ho potuto consultare il documento per il quale si rinvia a F. CHALANDON, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, II, New York, 1907 (1969), p. 626.

26 P. BATIFFOL, *L'Abbaye de Rossano*, Paris, 1891, p. 17, n. 2. Si veda anche F. CHALANDON, *op. cit.* a n. 25.

27 F. TRINCHERA, *Syllabus Graecarum Membranarum*, Neapoli, 1865, p. 138-141, n. CVI.

28 P. GRIERSON, *op. cit.* a n. 7, p. 19. Lo studioso era indotto a tale conclusione dalla circostanza che riteneva inesistente il RVC (riferimento a Ruggero) che appare al diritto delle monete.

# A New Catalogue of Crusader Coins : Problems and Strategies

David Michael METCALF*

Numismatics is well served by the publication of articles in many specialist journals, which are produced mostly by national numismatic societies and supported financially by their membership in a kind of collective enterprise. It is easy for authors to find outlets for their numismatic articles. Monographs are more difficult to publish, and our discipline is less well served in that respect. Almost all the collectors I know would rather buy a coin than a book, any day of the week. Yet monographs, and in particular *catalogues raisonnés*, are the backbone of our specialist literature. One thinks of the long series of British Museum Catalogues, published during the last hundred years, of Greek, Roman, Oriental, and medieval coins – some of them now overdue for revision – which have exerted a constructive influence among numismatists far and wide, for many decades. The same is true of the catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and of other institutions too. We should be concerned by the difficulties in publishing such fine works as these, when market demand for them is sometimes so limited that publication is not possible without some kind of financial subsidy, contributed perhaps by the institution for reasons of prestige, or by a charitable foundation. If the budget can be made to balance in that way, it is even then merely a form of creative accounting, since the author is normally paid the salary which allows him to devote his efforts to research and writing, out of some other fund; and the collections which are catalogued have been purchased, often at great expense, under some other heading again.

We all recognize and appreciate a good catalogue when we handle one, but usually without pausing to consider in practical detail what criteria it should, ideally, meet, or what needs to be done to ensure that such volumes continue to be published. In order to draw your thoughts to these matters which bear on the health of our subject, I shall take a specific example, by talking about a new catalogue of Crusader coins, but I invite you to think also about your own field of special interest, and about how the same general considerations might apply to it.

The coinages of the Latin Orient comprise six essentially separate series or groups of series, spread over more than four hundred years.

1. The mainland coinages, minted between 1097 and 1287, are the ones most directly related to the events of the Crusades. The coins attributed to the Latin kings of Jerusalem include many of the famous gold bezants or *saracenati*, imitating Islamic dinars. Billon deniers were the normal subsidiary coinage, and there were also occasional issues in silver (early experiments with grossi) and in copper. Secondly, there are the issues of gold bezants, billon and its copper fractions, and good silver grossi, of the counts of Tripoli; thirdly the issues, originally of Byzantine-style copper, then billon and occasionally other metals, of the princes of Antioch; and the short early series in copper of the counts of Edessa. There are in addition some baronial and special issues pertaining to the Latin Kingdom, and the cut gold fragments which are perhaps not, in the strictest sense, coins.

2. The coinages of the Lusignan dynasty ruling in Cyprus begin in c.1192, and continue until 1489. They include scyphate coins in base gold, the «white bezants» of Cyprus, and a long series of gros grands and gros petits, with billon or copper deniers. Latin control was extended, under the Venetian occupation, to 1571.

* Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Invited speaker for a general paper.

3. The Latin emperors of Constantinople, 1204-1261, issued base billon trachea in the Byzantine style – and, according to documentary evidence, gold hyperpyra as well. The Venetians, who received a share of the capital, and numerous possessions in the islands of the Aegean area, seem similarly to have issued trachea. The attribution of trachea to the Latin rulers of Thessalonica (to 1224) is more problematic.

4. The duchy of Athens and the principality of Achaia, with the despotate of Epirus, are the three leading members of a group of territories centred on Frankish Greece, where copper coins were issued from c.1240-1250, and billon deniers from c.1262.

5. Chios under Genoese lordship, and Lesbos under the house of Gattilusio, produced varied coinages.

6. Rhodes was the base of the Order of St. John, whose grand masters struck coins from c.1315 onwards, until the fall of Rhodes in 1522.

There is a case for considering the coinage of Cilician Armenia as a seventh, related series, but it is generally studied separately.

In looking at the other six, what are the problems in cataloguing them, and what are the best strategies to meet those problems?

The personal problem in preparing a new catalogue of Crusader coins is easily stated : people still have a strong affection for the work of Schlumberger. The strategy must be to try to win acceptance alongside his much regarded *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* – which seems to evergreen. It was published in 1878. Together with its supplement of 1882 it is still a remarkably complete record of scarce types. The Crusader series are not especially complex, or rich in varieties. Apart from the imitations of Islamic gold dinars and silver dirhems (the Crusaders' bezants and drachmas), Schlumberger still gives a good account of the basic types. And his text contains a wealth of background information about the careers and the family connections of the rulers who issued coins. It provides the reader with an unsophisticated historical context for the Crusader coinage, and thus helps to organize our understanding of it. What is left still to do? – In Chekov's play, *The Seagull*, the young writer Boris Trigorin, who longs to write a masterpiece, complains that his friends damn his work with faint praise, and disparage it by comparison with the great writers of the past. His epitaph, he says, will read, «Here lies Trigorin. He wrote well; but not as well as Turgenev».

The more serious students of Crusader coins, who enjoy understanding the exact arrangement of the coins according to their varieties, and who enjoy exploring the connections between coinage and history, will recognize however that a lot has happened since 1882, a lot of progress has been made in 110 years – even, one could say, in the last 10 years. Many new hoards have come to light, which enlarge our understanding not only of monetary circulation but also of the coin types themselves.

Within the last 10 years alone, we have seen a major hoard of bare-head deniers of Antioch, rescued by M. Jean Belaubre[1]; smaller hoards also of the twelfth century from al-Burj al-Ahmar, in the Plain of Sharon[2], and from Tell Jemmeh, near Gaza[3] a new and interesting hoard of gold bezants[4]; a large hoard of fourteenth-century silver from Polis in north-western Cyprus meticulously excavated by a Princeton University team led by

1 The hoard, which should be published shortly in *RN* was concealed late in the sequence of the bare-head varieties of Bohémond III, and permits a revision of the scheme of classification.

2 D. PRINGLE, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar). Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamlukes* (*British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Monograph Series*, 1), London, 1986, p. 175-176.

3 D.M. METCALF, *The Tell Jemmeh Hoard and the Classification of the Early* Amalricus *deniers*, in *NC*, 147, 1987, p. 84-92.

4 I am indebted for details of the hoard to Mr. Thomas Curtis.

Professor W. Childs[5]; a much earlier Cypriot hoard consisting of a pale gold bezant and billon deniers from the lace-making village of Lefkara[6]; and a major re-evaluation by Mr. Tzamalis of the Xerokhorion hoard of deniers tournois from the Peloponnese[7]. The list could be extended.

Archaeological excavations have similarly given us precious information about the range of coin types that were passing from hand to hand in particular localities, such as Caesarea Maritima[8], or a group of monastic sites west of Antioch[9]. Several detailed die-studies have been published of the classification of particular types and series[10].

The function of a general catalogue is to gather together all this new information, to digest it and incorporate it into what was known before, and to make it readily accessible in a concise and systematic way. The spirit of numismatics is happily much the same as it was in Schlumberger's time, but the focus of our interest has shifted considerably. Fascinating as rare coin types are – and one thinks of the new Edessene follis with St. Thomas and a Syriac inscription[11] – we find more to think about than Schlumberger did in the plentiful coin types. We are more conscious of the interaction between the evidence of hoards and the classification of the series into varieties. And we are more concerned with building bridges between numismatics and monetary and economic history.

The style and fashion of our catalogues has changed correspondingly in order to reflect the changes in our intellectual preoccupations. Schlumberger, in a text running to hundreds of large pages, says remarkably little about the technical evidence for classification, except that he is alert to the evidence of overstrikes in establishing the priority of one type before another. Nowadays that is only one technique among many : we have a formidable array of tools of analysis, using die-studies, metrology, chemical analysis, and so on.

It is not just that photography has replaced the engraving of line-drawings. Our appetite for visual information has grown. The sylloge has been invented, because we wish to study not just one coin of a type, but many specimens in order to compare the minute differences of style, to see the progress month by month in the die-cutter's output. We want to be in contact with the process, and we read the signs almost as instinctively as we read body-language. We demand to see it for ourselves, in order to form our own impressions, and nothing less than a sylloge style of presentation is sufficient for us. Our expectations are always rising – and of course becoming more expensive. In the first magnificent volume of Philip Grierson's medieval catalogue, *MEC*, the sylloge format is allied with an introduction which provides a general survey of the subject, and not just of one collection[12]. The text gives an up-to-date digest of all the detailed research that has been accomplished. It is authoritative, accessible, concise – all the things we spoke about. I am sure that this is the very model of a modern major coin-catalogue.

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5 D.M. METCALF, *The Currency of Lusignan Cyprus in the Years around 1400 in the Light of a Coin Hoard excavated at Polis*, in *Report of the Department of Antiquities. Cyprus*, 1990, p. 241-284.

6 The hoard is now being studied in the Cyprus Museum.

7 A.P. TZAMALIS, *The First Period of the Frankish tornesio. New Evidence from an Old Hoard*, in *NomKhron*, 9, 1990, p. 101-131 (Greek text with English résumé).

8 D.M. METCALF, *Stray Finds from the Vicinity of Caesarea*, in *NC*, 147, 1987, p. 95-105.

9 W. DJOBADZE, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, Stuttgart, 1986, p. 220-222.

10 e.g. D.M. METCALF, *The gros grand and the gros petit of Hugh IV of Cyprus*, in *RN*, s. 6., 27, 1985, p. 130-175.

11 Münzen und Medaillen, Basel. Auction.

12 Ph. GRIERSON and M. BLACKBURN, *Medieval European Coinage*, 1. *The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)*, Cambridge, 1986.

On a more modest scale, my catalogue of Crusader coins, published in 1983, employs a similar formula, combining a general study of the series with a sylloge-style catalogue of a single collection, namely that in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford[13]. As one would in any *catalogue raisonné*, I tried to explain clearly the basis of its arrangement, and to provide a helpful *apparatus criticus* of index, bibliography, a check-list of hoards, maps, and so on – with line-drawings in the text to show the letter-forms which distinguish the varieties, and with illustrations of types not represented in the Oxford collection.

The 1983 catalogue is, I'm pleased to say, out of print and I have made arrangements for a revised and enlarged edition of it in the fairly near future. It is a great pleasure to record the generosity of various friends and colleagues who have given the Ashmolean coins which fill gaps in the collection, and which will make the new edition considerably fuller and, I hope, more useful. Special mention should be made of Mr. Alastair Lilburn, who wrote to me from Scotland a letter which came as a complete surprise, of the nicest possible sort. With much generosity he wrote, «I see from your catalogue that you have not got specimens of such and such, and I would like to present the museum with examples» – a letter accompanied by a parcel of scarce types. Mrs. Eve Stewart with equal generosity recently gave a number of very scarce types from Frankish Greece, from the collection formed by her late husband the well-known Cyprus archaeologist Prof J.R. Stewart. Most of these coins have the added distinction of pedigrees going back to Lord Grantley and further, even to Lambros. On a sadder note the David Walker bequest included a number of handsome specimens of Crusader coinage. Other items have been added in ones and twos, by gift or purchase, and are still being added as opportunity offers.

The introductory text of the catalogue will be thoroughly up-dated to take account of a decade's research. Work has been published on the detailed classification of almost every major series of Crusader coins, which allows us to arrange the material more precisely. In fact, it is utopian to imagine that a coin can be described objectively : one has to understand it, and to see how it fits into its series, in order to see it properly.

Schlumberger often did not address the question *where* the coins were minted. The answers are not always straightforward, because of conflicts between what the coins' legends say, and the evidence of their style and distribution. The billon deniers of Baldwin III of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem read DE IERVSALEM, but it is debateable whether all of them were minted there[14], for they are found in two distinct styles. Perhaps there was a second mint, in one of the coastal cities. Similarly, stylistic analysis of the Antioch series raises the question whether Classes G-K, with reversed crescents to represent the chain armour, are from the same workshop as Classes A-F. In fourteenth-century Cyprus there are two main mints, at Nicosia and Famagusta, distinguishable only by style and other details, and there is at least one minor mint. In Frankish Greece, the deniers tournois which read DE CLARENTIA were apparently not all minted at Clarentza. Mint attributions can in cases like these only be attempted by reconstructing the year-by-year work of the mints, and they can only be verified from the numerical evidence of hoards and other finds. Usually it is a delicate and sometimes a controversial task. A *catalogue raisonné* cannot always provide guaranteed answers.

Part of the strategy of designing a coin catalogue should be to meet multiple needs, to make it helpful to various overlapping categories of users : the collector who wishes to identify a specimen, the specialist who needs a comprehensive survey, the archaeologist who wishes to date his contexts, and the historian who will be more interested in thinking about how the evidence of coins fits into a wider framework of historical ideas and influences.

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13 D.M. METCALF, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 1983.

14 I am indebted to Professor Dan Barag, who discussed this problem with me.

It now seems to me that in 1983 I made a strategic error in confining the introduction of my catalogue to a discussion of the arguments by which the coins are classified, and in omitting the dynastic and personal material which in Schlumberger's work is so much appreciated. In the new edition I hope to take a leaf out of Philip Grierson's *MEC*, and include introductory sections of historical background, adding perhaps 30 or 40 pages to the length of the catalogue, but making it substantially more self-contained.

Whoever the user may be – whichever category he or she falls into – there is a basic minimum of information needed about each coin in the collection : photographs, weight, die-axis, perhaps details of the alloy, and provenance. The modern style is to keep the verbal description of the coin to a minimum, and to rely on good photographs. A sprinkling of enlarged photographs is a luxury, but a very desirable luxury, because they can convey an impression of style most effectively.

Mention of luxury reminds us of the practical constraints of cost. One of the problems in designing a catalogue is to assess in advance what the market for the finished product might be at various levels of detail and quality. The experience of the Royal Numismatic Society is that for monographs that is difficult to predict. The one thing that is easy is to lose money, by printing copies of a book which cannot then be sold. A learned society can usually operate on somewhat lower overheads than a commercial publisher, but even so it ought not to be in the business of accidentally having to subsidize loss-making publications. Conversely, however keenly a volume may be priced, there is probably going to be an upper limit to the number of persons and libraries sufficiently interested in Crusader coins to want to buy a specialist catalogue of them, and there is therefore a corresponding limit to the economies of scale that are possible through reducing unit production costs. Selling an edition in advance to a Book Club does not seem a realistic option. In short, it is a matter of judgement, or guess-work, how many copies can be sold at what price, and we are all indebted to the firms or societies which take the risk. Good luck to them. Numismatists are not always the persons best qualified to assess the commercial risk, and I was grateful to Messrs. Spink and Son for their kind advice on the likely viability of a new edition of the Crusader catalogue.

I hope that I have conveyed the idea that major catalogues are produced not in isolation but in a social context, and in the long perspectives of the development of research in numismatics. The time and effort spent in preparing such catalogues are considerable – an investment of years of intellectual effort and expertise; and a big investment somewhere along the line in buying the coins themselves. For complete success, four factors have to coincide : sufficient academic interest and debate in the preceding decades to have moved the subject forward; secondly, the availability of a scholar with the ambition and competence to pull all the threads together with sober judgement; thirdly the institution with an outstanding coin collection and with the financial resources to back the project. (There also has to be long-term security and mutual confidence for an author to make the necessary investment of his time and effort in the project). And fourthly, there has to be the market demand for the finished product.

One cannot hope to score ten out of ten on all four factors, but there needs to be a consistently high score, there has to be a favourable conjunction, for the launch of an expensive work which may be expected to occupy, or at worst pre-empt, a certain position in the numismatic literature for many years to come. So there ought to be a degree of accommodation and consultation, because there is to some extent a social contract. One does not write a catalogue purely for one's own individual satisfaction. Occasionally it happens that a bad catalogue is published, one can think of examples, and it is exasperating if the author has been headstrong, or in too great a hurry, or unwilling to listen to advice. The bigger the task, the more desirable it is that all the strategic planning should be correctly thought through.

# Les trouvailles de monnaies de l'Orient latin en Europe occidentale

Jean DUPLESSY*

Les monnaies européennes apparaissent dans les trésors de l'Orient latin à partir du XIe siècle et jusqu'au premier tiers du XIIIe siècle[1]. Par contre, les monnaies de l'Orient latin n'arrivent qu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle en Europe occidentale, où on les rencontre pendant un siècle dans quelques trésors. Ces pièces ne proviennent que de la Grèce franque, et ce sont presque uniquement des deniers tournois, qui se sont mêlés dans la circulation aux deniers tournois des rois de France et à ceux de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Tours, du comté de Provence, du marquisat de Provence, du comté de Toulouse, du comté de Poitou, de la seigneurie de Riom, du comté de la Marche et de la seigneurie de Mehun. On les trouve bien entendu dans les régions qui faisaient partie du royaume de France, mais aussi dans ceux des trésors enfouis dans ce qui était alors l'Empire (Lorraine, Belgique, Allemagne) qui contenaient des deniers tournois français.

Les plus anciens de ces dépôts monétaires sont ceux de Dieuze (Moselle), caché entre 1291 et 1295, d'Aurimont (Gers) (1298-1301), de Saint-Marcel-de-Félines (Loire) (1311-1315). Trois autres sont enfouis entre 1315 et 1322 : Puylaurens (Tarn), Saint-Maixent (Deux-Sèvres) et Villeneuve (Puy-de-Dôme). Le trésor de Manderen – dit «de Sierck» – est de 1327-1328, celui de Riec-sur-Belon (Finistère) de février-avril 1340, celui de Mairé (Vienne) de 1343-1346, celui de Champagne-Mouton (Charente) de 1350-1351; les plus récents ont été trouvés à Weissenthurm (Allemagne, Rhénanie-Palatinat) (1341-1359) et à Limerlé (Belgique, province de Luxembourg) (vers 1382). Dans toutes ces cachettes monétaires, les deniers tournois de Grèce ne sont pas postérieurs à 1313, ce qui est normal en ce qui concerne le duché d'Athènes, dont le monnayage s'arrête en 1308, mais est incompréhensible pour les monnaies d'Achaïe, dont les émissions sont encore abondantes sous Mahaut de Hainaut (1316-1318) et Jean de Gravina (1318-1333).

Le nombre de pièces recueillies est très faible : 63 deniers tournois, dont 52 proviennent de la principauté d'Achaïe (40 pour les règnes de Guillaume de Villehardouin, de Charles Ier et de Charles II, Philippe de Tarente, qui régna de 1307 à 1313 n'étant représenté que par un seul exemplaire). Le pourcentage varie de 0,02% (Saint-Marcel-de-Félines) à 1,13% (Limerlé). En outre, une pièce de cuivre frappée à Corinthe sous Guillaume de Villehardouin a été découverte récemment dans les fouilles archéologiques de Luzarches (Val-d'Oise). Les monnaies de cuivre ne circulant pas en Occident, il ne peut s'agir là que d'une pièce rapportée de voyage.

Ces monnaies sont vraisemblablement passées de Grèce en Italie, d'où elles ont gagné la France par mer, puis les régions septentrionales de l'Empire. En effet le trésor découvert à Naples en 1886 comprenait 1687 deniers tournois, dont 1676 de Grèce (essentiellement d'Achaïe), 6 «de France» (sans précisions) et 5 de la seigneurie italienne de Sulmona. D'autre part, sur douze trésors découverts en France, en Belgique et en Allemagne, sept ont été enfouis dans des localités situées au sud de la Loire. Le fait que la majorité des pièces de ces douze dépôts soient de Charles Ier et de Charles II, princes d'Achaïe et de leur prédécesseur Guillaume de Villehardouin n'est pas sans intérêt : Charles Ier et Charles II d'Anjou étaient non seulement princes d'Achaïe, mais encore rois de Sicile (ils régnaient donc à Naples) et comtes de Provence, et ils faisaient également frapper des deniers tournois en Provence. Ces monnaies d'Achaïe seraient

* Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

1 Cf. J. DUPLESSY et D.M. METCALF, *Le trésor de Samos et la circulation monétaire en Orient latin aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, dans *RBN*, 108, 1962, p. 173-207.

donc l'indice non de relations commerciales directes entre l'Achaïe et le royaume de France, mais entre le royaume de Sicile et le comté de Provence, de Naples à Marseille.

## ANNEXE

### Trésors occidentaux contenant des monnaies de l'Orient latin

**1.** Dieuze (chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Château-Salins, département de Moselle), 1842.

F. DE SAULCY, *Trouvaille de deniers tournois*, dans *RN*, 8, 1843, p. 185-190.
environ cinq livres de monnaies, dont :
Achaïe : Guillaume de Villehardouin (1246-1278) : 2 deniers tournois
Charles Ier ou Charles II (1278-1285-1289) : 2 deniers tournois.

**2.** Aurimont (canton de Saramon, arrondissement d'Auch, département du Gers), début avril 1880.

E. TAILLEBOIS, *Trouvaille d'Aurimont (Gers). Description de 3624 monnaies royales et baronales de Louis VI à Philippe IV*, dans *Bulletin de la Société de Borda*, 5, 1880, p. XXXIX, XLVI et LII.
3624 monnaies, dont :
Achaïe : Guillaume de Villehardouin (1246-1278) : 3 deniers tournois (Schlumberger, XII, 11 ou var.)
Charles Ier (1278-1285) : 1 denier tournois (Schl. XII, 16).

**3.** Saint-Marcel-de-Félines (canton de Néronde, arrondissement de Roanne, département de la Loire), 1887.

Ph. TESTENOIRE-LAFAYETTE, *Numismatique forézienne*, dans F. THIOLLIER, *Le Forez pittoresque et monumental*, Lyon, 1889, p. 422.
907 monnaies, dont :
Achaïe : Florent de Hainaut (1289-1297) : 2 deniers tournois.

**4.** Puylaurens (chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Castres, département du Tarn), 1953.

J. DUPLESSY, *Mise au point sur le trésor de Puylaurens (Tarn) (Monnaies royales et féodales du XIIe au XIVe siècle)*, dans *Trésors monétaires*, 10, 1988, p. 99-100.
Au moins 2686 monnaies, dont :
Achaïe : Charles II (1285-1289) : 1 denier tournois (Schl. XII, 17)
Athènes : Gui II (1285-1308) : 1 denier tournois (Schl. XIII, 9).

**5.** Saint-Maixent (chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Niort, département des Deux-Sèvres), 1837.

E. CARTIER, *Monnoies françoises du Moyen Age, trouvées à Saint-Maixent*, dans *RN*, 3, 1838, p. 281-295.
Environ 4200 monnaies, dont :
Achaïe : Charles Ier (1278-1285) : 1 denier tournois (Schl. XII, 16).

**6.** Villeneuve (canton de Saint-Germain-Lembron, arrondissement d'Issoire, département du Puy-de-Dôme), 1881.

Docteur DOURIF, *Le trésor de Villeneuve*, dans *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand*, n. s., 24, 1882, p. 129-144.
1110 monnaies, dont :
Athènes : 1 denier tournois anonyme (Schl. XIII, 4-5 var.).

**7.** Manderen (canton de Sierck, arrondissement de Thionville, département de la Moselle), 1872.

DUFRESNE, *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie et d'histoire de la Moselle*, 14, 1871-1872, p. 61-63; Ern. GARIEL, *Catalogue raisonné des monnaies royales composant pour la plus grande partie le trésor de Sierck (Moselle), découvert en 1875*, dans *Mélanges de numismatique publiés par* F. DE SAULCY et A. DE BARTHÉLEMY, III, 1882, p. 80-152; E. CARON, *Catalogue raisonné des monnaies baronales provenant de la trouvaille de Sierck*, *ibid.*, p. 240-283.
30 kg de monnaies, dont 18 kg examinés, 17588 exemplaires décrits, dont :
Achaïe : Guillaume de Villehardouin (1246-1278) : 10 deniers tournois
Charles Ier et Charles II (1278-1285-1289) : 18 deniers tournois (non décrits)
Florent de Hainaut (1289-1297) : 2 deniers tournois
Philippe de Savoie (1301-1307) : 4 deniers tournois
Lépante : Philippe de Tarente (1294-1313) : 1 denier tournois
Athènes : Gui II (1287-1308) : 4 deniers tournois
Karytène : Hélène (vers 1290) : 2 deniers tournois.

**8.** Riec-sur-Belon (canton de Pont-Aven, arrondissement de Quimper, département du Finistère), mi-novembre 1924.

Dr. MACÉ, *La trouvaille de Riec (Finistère)*, dans *Courrier numismatique*, II, 1926, p. 53-63 et 94.
611 monnaies, dont :
Achaïe : Philippe de Savoie (1301-1307) : 1 denier tournois (Schl. XII, 20).

**9.** Mairé (canton de Pleumartin, arrondissement de Châtellerault, département de la Vienne), début 1953.

J. LAFAURIE, dans *BSFN*, 8, octobre 1953, p. 220-221.
264 monnaies, dont :
Achaïe : Guillaume de Villehardouin (1246-1278) : 1 denier tournois.

**10.** Champagne-Mouton (chef-lieu de canton, arrondissement de Confolens, département de la Charente), mars 1883.

REMPNOULX-DUVIGNAUD, *Divers types de monnaies des XIIIe et XIVe siècles découverts dans le sous-sol d'une maison démolie en mars 1883, à Champagne-Mouton*, dans *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*, s. 5, 6, 1883, p. XL-XLIII.
Environ 700 monnaies, dont :
Athènes : denier tournois anonyme (Schl. XIII, 4-5) (la publication décrit les types, sans donner le nombre d'exemplaires de chacun).

**11.** Weissenthurm (cercle de Coblence, province de Rhénanie-Palatinat, Allemagne), 1908.

M. SCHLÜTER, *Ein Münzfund von Weissenthurm, Kreis Koblenz, Rheinland-Pfalz, vergraben um 1360*, dans *HBN*, 9-10, 1955-1956, p. 129-140.
406 monnaies, dont :
Achaïe : Florent de Hainaut (1289-1297) : 1 denier tournois (cf. Schl. XII, 18)
Philippe de Tarente (1307-1313) : 1 denier tournois (cf. Schl. XII, 21).

**12.** Limerlé (canton d'Houffalize, arrondissement de Bastogne, province de Luxembourg, Belgique), fin 1968.

H. FRÈRE, *Deux trésors monétaires du Luxembourg*, dans *RBN*, 116, 1970, p. 154-162.
176 monnaies examinées, dont :
Achaïe : Charles II d'Anjou (1285-1289) : 1 denier tournois (Schl. XII, 17)
Athènes : Gui II (1287-1308) : 1 denier tournois (Schl. XIII, 9 var.).

**13.** Naples (Italie), 16 mars 1886.

M. RUGGIERO, *Napoli. Nota del direttore degli scavi e monumenti comm.*, dans *NScavAnt*, 1886, p. 333.
1687 monnaies, enfouies entre 1386 et 1414 :

| | |
|---|---|
| «France»: | 6 deniers tournois |
| Achaïe : | Guillaume de Villehardouin (1246-1278) : 52 deniers tournois |
| | Charles Ier (1278-1285) : 12 deniers tournois |
| | Charles II (1285-1289) : 38 deniers tournois |
| | Florent de Hainaut (1289-1297) : 44 deniers tournois |
| | Isabelle de Villehardouin (1297-1301) : 118 deniers tournois |
| | Philippe de Savoie (1301-1307) : 175 deniers tournois |
| | Philippe de Tarente (1307-1313) : 231 deniers tournois |
| | Louis de Bourgogne (1313-1316) : 5 deniers tournois |
| | Ferdinand de Majorque (1315-1316) : 1 denier tournois |
| | Mahaut de Hainaut (1316-1321) : 147 deniers tournois |
| | Jean de Gravina (1322-1333) : 113 deniers tournois |
| | Robert de Tarente (1333-1364) : 12 deniers tournois |
| Athènes : | Guillaume (1280-1287) : 201 deniers tournois |
| | Gui II (1287-1308) : 302 deniers tournois |
| Épire : | Philippe de Tarente (1294-1313) : 215 deniers tournois |
| Corfou : | Philippe de Tarente (vers 1295 ?) : 3 deniers tournois |
| Arta : | Jean Orsini (1303-1335) : 1 denier tournois |
| Grande Valaquie : | Jean II Ange Comnène (1303-1318) : 6 deniers tournois, Néopatras |
| Sulmona : | Charles III de Duras (1382-1386) : 4 deniers tournois |
| | Ladislas de Duras (1386-1414) : 1 denier tournois. |

# Monnaies du Moyen Âge

## 2. Europe centrale et orientale

# Der Beginn des Zustroms westeuropaischer Münzen nach Estland (965-bis zum 1. Viertel des 11. Jh.)

Arkadi MOLVÔGIN*

Bei der Erforschung eines jeden historischen Prozesses spielt die Periodisierung eine wichtige Rolle. Das trifft auch bei so einem Phänomen in der Geschichte Estlands wie der Einstrom oder die Durchquerung des Münzsilbers durch das Territorium in der Wikingerzeit zu.

Je mehr sich die Forscher in den Umlaufmechanismus des Münzsilbers in den Ländern rings um die Ostsee vertieft haben, desto klarer wurde es, daß diese Prozesse sich nicht gleichzeitig abgespielt haben, sondern zu verschiedenen Zeiten und auch spezifische Züge aufgezeigt haben[1]. Diese Aussage trifft vollkommen zu auch für den Beginn des Eindringens der westeuropäischen Denare nach Skandinavien sowie Mittel- und Osteuropa.

Im Folgenden werden wir näher auf die Anfangsetappe des Zuflußes der europäischen Münzen in Estland eingehen. Die untere chronologische Grenze dieser Periode fällt mit dem Erscheinen der ersten westeuropäischen Münzen in estnischen Schatzfunden in den 60er Jahren des 10. Jahrhunderts überein. Die obere kann mit der praktisch völligen Verdrängung der arabischen Dirhame aus dem hiesigen Münzumlauf charakterisiert werden. Dies geschah, wie im folgenden gezeigt wird, im zweiten Jahrzehnt des 11. Jahrhunderts. Zu dieser Zeit gehört auch die jähe Verminderung der Münzschatzbildung, was aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit der Verminderung des Zustroms des Münzsilbers nach Estland verbunden war.

Das Problem der Anfangsfase des Einstroms des westlichen Münzsilbers in Nord-, Mittel- und Osteuropa ist nur in den letzten Jahren speziell behandelt worden. Das läßt sich dadurch erklären, daß die Erforschung dieses Prozesses erschwert war weil nur wenig Material zur Verfügung stand und die Belege oft unvollständig waren.

Über den Anfang des Eindringens der westlichen Denare in Polen und in die andere Staaten des Ostseeraumes hat St. Suchodolski geschrieben[2]. Derselbe Prozeß des Zuflußes deutscher und angelsächsischer Münzen nach Nordeuropa und den slawischen Gebieten wurde von K. Jonsson, M. Blackburn und B. Kluge[3] verfolgt. Nach den von K. Jonsson angeführten Angaben tauchten die westeuropäischen Münzen in den Ländern des Ostseeraumes am frühesten in Dänemark auf, wo sie im Schatz Treslev *terminus post*

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* Tallinn, Estland.

1 B. KLUGE, *Bemerkungen zur Struktur der Funde europäischer Münzen des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts im Ostseegebiet*, in *Zeitschrift für Archäologie*, 12, 1978, S. 182.

2 St. SUCHODOLSKI, *Die erste Welle der westeuropäischen Münzen in 10. Jahrhundert in Masowien und Mittelpolen*, in *Commentationes Numismaticae, 1988. Festgabe für Gert und Vera Hatz zum 4. Januar 1988 dargebracht*, Hamburg, 1988, S. 63-72; ID., *Die erste Welle der westeuropäischen Münzen im Ostseeraum*, in *Sigtuna Papers. Proceedings of the Sigtuna Symposium on Viking-Age Coinage, 1-4 June 1988*, ed. by K. JONSSON and Br. MALMER (*Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, nova series, 6), Stockholm, 1990, S. 317-325.

3 K. JONSSON, *The Import of German Coins to Denmark and Sweden c. 920-990*, in *Sigtuna Papers*, S. 139-143; M. BLACKBURN und K. JONSSON, *The Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Element of North European Coin Finds*, in *Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands. The Sixth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and the Monetary History* ed. by M. BLACKBURN and D.M. METCALF (*BAR, International Series*, 122), Oxford, 1981, S. 147-255; B. KLUGE, *Das angelsächsische Element in den slawischen Münzfunden des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Aspekte einer Analyse*, in *Viking-Age Coinage*, S. 257-324.

*quem* 940 mit 11 Exemplaren vertreten sind. Auf die 950er Jahre fallen 3 Funde, die insgesamt nur 3 deutsche Denare aufweisen[4]. Etwa anderthalb Jahrzehnte später gelangten die westlichen Münzen nach Gotland, Fund aus Lunds (*terminus post quem* 957-958) der einen einzigen solchen Denar enthält. In die 60er Jahre gehören zwei Funde, die auch nur einzelne uns interessierende Münzen beinhalten[5]. K. Jonsson bemerkt, daß der Prozeß des Anfangs des Einstroms der westeuropäischen Münzen nach Gotland sehr langsam und unregelmäßig verlief. Er wurde im letzten Viertel des Jahrhunderts intensiver, aber der reguläre Einfluß macht sich erst seit den 90er Jahren des 10. Jahrhunderts bemerkbar[6]. In Festland-Schweden gehören die früheren Schätze mit europäischen Münzen auch in die 50er Jahre, (Fund Närke *terminus post quem* 958-959) bleiben aber bis zum Ende des Jahrhunderts sehr bescheiden[7]. So werden von P. Ilisch in den Funden von Schweden, die bis zum Jahre 991 vergraben sind, nur 171 deutsche Münzen aufgezählt[8].

Ein analoges Bild läßt sich auch auf dem Gebiet der Westlaven beobachten. Nach St. Suchodolski gehören hier die ersten Funde mit westeuropäischen Denaren ebenfalls in die Mitte der 50er Jahre. Das sind Funde Piaski-Dramino *terminus post quem* 950; Trzebianowo 955; Poznan 961 u.a.[9]. Wie auch in Skandinavien gibt es in diesen frühen Funden im allgemeinen nur wenige westliche Münzen. Ein intensiverer Eingang des europäischen Münzsilbers wird ab letztem Viertel des Jahrhunderts bemerkbar[10]. Anhand dieser Angaben verfolgen wir den Verlauf des Beginns der Infiltration der europäischen Münzen nach Estland.

Vor uns hat diese Frage nur N. Bauer flüchtig behandelt und nämlich in seinem Nachwort zur Topographie der altrussischen, baltischen und finnischen Münzfunde. Er meinte, daß der Einstrom europäischer Denare auf dieses Territorium 30 Jahre später begonnen hat als in die mehr westlich liegenden Länder[11]. B. Kluge notiert richtig, daß dieser Gesichtspunkt etwas übertrieben ist und damit verbunden, daß zu der Zeit der Publikation seiner Arbeit die früheren estnischen Schatzfunde noch nicht bekannt waren. Ausserdem hat N. Bauer bei seiner Funddatierung der Schätze die sogennante Methode der «langen» Chronologie angewandt[12]. B. Kluge seinerseits meinte, daß die westlichen Denare ins Estland, Lettland und Altrussland mit 20 Jahre Verspätung einzuströmen begonnen haben, wenn man einen Vergleich mit Skandinavien und Mitteleuropa zieht[13].

Der heutige Bestand des numismatischen Materials zeigt folgendes Bild vom Beginn des Einstroms des europäischen Münzsilbers ins Estland. Der früheste Münzschatz mit westlichen Münzen ist bei uns der Fund Metsaküla auch Kumna genannt *terminus post quem* 964-965 (Tab. 1, Nr 1). Bemerkenswert in diesem Schatzfund ist die verhältnismäßig große Anzahl der westlichen Münzen, derer es 29 Exemplare gezählt

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4 K. JONSSON, *op. cit.*, 1990, S. 139-140.

5 *Ibidem*, S. 140.

6 *Ibidem*.

7 *Ibidem*.

8 P. ILISCH, *German Viking-Age Coinage and the North*, in *Viking-Age Coinage*, S. 135; St. SUCHODOLSKI, *Die erste Welle der westeuropäischen Münzen im Ostseeraum*, in *Sigtuna Papers*, S. 321 vermerkt 181 Münzen.

9 ID., *Die erste Welle der westeuropäischen Münzen in 10. Jahrhundert in Masowien und Mittelpolen*, in *Commentationes Numismaticae, 1988*, Hamburg, 1988, S. 67.

10 B. KLUGE, *Das angelsächsische Element in den slawischen Münzfunden des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Aspekte einer Analyse*, in *Viking-Age Coinage*, S. 267; St. SUCHODOLSKI, *Die erste Welle der westeuropäischen Münzen in 10. Jahrhundert in Masowien und Mittelpolen*, in *Commentationes Numismaticae, 1988*, Hamburg, 1988, S. 67.

11 N. BAUER, *Die russischen Funde abendländischer Münzen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts. Schlußbetrachtung*, in *ZfN*, 40, 1930, S.190, 194.

12 B. KLUGE, *Das angelsächsische Element in den slawischen Münzfunden des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Aspekte einer Analyse*, in *Viking-Age Coinage*, S. 268.

13 *Ibidem*.

wird, was sogar im Vergleich zu den chronologisch gleichzeitigen skandinavischen Funden sehr hoch ist. Freilich sind 22 Münzen davon Dünnpfennige und Brakteaten aus Hedeby. Die letzten kommen allgemein in den estnischen Funden äusserst selten vor. Ausser dem Münzfund von Metsaküla ist uns noch ein Fragment von einem Brakteat aus Hedeby bekannt, welches sich im Schatzfund Kuigatsi *terminus post quem* 1070 befand[14]. Deshalb scheint der Fund Metsaküla ein Beweis von einem außergewöhnlichen, direkten und einmaligen Kontakt zwischen Hedeby und Estland zu sein. Von anderen europäischen Münzen dieses Fundes sind vier deutscher (Köln, Sachsenpfennig, Mainz und Straßburg), zwei böhmischer und eine italienischer Herkunft.

Chronologisch um 15 Jahre später läßt sich der Schatzfund von Kehra *terminus post quem* 979 datieren. Neben orientalischen Münzen befanden sich da auch 5 byzantinische Miliaresien, 2 deutsche (eine aus Mainz, die andere ein Sachsenpfennig), 1 böhmische und 1 angelsächsiche Münze (Tab. 1, Nr 2).

Der dritte, repräsentative und gut dokumentierte Münzfund des 10. Jahrhunderts stammt aus Pärsamaa-Räägi (Saaremaa, Ösel) und ist nach *terminus post quem* 998 in die Erde geraten (Tab. 1, Nr 6). Charakteristisch für ihn ist die Tatsache, daß er der erste estnische Fund ist, wo es bedeutend mehr europäische als orientalische Münzen gibt. Hier kann noch hinzugefügt werden, daß es sich um einen der wenigen estnischen Münzfunde handelt, der den gut ausgeprägten Charakter eines Hacksilberfundes trägt. Von 107 Münzen sind 74 Fragmente.

Von den anderen 3 Schatzfunden, die in die 90er Jahre des 10. Jahrhunderts datiert werden, ist uns so wenig bekannt (Tab. 1, Nr 3-5), daß es schwer fällt über diese etwas näheres zu sagen. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß diese Funde auch zur einer späteren Zeit gehören könnten.

Im allgemeinen zeigt das oben wiedergegebene Bild der Ausbreitung in Estland der Schatzfunde mit westlischen Münzen, daß der Zufluß der europäischen Denare im 10. Jahrhundert noch unregelmäßig und zufällig war.

Die Forscher unterstreichen eine Häufung der Schätze in Skandinavien und im westslavischen Gebiet am Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts und um die Jahrhundertwende[15]. Diese Erscheinung wird mit dem Anfang der Maßenprägung in Goslar (?) 991 der Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige verbunden. Es ist nicht ausgeschloßen, daß diese auch ein Jahrzehnt früher begann[16]. Unsere Angaben (Tab. 1) zeigen keine Münzfundhäufung zur besprochenen Zeit in Estland. Es ist möglich, daß dies mit der Verzögerung der regulären Einfuhr der westlichen Münzen nach Estland zusammenhängt.

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14 *AI* 5000 : 85. N. BAUER, *Die russischen Funde abendländischer Münzen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *ZfN*, 39, 1929, S. 1-187; A. FRIEDENTHAL, *Baltische Münzfunde des 9. bis 12. Jahrhunderts an Hand einer Münzfundkarte*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Riga. Vorträge zur Hundertjahrfeier 1934*, Riga, 1936, S. 142-154; E. TÕNISSON, *Eesti aardeleiud 9.-13. sajandist*, in *Muistsed kalmed ja aarded. Arheoloogiline kogumik*, II, Tallinn, 1962, Nr 86; V.M. POTIN, *Topografya nachodok zapadnoevropejskich monet X-XIII vv. na territorii drevnej Rusi*, in *Trudy GErmitazh*, 9. *Numismatika*, 3, Leningrad, 1967, Nr 90.

15 G. HATZ, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit (Die deutschen Münzen des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts in Schweden)*, Lund, 1974, S. 55; B. KLUGE, *Das angelsächsische Element in den slawischen Münzfunden des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts. Aspekte einer Analyse*, in *Viking-Age Coinage*, S. 263.

16 ID., *Überlegungen zu den Otto-Adelheid-Pfennigen. Stempelkritische Untersuchungen der Typen Hatz II (Dbg. 1166, 1170) und AMEN (Dbg. 1171)*, in *Sigtuna Papers*, S. 170-171; G. HATZ, V. HATZ, U. ZWICKER, N. und Z. GALE, *Otto-Adelheid-Pfennige. Untersuchungen zu Münzen des 10./11. Jarhunderts*, in *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI. Suecia repertis. Nova series*, 7, Stockholm, 1991, S. 16 ff.

Die Lage ändert sich jäh zu Beginn des 11. Jahrhunderts. Die Münzfundbildung wird regulär, die Größe der Funde steigt. Aber von einer Häufung von ihnen in einem gewissen Zeitabschnitt können wir nicht sprechen, da die Schätze sich chronologisch sehr gleichmäßig verbreiten (Tab. 1). So gehören zum ersten Dezennium des 11. Jahrhunderts 6 Funde mit 943 Münzen, im zweiten Jahrzehnt gibt es ihrer 8 mit 987 Münzen. Die Gesamtzahl der Funde aus dem ersten Viertel des 11. Jahrhunderts beträgt 15, die 1970 Münzen beinhalten. Der Schatz Vôlla enthielt 522 Münzen, Vaabina 374, Vôôpsu 168 (Tab. 1, Nr 8, 14, 15). Für die estnischen Umstände sind es verhältnismäßig umfangreiche Funde.

Auf diese Weise fällt der Anfang des regulären Einstroms des europäischen Münzsilbers nach Estland in die Jahrhundertwende des 10.-11. Jahrhunderts und hat im Vergleich mit Skandinavien eine Verzögerung von 10 Jahren.

Der Charakter der Münzfundbildung in Estland ändert sich wieder am Ende des zweiten Dezenniums des 11. Jahrhunderts. Die letzten «regulären» estnische Funde aus dem ersten Viertel des 11. Jahrhunderts sind um das Jahr 1018 vergraben worden (Tab. 1). Nach diesem Jahr folgte eine längere Pause, denn der chronologisch nächste Schatz, der auch der einzige estnische Fund der 20. Jahre ist, wurde nach *terminus post quem* 1024 der Erde vertraut (Tab. 1). Da uns nur Fragmente des Fundes erhalten sind, ist es nicht ausgeschloßen, daß er viel später in die Erde geraten konnte, als es die erhaltenen Münzen bezeugen.

Nach 1015 (Tab. 1) folgte auch eine rapide Senkung der Zahl der östlischen Münzen in den estnischen Funden, die in den späteren Schätzen nur in wenigen Exemplaren vorkommen. Es gibt keinen Zweifel daran, daß eine plötzliche Verringerung der Anzahl von Schätzen durch den verminderten Umfang des Einflußes des Münzsilbers hervorgerufen wurde. Da der intensive Zustrom von Münzen nach Skandinavien und estnischen Nachbarländern sich zu dieser Zeit fortsetzte[17], ist die Verminderung der Zahl der Münzfunde in Estland nicht mit der Abbrechung der Beziehungen mit dem Westen in Zusammenhang zu bringen, sondern ist es anscheinend mit Komplikationen in der innenpolitischen Lage in Estland zu erklären.

Wie verlief der Anfang des Zustroms des europäischen Münzsilbers bei unseren Nachbarn? In Altrussland wurde der jüngste Fund mit den uns interessierenden Münzen in Staryi Dedin *terminus post quem* 979 gehoben[18]. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß die Fundstelle sehr weit von den Grenzgebieten liegt. Diese Tatsache schließt nicht die Möglichkeit aus, daß es sich noch frühere Funde künftig entdecken laßen. Es ist von Interesse, daß der Fund nach *terminus post quem* zur derselben Zeit wie der zweitälteste estnische Fund aus Kehre vergraben worden war. Nahe liegt auch ihr Bestand an deutschen Denare. Bis zum Jahre 1000 liegen aus dem Territorium Altrusslands fünf Münzfunde mit westeuropäischem Münzsilber vor. Vier von ihnen gehören ins letzte Dezennium des 10. Jahrhunderts[19].

In Lettland laßen sich die ersten zwei Münzkomplexe mit europäischem Anteil der 90er Jahren des 10. Jahrhunderts zurechnen. Im Münzfund Kacenu Radova *terminus post quem* 991 gibt es einen Otto-Adelheid-Pfennig, im Schatz von Gramzdes Jaunzemji

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17 G. HATZ, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit (Die deutschen Münzen des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts in Schweden)*, Lund, 1974, S. 55 f.; T.M. BERGA, *Monety v archeologičeskih pamjatnikah Latvii IX-XII vekov*, Riga, 1988. S. 32 ff.

18 R. VASMER, *Ein im Dorfe Stary Dedin in Weißrusland gemachter Fund kufischer Münzen*, in *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlinger*, Del. 40, 2, Stockholm, 1929, S. 20 ff.; V.M. POTIN, *Topografya nachodok zapadnoevropejskich monet X-XIII vv. na territorii drevnej Rusi*, in *Trudy GErmitazh*, 9. *Numismatika*, 3, Leningrad, 1967, Nr 306.

19 ID., *Topografya nachodok zapadnoevropejskich monet X-XIII vv. na territorii drevnej Rusi*, in *Trudy GErmitazh*, 9. *Numismatika*, 3, Leningrad, 1967, Nr 284, 306, 357, 360, 382.

*terminus post quem* 996 2 kölnische und 3 Mainzer Denare der Ottonen[20]. Der jüngste Fund mit westlichen Münzen in Finnland gehört in die Zeit um die Wende des 10.-11. Jarhunderts und besteht aus 28 deutschen, 13 angelsächsichen und 2 skandinavischen Imitationen der englischen Münzen[21].

Zusammenfaßend kann man sagen, daß der Zustrom des westeuropäischen Münzsilbers nach Estland, obwohl er anfangs, genauso wie in Skandinavien und im westslawischen Gebiet, umfangsarm und unregulär war, ab 965 stattgefunden hat. Somit hat das estnische Gebiet im Vergleich zu Altrussland einen Vorsprung von über 10 Jahren und im Vergleich zu Finnland und Lettland, seinen nördlichen und südlichen Nachbarländern, sogar von 30 Jahren. Der Grund dazu war wahrscheinlich die günstige geopolitische Lage Estlands and der Ostsee und Finnischen Meerbusen und weil durch dieses Territorium wichtige internationale Handelswege zwischen Ost und West verliefen.

*Bemerkungen und Literatur zur Tabelle 1*

Die meisten in der Tabelle angeführten Münzfunde sind in kurzer oder erweiterter Regestenform publiziert. Die älteren Publikationen wurden nach der neueren Literatur bearbeitet. Die Angaben über den Inhalt der Münzfunde Nr 3, 6, 10, 17, 19, 20 werden erstmalig vorgelegt. Die Nummern der Verweise entsprechen denjenigen der Schätze in der Tabelle[22].

1. A. FRIEDENTHAL, *Der Münzfund von Karlos*, in *BKE*, 18, Reval, 1932, S. 5-13.
2. I.G. DOBROVOLSKIJ und A. MOLVÔGIN, *Klad kufičeskih dirhamov i zapadnyh monet 10 v. iz Kehra*, in *ENSV TA*, Toim, 1985, S. 287-300.
3. Inv. Nr AI 5000 : 778. Manuskript MOLVÔGIN.
4. *AM Accession* 592. *JB FLG* 1890-1895, S. 238.
5. A. HANSEN, *Über einige bei Oberpahlen gefundene kufische Münzen*, in *Verh. GEG*, 1, 1, 1840, S. 68-72; H. FRANK, *Die baltisch-arabischen Fundmünzen*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, hrg. von der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*, Bd. 18, Riga, 1908, S. 372, Nr 44-62.
6. Inv. Nr AI 5000 : 157. Manuskript DOBROVOLSKIJ und MOLGÔVIN.
7. R. VASMER, *Der Münzfund von Peuth*, in *BKE*, 12, 1926-1927, Reval, S. 65-100.
8. I.G. DOBROVOLSKIJ, A.N. MOLVÔGIN und V.M. POTIN, *Novyie dannyie o klade Vôlla (Vella)*, in *Ekonomika, politika i kultura v svete numismatiki*, Leningrad, 1982, S. 175-194.
9. Fr. KRUSE, *Erläuterungen zu den Necrolivonicis*, Dorpat, Leipzig, 1845, S. 82; H. FRANK, *Die baltisch-arabischen Fundmünzen*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, hrg. von der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*, Bd. 18, Riga, 1908, S. 384-385, Nr 8, 10.
10. Inv. Nr AI 5001 : 634. Manuskript DOBROVOLSKIJ und MOLGÔVIN.
11. A.A. BÎKOV, *Kufičeskije monety ozerelija iz Paunküla*, in *ENSV TA*, Toim, 1961, 2, S. 178-181; T. NOONAN, *A Dirham Hoard of the Early Eleventh Century from Northern Estonia and its Importance for the Routes by which Dirhams reached Eastern Europe c. 1000 AD*, in *JBS*, 14, 3, Fall, 1983, S. 185-202. Manuskript BYKOV (arabische Münzen), SOKOLOVA (byzantinische), MOLVÔGIN (westeuropäische).
12. *SB GEG*, 1884, S. 283.
13. A. FRIEDENTHAL, *Der Münzfund von Kumna*, in *BKE*, 18, Reval, 1932, S. 1-4.
14. W. ANDERSON, *Der Münzfund von Vaabina*, in *SB GEG*, 1937, 1, Tartu, 1938, S. 1-84.
15. Inv. Nr AI 5000 : 220. J. MENADIER, *Der Fund von Wöbs*, in *ZfN*, 14, 1887, S. 266-268; Vgl. H. FRANK, *Die baltisch-arabischen Fundmünzen*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte*

20 T.M. BERGA, *Monety v archeologiceskih pamjatnikah Latvii IX-XII vekov*, Riga, 1988, S. 32.

21 T. TALVIO, *The National Museum Helsinki and other Public Collections in Finland. Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman and Hiberno-Norse Coins* (*Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, 25), London, 1978, S. XXX.

22 *Abkürzungen* : AI = Institut für Geschichtforschung der Estnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; AM = Estnisches Historisches Museum; BKE = Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands; ENSV TA Toim = Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia toimetised. Ühiskonnateadused; JB FLG, 1890-1895 = Jahresbericht der Felliner litterarischen Gesellschaft für die Jahre 1890 bis 1895, Fellin, 1898, S. 238-241; tpq = *terminus post quem*; Verh. GEG = Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft.

*Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, hrg. von der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*, Bd. 18, Riga, 1908, Nr 312-392, 427-459. Manuskript DOBROVOLSKIJ (arabische Münzen) und MOLGÔVIN (europäische).

16. J. MENADIER, *Der Fund von Immaküla in Liefland*, in *Deutsche Münzen*, Bd. IV, Berlin, 1898, S. 117-119; *JB FLG*, 1890-1895, S. 238-241.
17. A. FRIEDENTHAL, *Baltische Münzfunde des 9. bis 12. Jahrhunderts an Hand einer Münzfundkarte*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Riga. Vorträge zur Hundertjahrfeier 1934*, Riga, 1936, Nr 20.
18. H. DANNENBERG, *Der Fund von Kunda*, in *ZfN*, 25, 1906, S. 68-70. Manuskript MOLGÔVIN (angelsächsiche Münzen).
19. Fr. KRUSE, *Necrolivonica oder Alterhümer Liv-, Est- und Curlands...*, Dorpat, 1842, S. 16-17; H. FRANK, *Die baltisch-arabischen Fundmünzen*, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Kurlands, hrg. von der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*, Bd. 18, Riga, 1908, Nr 147-154.
20. Inv. Nr AM 28153-28154 (Silberne Schmuckgegenstände).
21. J. IVERSEN, *Der Fund von Rotzeküll*, in *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, Bd. VI, Berlin, 1871-1873, S. 286-287.

## TAB. I. MÜNZEN IN DEN ESTNISCHEN FUNDEN 965-1025

| Nr. | Fundort | *tpq* | Zahl der Münzen | Sasaniden | Islamische Dynastien | Georgien | Indien | Byzantinisches Reich | Östliche Münzen zusammen | % östlichen Münzen | Deutsches Reich | Italien | England | Böhmen | Irland | Skandinavien ? Imit.engl.Münzen | Dänemark | Schweden | Westliche Münzen zusammen |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Metsaküla | 964/965 | 57 | - | 28 | - | - | - | 28 | 49,12 | 4 | 1 | 2 | - | - | - | 22 | - | 29 |
| 2. | Kehra | 979 | 421 | - | 412 | - | - | 5 | 417 | 99,05 | 2 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | 4 |
| 3. | Fundort? | 991 | 6+x | - | - | - | - | 3 | 3 | 50 | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| 4. | Erra-Liiva | 996 | 15+x | - | 3 | - | - | - | 3 | 20 | 12 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |
| 5. | Pôltsamaa | 996 | 20+x | - | 19 | - | - | - | 19 | 95 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 6. | Räägi | 998 | 107 | - | 19 | - | - | 2 | 21 | 19,63 | 54 | - | - | 25 | - | 6 | - | 1 | 86 |
| Summe bis 1000 | | | 626 | - | 481 | - | - | 10 | 491 | 78,43 | 75 | 1 | 3 | 27 | - | 6 | 22 | 1 | 35 |
| 7. | Kloodi | 1002 | 146 | - | 94 | - | - | 3 | 97 | 66,44 | 44 | - | - | 4 | - | 1 | - | - | 49 |
| 8. | Vôlla | 1002/03 | 522 | - | 74 | 1 | - | 143 | 218 | 41,76 | 304 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 304 |
| 9. | Vesneri | 1003 | 19+x | - | 17 | - | - | - | 17 | 89,47 | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 10. | Vihula | 1009 | 123 | - | 31 | - | - | 1 | 32 | 26,02 | 90 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | 91 |
| 11. | Paunküla I/II | 1009 | 123 | 1 | 104 | - | - | 14 | 119 | 96,75 | 2 | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | 4 |
| 12. | Sootaga | 1009 | 10+x | - | 6 | - | - | 1 | 7 | 70,00 | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| 13. | Paljassaare | 1011 | 130 | - | 11 | - | - | 2 | 13 | 10,00 | 97 | - | - | 18 | - | 2 | - | - | 117 |
| 14. | Vaabina | 1012 | 374 | - | 205 | - | 1 | 4 | 210 | 56,15 | 42 | - | 1 | 101 | 1 | 19 | - | - | 164 |
| 15. | Vôôpsu | 1014 | 168+x | 2 | 112 | - | - | - | 114 | 67,86 | 44 | - | - | 7 | - | 3 | - | - | 54 |
| 16. | Immaküla | 1014 | 76 | - | 36 | - | - | - | 36 | 47,37 | 22 | - | - | 12 | - | 6 | - | - | 40 |
| 17. | Suure Lähtru | 1016 | 5+x | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 | - | - | - | 4 | 1 | - | - | - | 5 |
| 18. | Kunda | 1018 | 124 | - | 23 | - | - | - | 23 | 18,55 | 13 | - | - | 66 | - | 22 | - | - | 101 |
| 19. | Vônnu | 1018 | 26+x | - | 7 | - | - | - | 7 | 26,92 | 12 | - | - | 4 | - | 2 | 1 | - | 19 |
| 20. | Väike Rôude | 1018 | 84+x | - | 1 | - | - | - | i | 1,19 | 72 | - | - | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | - | 83 |
| 21. | Rootsiküla | 1024 | 40+x | - | 3 | - | - | - | 3 | 7,50 | 17 | - | - | 20 | - | - | - | - | 37 |
| Summe bis 1025 | | | 1970 | 3 | 724 | 1 | 1 | 168 | 897 | 45,53 | 759 | - | 1 | 251 | 3 | 57 | 2 | - | 1073 |
| Summe 965-1025 | | | 2596 | 3 | 1205 | 1 | 1 | 178 | 1388 | 69,54 | 834 | 1 | 4 | 278 | 3 | 63 | 24 | 1 | 1208 |

# Deniers belges dans les trésors russes du XIe siècle

Vsevolod POTIN*

Le but principal de mon exposé est de présenter aux participants du 11e Congrès International de Numismatique, ainsi qu'à tous les numismates du pays organisateur de ce congrès, quelques informations sur les trésors de deniers frappés au Moyen Âge sur le territoire de la Belgique actuelle et qui se trouvent en Union Soviétique. Ces informations vont donc concerner les ateliers monétaires de la Belgique actuelle. Cette limitation est, sans doute, purement conventionnelle, mais très représentative, la plus grande partie des ateliers monétaires de la Basse Lorraine occidentale se trouvant, à la fin du 10e et au 11e siècle, en Belgique. Ainsi, les monnaies provenant des ateliers belges donnent une certaine idée du monnayage de l'époque dans toute cette grande région historique.

L'étude des deniers belges du 10e et du 11e siècle remonte, en Russie, au 19e siècle. Les premières recherches concernaient, avant tout, les trésors trouvés en Russie. L'une des premières études fut accomplie en 1850 par le docteur baron Bernhard Köhne (1817-1886)[1]. Parmi les premiers et aussi l'un des plus célèbres numismates orientalistes, A.K. Markov (1858-1920) contribua également beaucoup au développement de la numismatique occidentale. Sa publication du trésor de pièces occidentales trouvé en 1910 dans le village Rutch'i (région de Gdov) mérite largement d'être mentionnée ici. Les monnaies des ducs de la Basse Lorraine, des comtes de Namur, les deniers frappés à Namur, Dinant, Celles et Huy furent décrits dans cette publication. D'ailleurs, en 1910, A. Markov avait participé au Congrès International de Numismatique, également à Bruxelles[2].

Un autre chercheur qui fit beaucoup pour l'étude des monnaies occidentales du Moyen Âge est le docteur N. Bauer (1882-1942). Il rédigea la topographie des trouvailles de deniers des 11e-12e siècles, ce qui ne fut possible qu'après leur étude approfondie[3]. Il composa également l'inventaire du plus grand trésor de deniers du 11e siècle trouvé en URSS, celui de Vikhmiaz'.

Mon article sur les monnaies rares de la Basse Lorraine et de la Frise frappées aux 10e-12e siècles rendait accessibles en 1963 au large public scientifique quelques monnaies rares, dont 15 frappées en Basse Lorraine[4].

Plusieurs numismates belges prirent, eux aussi, part à l'étude des deniers trouvés en Russie.

En octobre 1891, l'un des plus remarquables trésors russes, celui de Lodeïnoie Pole I, fut vendu aux enchères à Francfort-sur-le-Main par A. Hess[5]. Quelques pièces belges appartenant à ce trésor furent achetées par le gouvernement belge et par le vicomte B. de Jonghe. Les pièces achetées par le vicomte de Jonghe rejoignirent plus tard la

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* Ermitage, Saint-Pétersbourg.

1 B. KÖHNE, *Über die im Russischen Reiche gefundenen abendländischen Münzen des X., XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts*, St.-Pétersbourg, 1850.

2 A. MARKOV, *Klad nemetzkikh pfennigov XI veka, naïdenny' v Gdovskom uyezde [Trésors de pfennigs allemands, trouvés dans la région de Gdov]*, St.-Pétersbourg, 1911.

3 N. BAUER, *Die russischen Funde abendländischer Münzen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, dans *ZfN*, 39, 1929, p. 1-15; *Ibidem*, 40, 1930, p. 188-228; ID., *Nachträge zu den russischen Funden abendländischer Münzen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, *loc. cit.*, 42, 1935, p. 153-173.

4 V. POTIN, *Seltene Münzen des Niederlothringischen und Friesischen Raumes aus dem 10.-12. Jahrhundert*, dans *HBN*, 17, 1963, p. 483-493.

5 A. Hess, Francfort s/M., Vente 19. Octobre 1891.

collection du Cabinet Royal des Médailles. Certaines de ces pièces furent décrites par des numismates belges, notamment par G. Cumont[6].

En parlant des chercheurs qui étudièrent les deniers belges des 10e-12e siècles dans les trésors russes, on ne peut passer sous silence les noms de H. Dannenberg, R. Gaettens, W. Hävernick et G. Albrecht.

Aujourd'hui, je voudrais présenter un bref aperçu des trouvailles de deniers belges et m'attarder quelque peu sur les problèmes de leur attribution. Je traiterai des 1.882 deniers compris dans 26 trésors (Tabl. I) qui furent trouvés sur le vaste territoire s'étendant de la Biélorussie à l'ouest (trésors n°1, 7, 12, 13) jusqu'à Moscou et ses environs à l'est (trésors n°3, 5, 15), du district de Kalouga au sud (trésor n°11) jusqu'à Arkhanghelsk au nord (trésor n°26)[7].

Les pièces isolées (si l'on prend en considération le nombre total des trésors) sont plus rares que ce que l'on attendrait. Cependant, elles aident à reconstituer la sphère de pénétration des deniers belges. Ces pièces isolées furent trouvées à :

- Skomovo, district d'Ivanovo (ancien gouvernement de Vladimir) : un denier de Huy (Dannenberg 229);
- Khreplia, district de Novgorod : un denier de Stavelot, trouvé en 1929;
- Boltinskaia, district de Vologda, tumulus n°7 : un denier de Flandre du 11e siècle, trouvé en 1981;
- Boltinskaia, tumulus n°33 : un denier de Celles, frappé par Henry III (1039-1046);
- Kouzomen', district de Mourmansk (côte sud de la mer Blanche) : un denier de Namur ou de Dinant, frappé par Albert II (1018-1064), trouvé en 1982.

Parmi les 1.882 pièces (cfr Tabl. I), 147 sont difficilement classables. Les 1.735 pièces qui restent peuvent être réparties, d'après la date de la frappe, de la manière suivante :

- fin du 10e siècle/premier quart du 11e siècle : 462 pièces (la classification de 5 d'entre elles est discutable);
- deuxième et troisième quarts du 11e siècle : 1.262 pièces;
- quatrième quart du 11e siècle/début du 12e siècle : 11 pièces (la classification de 5 d'entre elles est également discutable).

Cependant, les trésors datant d'avant 1050 (n°1-8) comprennent seulement 10 exemplaires de pièces frappées en Belgique, ce qui signifie évidemment que la plupart des pièces belges de la fin du 10e/premier quart du 11e siècle (460 sur 462) pénétrèrent dans ces trésors – et, probablement, sur le territoire de l'ancienne Russie en général – sensiblement après leur frappe, à l'exception de 2 exemplaires : un denier de Huy (Dannenberg 229), du trésor de Zvenigorod (n°5) et un denier de Celles (Dannenberg 186), du trésor de Karamychevo (n°6).

Ces observations permettent de tirer la conclusion suivante : la période de l'afflux intense des deniers belges dans les trésors russes fut relativement courte et coïncida avec le troisième quart du 11e siècle (1050-1075).

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6 G. CUMONT, dans *RBN*, 48, 1892, p. 147-151.

7 V.M. POTIN, *Topografia nakhodok zapadnoevropeïskikh monet 10-13 vv. na territorii Drevneï Rusi* (*Trudy GErmitazh*, 9), Leningrad, 1967 [*Topographie des trouvailles de monnaies occidentales des 10-13e s. sur le territoire de l'ancienne Russie* (*Travaux de l'Ermitage d'État*, 9), Leningrad, 1967], p. 135, 137; ID., *Funde westeuropäischer Denare im Norden der Sowjet-Union*, dans *Sigtuna Papers. Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis. Nova series* 6, éd. par Kenneth JONSSON et Brita MALMER, Stockholm, 1990, p. 268.

TAB. I. DENIERS MÉDIÉVAUX FRAPPÉS SUR LE TERRITOIRE DE LA BELGIQUE ACTUELLE ET TROUVÉS EN UNION SOVIÉTIQUE

| Nº d'ordre | Trésors enfouis | Date d'enfouissement | Nombre de pièces | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Ducs de Basse Lorraine | Basse Lorraine occidentale | Flandre atelier inconnu | Bruges | Mons | Thuin | Bruxelles | Nivelles | Anvers | Bouillon | Namur | Dinant | Liège | Huy | Ciney | Tongres | Visé | Celles | Stavelot | |
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | Total |
| 1 | Novy Dvor | 996 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| 2 | Poretchié | 1016 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| 3 | Rostov | 1024 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 4 | Boroskaïa | 1027 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 5 | Zvenigorod | 1027 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| 6 | Karamyshevo | 1039 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| 7 | Stragevitchi II | 1042 | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 8 | Naguinshhina I | 1047 | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 9 | Région de Pskov | 1056/1060 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 10 | Naguinshhina II | 1062 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 15 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 1 | | 2 | | 2 | 38 |
| 11 | Kolodezi | 1060/1065 | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 1 | 2 | | 4 | 2 | 4 | 2 | | | | | | 18 |
| 12 | Ludvishhe | 1060/1065 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 2 | 1 | | | | 8 | 6 | 2 | 2 | | | 1 | 1 | | 27 |
| 13 | Polock | 1060/1065 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 3 | 3 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | 9 |
| 14 | Kolgolema | 1068 | 18 | 17 | | | | 2 | 1 | | | 3 | 29 | 25 | 20 | 15 | | | 1 | 4 | 24 | 159 |
| 15 | Moscou | 1068 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 5 |
| 16 | Lodeïnoe Pole II | 1068 | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 6 |
| 17 | Demshino | 1068 | | | | | | | | | | | 8 | 1 | 1(?) | 1 | | | 1 | | | 24 |
| 18 | Polna | 1068 | 1 | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | | | 4 | | 12 |
| 19 | Lodeïnoe Pole III | 1073 | 20 | 6 | | | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 14 | 8 | 14 | 14 | | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 87 |
| 20 | Vikhmiaz' | 1079 | 115 | 12 | 10 | 3 | | 118 | 13 | 1 | | 26 | 211 | 145 | 248 | 119 | 66 | | 12 | 111 | 67 | 1277 |
| 21 | Lodeïnoe Pole I | 1081 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 12 | | | | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | | 56 |
| 22 | Rutch'i (district Ashevo) | 1081 | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 5 | 1 | | 1 | | | | | 10 |
| 23 | Rutch'i (district Gdov) | 1089 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 11 | 6 | 1 | 2 | | | | 2 | | 23 |
| 24 | Shpan'kovo (Spanko) | 1111 | 5 | 3 | | | | | | | 3 | 2 | 9 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 49 |
| 25 | Skadino | 1111 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | 5 | 5 | | 2 | | | | 1 | | 15 |
| 26 | Arkhanghelsk | 1112 | 5 | | | | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | 8 | 9 | 10 | 15 | | | 2 | 3 | | 56 |
| | | | 179 (13 t) | 48 (12t) | 20 (7t) | 5 (3t) | 5 (2t) | 130 (9t) | 31 (6t) | 3 (3t) | 10 (5t) | 31 (3t) | 333 (16t) | 251 (17t) | 317 (16t) | 194 (15t) | 72 (6t) | 3 (1t) | 24 (9t) | 132 (13t) | 94 (4t) | 1882 |

Les monnaies les plus représentées dans ces trésors sont les suivantes :
- 333 deniers de Namur (16 trésors);
- 317 deniers de Liège (16 trésors);
- 251 deniers de Dinant (17 trésors);
- 194 deniers de Huy (15 trésors);
- 142 deniers de Celles (13 trésors).

On trouve un certain intérêt à comparer la quantité de deniers belges dans les trésors russes avec celle des trésors suédois. L'ouvrage bien connu du prof. G. Hatz est très profitable à cet effet. M. Hatz indique 246 deniers de Liège trouvés dans 91 trésors; 201 deniers de Huy dans 79 trésors; pour les deniers de Namur, Dinant et Bouillon, il donne le chiffre total de 320 exemplaires dans 102 trésors[8]. En somme, on peut parler de 767 deniers d'ateliers susnommés en Suède, par rapport à 1.126 pièces des mêmes ateliers monétaires, trouvées dans 17 trésors mis au jour sur le territoire de l'ancienne Russie. Même si l'on ne prend pas en considération l'énorme trésor de Vikhmiaz' qui englobe une très grande partie des pièces en question, on peut parler d'une plus grande concentration de pièces belges en Russie, par rapport à la Suède. Si parfois le nombre de deniers provenant de différents ateliers de Suède et de Russie est presque égal, la quantité des trouvailles est beaucoup plus considérable en Suède.

Je ne peux trouver d'explication convenable à ce phénomène qui semble contradictoire. En effet, ces monnaies qui, en partie, pénétraient en Russie par l'intermédiaire de la Suède – et surtout par l'île de Gotland – auraient dû être plus concentrées en Scandinavie, et non le contraire.

Envisageons maintenant quelques types de monnaies parmi les plus fréquents trouvés dans les trésors russes. Les plus répandues parmi les monnaies de Namur sont les deniers du type Dannenberg 165 (comte Albert II, 1018-1064) – 285 exemplaires. Les monnaies de Liège sont représentées surtout par les deniers du type Dannenberg 195/196 (empereur Henry II, 1014-1024) – 72 exemplaires; les monnaies de Dinant, par les deniers du type Dannenberg 176 (comte Albert II) – 200 exemplaires; les monnaies de Huy, par les deniers du type Dannenberg 228 (empereur Henry II) – 58 exemplaires; les monnaies de Celles, par les deniers du type Dannenberg 186 (Henry III, 1039-1056) – 112 exemplaires.

Une partie des ateliers monétaires (par exemple Namur, Dinant, Celles) est représentée presque exceptionnellement par un seul type de monnaies (parmi les monnaies de Namur, les deniers du type Dannenberg 165 constituent 85,6 %). Une autre partie (par exemple les monnaies de Liège), par plusieurs types de monnaies (les deniers du type Dannenberg 195/196, les plus répandues, ne constituent que 22,7 % du nombre total des types de monnaies frappées à Liège).

L'abondance et la diversité des deniers belges dans les trésors de l'Europe de l'Est offrent un riche matériel à l'observation et à l'analyse.

J'ai déjà eu l'occasion de mentionner ma publication de quelques monnaies rares dans les *Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*[9]. Le trésor d'Archanghelsk, dont la découverte est l'une des plus récentes (1989), contient un exemplaire très intéressant du denier de Huy :

Dr. : CONRAD(US)IMP Tête d'empereur à droite.

Rv. : DOMICIAN(US) Buste sculpté de St. Domitien (?), patron de Huy, sur fond orné de points.

Trésor d'Archanghelsk, n°198.

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8 G. HATZ, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit*, Lund, 1974, p. 41.

9 V. POTIN, *Seltene..., op. cit.*, p. 490-491, n°17.



*Fig. 1. 1. Denier du trésor Arkhangelsk : Huy, Conrad II (n°inv. 198); 2, 3, 4. Deniers du trésor Vikhmiaz' : type Dannenberg 2185 (n°inv. 1489, 1491, 1493).*

Le nombre considérable de monnaies appartenant à un même type aide à reconstituer certaines légendes qui ne sont pas toujours claires, les monnaies étant trop usées. Ainsi, on lit facilement la légende des deniers de Bouillon (Dannenberg 188) provenant du trésor de Vikhmiaz' (inventaire n°970-995) :
Rev. CASELBVLONIS avec la ligature des lettres T et E.

Dans l'article susmentionné, j'ai publié un exemplaire du denier du type Dannenberg 2185, que ce dernier avait placé parmi les deniers indéterminés. Plus tôt, R. Gaettens (1934) et G. Albrecht (1959) l'avaient classé comme denier de Tiel[10]. G. Hatz, acceptant la classification de Gaettens, rattache le denier du type Dannenberg 2185, à titre de supposition, au monnayage de l'évêque Adelboldus (Hatz, n°79) et considère la légende du Rv. comme une inscription confuse (Trugschrift)[11].

Il y a, dans le trésor de Vikhmiaz', un groupe important de monnaies du type Dannenberg 2185 - Hatz 79, 80 (104 ex.) sur lesquelles on lit des légendes différentes du droit et une légende identique du revers (cf. Tabl. II). Il est possible, à mon avis, de supposer que la légende du revers puisse être : TIVNVMBELGI(AE) ou bien BELGICVM

Je n'ai pas ici la possibilité de m'arrêter plus longtemps sur toutes les preuves de cette interprétation. Toutefois, il faut prendre en considération le fait que le denier du type Dannenberg 2185 apparaît relativement tard dans les trésors européens. Parmi les 11 trésors de deniers de ce type, connus par les recherches de G. Hatz, H. Salmo et V. Potin, un seulement date d'une époque postérieure à 1051, deux de 1056, un de 1068, un de 1076, un de 1079, un de 1085, un de 1090; deux trésors datent du début du 12e siècle[12].

Il existe aussi une explication à la légende du revers Dannenberg 2185, selon laquelle il s'agirait d'une imitation de l'inscription XRISTIANA RELIGIO (une idée du Dr. P. Ilisch). A mon avis, cette interprétation est moins certaine que la première.

En fait de conclusion, il apparaît que les deniers du type Dannenberg 2185 (Hatz 79, 80) ne représentent pas un groupe homogène et figé. La tâche future sera de préciser

10 R. GAETTENS, *Der Fund von Ludwiszcze*, Halle, 1934, n°36; G. ALBRECHT, *Das Münzwesen im Niederlothringischen und Friesischen Raum des 10. bis zum beginnenden 12. Jahrhundert* (*Numismatische Studien*, 6), Hambourg, 1959, p. 112.

11 G. HATZ, *Tieler Denare des 11. Jarhunderts in den Schwedischen Münzfunden*, dans *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis*, Stockholm, 1968, p. 96-199.

12 Blackstor, Bergshammar, Södermanland; Torp, Böda, Öland; Maspelösa, Flistad, Östergotland; Lodeinoie Pole II; Rautu II; Broungs, Stenkyrka, Gotland; Vikhmiaz'; Änggårda, Rone, Gotland; Smiss, Linde, Gotland; Gråträsk I, Piteå, Norbotten; Gråträsk II, Piteå, Norbotten.

le caractère de ces deniers, les noms de leurs ateliers et seigneurs monétaires, et enfin les circonstances de leur frappe.

## TABLEAU II.

Dannenberg 2185; Hatz 79

| NN | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1489 | +DIƏINЄ | +TIVNV... |
| 1491 | ...ƏIIЄRA | ....BEΓGE |
| 1492 | +DIƏNЄ...E | +T.....H·X |
| 1495 | ...ƏIIERI... | +TIVNV..... |
| 1496 | ...IƏNЄR | +TIVNV |
| 1497 | ...IICPA | .....VBЄ |
| 1493 | ...ЄRΛHP | +XTIVNV |

Dannenberg 2185 var., Hatz 80

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1586 | +....RΛHP. | +TIVNV·BЄIG |
| 1587 | +Ə....RΛHP | +TIVNVBЄΓCI |
| 1588 | ...IC RΛHP | ...VNΛ·BЄIG |

## ANNEXE

Types principaux de deniers frappés en Belgique et découverts dans les trouvailles d'Union Soviétique.

*Ducs de Basse Lorraine*[13]

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 1983 | 1 ex. (n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 132 | 15 ex. (n°12-1; n°14-3; n°19-8; n°20-2; n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 1179 | 4 ex (n°4-1; n°19-2; n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 1741 (Häv. 203) | 6 ex. (n°19-1; n°20-3; n°21-2) |
| Dbg. 1740 (1180) | 17 ex. (n°19-2; n°20-14; n°25-1) |
| Dbg. 131 | 11 ex. (n°20-11) |
| Dbg. 127 | 1 ex. (n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 1438 | 87 ex. (n°10-2; n°12-1; n°14-15; n°16-1; n°18-1; n°19-6; n°20-57; n°21-1; n°23-1; n°24-2) |
| Dbg. 130 | 2 ex. (n°20-2) |
| *RBN*, 1931, p. 27-28 | 3 ex. (n°24-1; n°26-2) |
| Dbg. - | 14 ex. (n°20-14) |

*Ducs de Basse Lorraine* (sans spécification dans les sources)

18 ex. (n°16-1; n°20-12; n°21-1; n°24-2; n°26-2)

*Basse Lorraine occidentale*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 1389 | 3 ex. (n°10-1; n°20-2) |
| Dbg. 128 | 20 ex. (n°14-17; n°24-3) |
| Dbg. 197 | 1 ex. (n°19-1) |
| Dbg. 196 | 1 ex. (n°19-1) |
| Dbg. 129 | 4 ex. (n°11-1; n°19-2; n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 1269 | 1 ex. (n°12-1) |
| Dbg. 284 | 3 ex. (n°20-3) |
| Dbg. 1739 | 1 ex. (n°19-1) |
| Dbg. 285 | 3 ex. (n°13-1; n°18-1; n°25-1) |
| Dbg. 1364 | 4 ex. (n°19-1; n°20-3) |
| Dbg. 286 | 1 ex. (n°22-1) |
| Dbg. 287 | 1 ex. (n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 288 | 5 ex. (n°20-4; n°22-1) |

*Flandre, atelier inconnu*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 145 | 2 ex. (n°11-1; n°12-1) |
| Dbg. 146 | 4 ex. (n°7-2; n°10-1; n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 1366 | 10 ex. (n°20-10) |
| Dbg. 147 | 1 ex. (n°22-1) |
| Dbg. 158 | 1 ex. (n°21-1) |
| Cf. Dbg. 131 (Flandre?) | 1 ex. (n°11-1) |
| AK Hess 10.10.189, p. 3, n°39 | 1 ex. (n°21-1) |

*Bruges*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 151 | 5 ex. (n°15-1; n°20-3; n°21-1) |

*Mons*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 162 | 3 ex. (n°21-3) |
| Dbg. 1458 | 2 ex. (n°3-1; n°21-1) |

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13 Entre parenthèses rondes, est désigné le numéro de trouvaille d'après la table et le nombre de pièces.

*Thuin*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 261 | 6 ex. (n°14-1; n°16-1; n°20-2; n°26-2) |
| Dbg. 262 | 4 ex. (n°10-1; n°20-2; n°21-1) |
| Potin 11 | 9 ex. (n°20-9) |
| Dbg. 1388 (Gaettens 14) (Thuin?) | 2 ex. (n°12-1; n°19-1) |
| Dbg. 264 | 1 ex. (n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 265 | 3 ex. (n°12-1; n°18-1; n°20-1) |
| Dbg. - | 1 ex. (n°14-1) |
| Dgb. 2185 (Thuin?) | 104 ex. (n°20-104) |

*Bruxelles*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 142 | 7 ex. (n°10-1; n°12-1; n°19-1; n°20-3; n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 142b | 2 ex. (n°14-1; n°19-1) |
| Dbg. 1857 | 22 ex. (n°20-10; n°21-11; n°26-1) |

*Nivelles*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 141 | 1 ex. (n°19-1) |
| Dbg. 144 | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |
| Dbg. 143 | 1 ex. (n°11-1) |

*Anvers*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 1791; V. Hatz 1A | 3 ex. (n°19-2; n°24-1) |
| Dbg. 140a-c; V Hatz 2A | 1 ex. (n°8-1) |
| Dbg. 140b; V. Hatz 4A | 2 ex. (n°24-1; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 140; V. Hatz 6 | 3 ex. (n°11-2; n°24-1) |

*Bouillon*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 188 | 31 ex. (n°14-3; n°20-26; n°24-2) |

*Namur*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 1159 | 1 ex. (n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 1191 | 29 ex. (n°10-2; n°11-1; n°12-1; n°14-2; n°19-2; n°20-21) |
| Dbg. 164 | 8 ex. (n°12-1; n°19-3; n°20-3; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 165 | 285 ex. (n°10-13; n°11-3; n°12-5; n°13-3; n°14-26; n°16-1; n°17-7; n°18-2; n°20-181; n°21-3; n°23-11; n°24-9; n°25-5; n°26-7) |
| Dbg. 166 | 5 ex. (n°12-1; n°14-1; n°15-1; n°20-2) |
| Dbg. 1821 | 2 ex. (n°17-1; n°20-1) |
| Gaettens 281 (Namur?) | 2 ex. (n°20-2) |
| Imitation de Namur (au nom de Albert) | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |

*Dinant*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 171/172 | 2 ex. (n°11-1; n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 173 | 1 ex. (n°18-1) |
| Dbg. 1461 | 1 ex. (n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 174 | 12 ex. (n°12-1; n°19-3; n°20-5; n°21-1; n°23-1; n°25-1) |
| Dbg. 177 | 12 ex. (n°9-1; n°12-1; n°17-3; n°20-1; n°24-4; n°25-1; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 176 | 203 ex. (n°10-3; n°12-4; n°13-3; n°14-25; n°15-1; n°17-8; n°18-1; n°19-5; n°20-129; n°21-1; n°22-1; n°23-5; n°24-8; n°25-2; n°26-7) |
| Potin 14 (Dinant?) | 9 ex. (n°11-1; n°20-8) |
| Dbg. 182 | 3 ex. (n°22-1; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 1822 | 8 ex. (n°17-2; n°20-2; n°22-3; n°24-1) |

*Liège*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 340 | 28 ex. (n°11-2; n°14-7; n°19-1; n°20-17; n°21-1) |
| Dbg. 192 | 11 ex. (n°1-1; n°19-6; n°20-1; n°21-3) |
| Dbg. 194 | 3 ex. (n°19-1; n°21-1; n°22-1) |
| Dbg. 197 | 3 ex. (n°10-1; n°19-1; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 198 | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |
| Dbg. 1215 | 6 ex. (n°20-5; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 195/196 | 72 ex. (n°14-11; n°19-1; n°20-52; n°21-1; n°24-4; n°26-3) |
| Potin 1 (Dbg. 1215/197) | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |
| Dbg. 200 | 3 ex. (n°2-1; n°20-2) |
| Dbg. 1823 | 50 ex. (n°12-2; n°13-1; n°14-2; n°17-1; n°20-40; n°24-1; n°26-3) |
| Potin 5 | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |
| Potin 3 | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |
| Dbg. 1849 | 10 ex. (n°19-3; n°20-7) |
| Potin 6 | 2 ex. (n°18-1; n°26-1) |
| Potin 4 | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |
| Dbg. 1228 | 20 ex. (n°11-1; n°20-17; n°19-1; n°23-1) |
| Salmo 11:16 | 1 ex. (n°11-1) |
| Dbg. - | 95 ex. (n°20-95) |
| Dbg. (Otbert?) | 1 ex. (n°26-1) |
| Liège, monnaies mal conservées | 7 ex. (n°20-7) |

*Huy*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 1491 | 1 ex. (n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 223 | 9 ex. (n°19-4; n°20-1; n°21-4) |
| Dbg. 225 | 11 ex. (n°10-2; n°12-2; n°20-6; n°24-1) |
| Dbg. 227 | 3 ex. (n°19-1; n°20-2) |
| Dbg. 226 | 14 ex. (n°16-1; n°17-1; n°20-10; n°24-2) |
| Dbg. 226a | 7 ex. (n°10-4; n°11-1; n°14-1; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 228 | 58 ex. (n°10-1; n°14-13; n°15-1; n°20-29; n°21-1; n°23-2; n°24-2; n°25-1; n°26-8) |
| Dbg. 1492 | 28 ex. (n°14-1; n°20-26; n°26-1) |
| Potin 8 (Dbg. 228/1492) | 35 ex. (n°20-34; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 229 | 11 ex. (n°5-1; n°19-6; n°20-3; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 230 | 8 ex. (n°19-2; n°20-5; n°24-1) |
| Dbg. 229/230 | 3 ex. (n°10-1; n°19-1; n°25-1) |
| Dbg. 231 | 2 ex. (n°20-1; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 1368 | 2 ex. (n°11-1; n°20-1) |
| Potin 9 (revers Dbg. 1494) | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |
| Dbg.-(denier au nom de Conrad et saint Domitien) | |

*Ciney*

| | |
|---|---|
| Potin 7 | 3 ex. (n°10-1; n°20-2) |
| Dbg. 1219 | 68 ex. (n°15-1; n°20-63; n°21-2; n°22-1; n°24-1) |
| Dbg. - | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |

*Tongres ?*

| | |
|---|---|
| Lodenoie Pole 577 | 3 ex. (n°21-3) |

*Visé*

| | |
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| Dbg. 267 | 1 ex. (n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 541 | 12 ex. (n°14-1; n°20-11) |
| Dbg. 1198 | 2 ex. (n°19-1; n°26-1) |
| Dbg. 201 | 4 ex. (n°10-1; n°17-1; n°19-2) |
| Dbg. 201a | 2 ex. (n°10-1; n°12-1) |
| Dbg. 1224 | 1 ex. (n°24-1) |
| Potin 13 (Visé?) | 1 ex. (n°20-1) |
| Dbg. 268 | 1 ex. (n°21-1) |

*Celles*

| | |
|---|---|
| Dbg. 186 | 113 ex. (n°6-1; n°12-1; n°13-1; n°14-4; n°16-1; n°18-4; n°19-1; n°20-93; n°21-1; n°23-1; n°24-1; n°25-1; n°26-3) |
| Potin 15 | 16 ex. (n°20-16) |
| Potin 16 | 2 ex. (n°20-2) |
| Dbg. 187 | 1 ex. (n°23-1) |

*Stavelot*

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|---|---|
| Dbg. 271 | 86 ex. (n°10-2; n°14-24; n°19-1; n°20-67) |

ABRÉVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| AK Hess | Auktionskatalog von A. Hess (Frankfurt a/M) |
| Dbg. | H. DANNENBERG, *Die deutschen Münzen der sächsischen und fränkischen Kaiserzeit*, Bd. 1-4, Berlin, 1876-1905. |
| Gaettens | R. GAETTENS, *Der Fund von Ludwiszcze*, Halle, 1934. |
| V. Hatz | V. HATZ, *Antwerpener Prägungen aus schwedischen Münzfunden der Wikingerzeit*, dans *Lagom. Festschrift Peter Berghaus zum 60. Geburtstag am 20. November 1979*, Münster, 1981. |
| Häv. | W. HÄVERNICK, *Die Münzen von Köln von Beginn der Prägung bis 1304*, Cologne, 1935. |
| Potin (s'il s'agit de type de monnaies) | V. POTIN, *Seltene Münzen des Niederlothringischen und Friesischen Raumes aus dem 10.-12. Jarhundert*, dans *HBN*, 17, 1963, p. 483-493. |
| Salmo | H. SALMO, *Deutsche Münzen in vorgeschichtlichen Funden Finnlands*, Helsinki, 1948. |

# Mährische Brakteaten im mitteleuropäischen Münzwesen

Jiří SEJBAL*

In Mitteleuropa kam es um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts im Münzwesen zu wesentlichen Veränderungen. Während in anderen Teilen Europas die Denarwährung fortbestand, begann sich in Mitteleuropa die bis dahin einheitliche Geldstruktur aufzulösen. Der silberne Denar und sein Teilstück, der Obolus, als Grundmünzeinheit wurden durch zwei neue Münzgattungen, die Pfennige und die Brakteaten, ersetzt.

Die Einführung dieser neuen Münzeinheiten war die Folge von wirtschaftlich-gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen, die in Mitteleuropa durch die Entstehung von Städten aus den einstigen Marktflecken, durch die Entfaltung des Handwerks und der Landwirtschaft und der damit verbundenen Erweiterung des Handels, und nicht zuletzt durch den Aufschwung des Bergbaus geschaffen wurden.

Infolge dieses sozial-ökonomischen Wandels wuchs der Geldbedarf, und es mußten neue Formen von Zahlungsmitteln gefunden werden, die sowohl dem erhöhten Geldumlauf als auch der beschleunigten Herstellung entsprechender Geldmengen gerecht werden konnten. Diese tiefgreifenden Veränderungen laßen sich vor allem in den deutschen Ländern verfolgen, wo sich die Währungseinheit allmählich auflöste und sich regional begrenzte Währungsgebiete bildeten. Man spricht von der Periode der regionalen Pfennigmünze, die einseitig oder zweiseitig geprägt wurde.

Die einseitige Münze wird später auch Brakteat genannt. Diese Entwicklung fand in allen mitteleuropäischen Ländern statt und führte zur Entstehung von zwei valutaabhängigen Währungsgebieten. Während der Geldverkehr in den südlichen Gebieten Mitteleuropas durch den zweiseitigen Pfennig bestimmt wurde, entstand in Mittel- und Norddeutschland die Brakteatenwährung. Es gab allerdings auch Gegenden, wo beide Münzsysteme nebeneinander bestanden oder sich ergänzten.

Durch diese Entwicklung kam es im 13. Jahrhundert zu komplizierten Geldverhältnissen in den europäischen Ländern. In Mähren setzte sich die Prägung von beiden Münzeinheiten durch[1]. In der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts fand hier die Brakteatenprägung ihren Höhepunkt. Die politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kommerziellen Faktoren spielten dabei eine wichtige Rolle. Der Silberbergbau und der Zuzug von Kolonisten waren die Grundlagen für die Entstehung von Städten und die Entwicklung eines regen Handelsverkehrs. Die Entdeckung von Silbererz im Gebiet von Jihlava (Iglau) ließ hier ein bedeutendes Bergbauzentrum entstehen, das zu einer ergiebigen Metallquelle für das mährische Münzwesen wurde. Am Aufschwung des Bergbaus hatten deutsche Bergleute aus dem Harz (Niedersachsen) und Thüringen bedeutenden Anteil. Sie siedelten sich im Gebiet der Böhmisch-Mährischen Höhe im Südwesten Mährens an. Dies bezeugen Münzfunde, wie beispielsweise der von Hostim[2] bei Moravské Budějovice, ferner von Střelice[3] bei Znojmo (Znaim) sowie der aus einem nicht näher bekannten Ort[4] des südwestlichen Teils Mährens. Alle sind zu Beginn der 30er Jahre des 13. Jahrhunderts datiert. Aus dieser Zeit stammen auch die ältesten

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* Moravské muzeum, Brno.

1 J. SEJBAL, *K základním otázkám vzniku moravských ražeb 13. století*, in *Sborník II. Numismatického symposia 1969*, Brno, 1976, S. 55-68.

2 A. SUHLE, *Zwei mährische Brakteatenfunde*, in *Sborník I. Numismatického symposia 1964*, Brno, 1966, S. 94-97.

3 J. SEJBAL, *Der Fund neuer Typen der mitteleuropäischen Brakteaten vom Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts aus Střelice bei Znojmo (Südmähren)*, in *Actes du 10e Congrès International de Numismatique. London, 1986*, London, 1989, S. 383-390, Taf. 41, 42.

4 A. SUHLE, *op. cit.*, S. 94-97.

Brakteatenfunde in Mähren. Es handelt sich um Brakteaten aus Ober- und Niedersachsen - Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Sachsen-Wittenberg u.a. Unter ihnen bilden die Brakteaten mit hebräischen Umschriften eine interessante Gruppe. Man nimmt an, daß ihre Herkunft im Gebiet Sachsens und der Lausitz sein könnte. An diesen Fund schließen sich die noch nicht einem bestimmten Münzherrn zugeteilten Brakteaten mit der Darstellung einer Reiterfigur, bzw. einer Ganzfigur mit Schwert und Fahne an, die in Fabrik und Stil den behandelten Prägungen entsprechen. Die Zusammensetzung der Funde läßt vermuten, daß sie mit den Kolonisten vom Norden, über die Lausitz und Schlesien, in diesen Raum Mährens gelangt sind.

Die Erfahrungen der Harzer Bergleute trugen sicher zum Aufschwung der Bergbautätigkeit im Südwesten Mährens bei. Dies fand auch in der Entstehung des Bergrechts seinen Niederschlag. Das Iglauer Stadt- und Bergrecht aus dem Jahre 1249 zählt zu den ältesten in Europa[5]. Seine internationale Bedeutung liegt darin, daß es für die Entwicklung des Bergrechtes in Mitteleuropa zu einer «Magna Charta» wurde.

Der Einfluß des zweiten Währungsgebietes, das sich mit der deutschen Kolonisation in Mähren durchzusetzen begann, war nicht groß genug, um schon zur gleichen Zeit zum entscheidenden Faktor für die Einführung der Brakteatenwährung zu werden. Das verhinderte der Einfluß der schon seit dem Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts dominierenden Pfennigwährung.

Die Funde zeigen einen massiven Zustrom österreichischer Pfennige auch während der Zeit des Verfalls der Denarwährung[6]. Bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts läßt sich eine eindeutige Ausrichtung des mährischen Münzwesens auf die zweiseitige Pfennigmünze verfolgen. Dennoch war die neue mährische Münze keinesfalls eine Nachahmung des viereckigen österreichischen Pfennigs. Wesentlich für die neuen mährischen Denare war ihre runde Form mit einem auffallend breiten Wulstrand, der die Bildfläche abgrenzt. Das Reversbild ist unscharf und durch die Profilierung des Schrötlings meist verzerrt, was vor allem für die österreichischen Pfennige typisch ist. Die mährischen Denare, Denare des Pfennigtyps genannt, unterscheiden sich durch den runden und kleineren Schrötling, und sie stellen eine spezifisch mährische Prägung dar. Einige ihrer Merkmale sind zwar mit deutschen Prägungen verwandt, aber in Fabrik, Inhalt und Stil der Münzbilder unterscheiden sie sich doch von den deutschen. Einige gemeinsame Züge haben sie sogar mit den ungarischen Prägungen aus der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts.

Mit steigender Produktion der mährischen Münzen nahm allmählich der Einfluß der österreichischen Prägungen ab. Das mährische Münzsystem basierte in dieser Zeit auf zwei Nominalen, denn außer Denaren wurden auch Obole des Pfennigtyps geprägt.

Unter diesen Umständen konnten sich die Brakteaten nur schwer in Mähren durchsetzen. Trotzdem ging Mähren in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts zur Brakteatenwährung über. Die Ursache dafür lag im wachsenden Geldbedarf, der eine Vereinfachung der Herstellungstechnik bedingte, um die Ausmünzung zu beschleunigen. Offensichtlich wirkten dabei einerseits der zunehmende Einfluß der Brakteaten aus den deutschen Ländern, andererseits die Tatsache, daß sich die Brakteatenprägung bereits in Böhmen durchgesetzt hatte.

Hinzu kam noch eine wichtige Veränderung in der Regierung Mährens, die direkt von den böhmischen Königen mit übernommen wurde. Der böhmische König war zugleich Markgraf von Mähren.

In Böhmen wurde mit der Ausprägung von Brakteaten schon um 1230 sicher unter dem Einfluß der meißnischen Prägungen begonnen. Weder diese noch die böhmischen

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5 Ch. Fr. D'ELVERT, *Zur Geschichte des Bergbaues und Hüttenwesens in Mähren und österreichischen Schlesien*, Brno, 1866, S. 27.

6 J. SEJBAL, *K chronologii moravských ražeb 13. století*, in *Sborník I, loc. cit.*, S. 78-84.

Prägungen drangen jedoch in den mährischen Geldumlauf ein und waren somit kein Vorbild für die mährischen Brakteaten. Auch die Brakteatentypen aus anderen deutschen Ländern wurden nicht zu deren Vorbild, obwohl sie, wie die Funde bezeugen, mit den Kolonisten ins Land kamen. Der mährische Brakteatentyp, dessen erste Prägungen um 1253 erscheinen, zeichnet sich durch einen kleinen Durchmesser und einen festen Schrötling aus. In einigen Details ähnelt er norddeutschen Brakteatenprägungen, insbesondere denen der Mark Brandenburg. Keiner von den bekannten und weitverbreiteten fremden Typen wurde jedoch nachgeahmt. Die mährischen Brakteatenprägungen vom Beginn der 50er bis zum Ende der 70er Jahre des 13. Jahrhunderts sind kleine Brakteaten mit versteiftem Rand und etwas dickerem Schrötling. Ihr äusseres Aussehen läßt einen hohen Feingehalt erkennen und ihr massenhaftes Vorkommen in Funden bezeugt sowohl eine hohe Ausprägung als auch einen großen Typenreichtum.

Das Münzsystem wurde wieder auf zwei Nominalen aufgebaut, dem kleinen Brakteat und seinem Teilwert. Anhand der Funde wissen wir, daß die vorhergegangene Münze, der Denar des Pfennigtyps, weiterhin im Umlauf blieb. Dies war möglich, weil beide Münzgattungen äquivalente Einheiten waren. Das durchschnittliche Gewicht der mährischen Brakteaten bewegt sich *c.* um 0,750 g[7] und entspricht damit dem Gewicht der Denare des Pfennigtyps. Dies bezeugt die metrologische Äquivalenz zwischen Pfennig und Brakteat in Mähren. Die Verschmelzung beider Währungsperioden ist in der Münzentwicklung Mitteleuropas im 13. Jahrhundert ein sehr interessantes Phänomen. Man kann eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit beider Münzgattungen hinsichtlich des Gewichtes, des Durchmessers und vor allem der Ikonographie beobachten.

Die mährischen Brakteaten des 13. Jahrhunderts sind eine monetäre Erscheinung von eigener Art. Sie sind Zeugnisse der handwerklichen Kleinkunst in technischer und künstlerischer Vollendung. Inhaltlich bestimmen Religiosität und Zeitbezogenheit die Münzbilder. In ihrer Bildervielfalt finden sich Symbole der urbanen Bilderwelt mit seinen Toren und Türmen ebenso wie mit neuen sakralen Bauten. Daneben gibt es eine große Fülle von Motiven mit Menschen, Tieren, Pflanzen und Architektur, die oft eine Beziehung zu religiösen Vorstellungen symbolisieren.

Öfter wird auch der heraldische Adler, das Wappentier der mährischen Markgrafschaft, dargestellt. In den Machtsymbolen der Markgrafen können wir zum Teil noch die großmährische Tradition beobachten. Eine gewisse thematische Übereinstimmung mit den Münzen der benachbarten Länder ist nicht zu übersehen, was sich jedoch nicht nachteilig auf den künstlerischen Wert der mährischen Münzen auswirkte. Manche Symbole waren weit verbreitet. Die Ikonographie der mährischen Prägungen bezeugt eindeutig ihre einheimische Entstehung. Sie ist Abbild der heimischen Denkströmungen und Vorstellungen. An der ausserordentlichen Vielfalt der Bildthemen und ihrer künstlerischen Gestaltung wird die zur damaligen Zeit hochentwickelte mährische Gravierkunst sichtbar. Sie steht den besten Schöpfungen der deutschen Brakteatenkunst nicht nach, die zu den qualitätvollsten Zeugnissen der europäischen Münzglyptik zählen.

In den beiden letzten Jahrzehnten des 13. Jahrhunderts wurden in Mähren die kleinen Brakteaten durch den mittleren Typ ersetzt, der einen breiteren Schrötling hatte und in mehreren Ländern Verbreitung fand. In der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts waren diese Münzen vor allem in Böhmen, aber auch in Schlesien im Umlauf. Nach Mähren gelangten sie im Rahmen der Bestrebungen nach Vereinheitlichung des wirtschaftlichen Lebens im Königreich Böhmen unter Wenzel II.

Die Brakteaten dieses mittleren Typs waren der erste sichtbare Schritt zur Vereinheitlichung des böhmischen und mährischen Münzwesens, das sich in beiden Landesteilen während des 13. Jahrhunderts auf unterschiedliche Weise entwickelt hatte.

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7 ID., *Příspěvek k metrologickým základům moravského mincovnictví 13. století*, in *Numismatický sborník*, XI, Praha, 1970, S. 5-11.

Diese mittleren Brakteatentypen weisen eine andere künstlerische Auffassung der Münzbilder auf. Sie sind stark schematisiert und zeigen Ganzfigur oder gekrönte Brustbilder mit Helm statt Krone, Mauertürme und Bögen, tierische oder pflanzliche Motive sowie heraldische Wappen. Ihr Gewicht bewegt sich *c.* um 0,450 g. Im Gegensatz zu den kleinen Brakteaten ist ihr Schrötling dünner und breiter, sie sind leicht zerbrechlich, und ihre gräuliche Farbe verrät schon äusserlich einen wesentlich niedrigeren Feingehalt.

In diese letzte Phase der mährischen Brakteatenprägung des 13. Jahrhunderts gehören auch Funde von Silbergußstücken[8] und Brakteatenbündeln[9] des mittleren Typs. Die Konzentration dieser Funde in Mähren bezeugt den Bedarf an höheren Nominalwerten. Beispielsweise enthielt ein Fund aus dem Raum von Olmütz Silbergußstücke in einem Gewicht von annähernd 280 g der mährischen Mark[10]. Die *marca argenti moravici ponderis* ist ertsmalig 1272 urkundlich belegt[11]. Silbergußstücke von unterschiedlichen Gewichten könnten den Teilwerten der mährischen Mark entsprechen. Manche von ihnen weisen jedoch auch ein recht ungleiches Gewicht auf, was durch Abhacken verursacht worden sein kann. Diese Gußstücke erscheinen meistens in kugeliger oder ovaler Form; einige zeigen kleine Vertiefungen, die eindeutig als Spuren von Punzen gedeutet werden können. Dieselbe Funktion können die Brakteatenbündel gehabt haben, die häufig in Funden vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts zu finden sind. Möglicherweise wollte man auch die Beschädigung dieser breiteren, dünneren und deshalb sehr spröden Münzen durch das Bündeln und Umbiegen verhindern. Ihre Zusammensetzung und ihr Anteil am Geldumlauf sprechen eher dafür, daß sie eine größere Geldeinheit bilden sollten. Die gemeinsamen Funde von Silbergußstücken, Brakteatenbündeln und einzelnen Münzen lassen vermuten, daß bei größeren Zahlungen alle drei Arten verwendet wurden. Einzelne Münzen dürften als Ergänzung oder Zusatz zum benötigten Gewichtswert gedient haben.

Die Veränderungen im Entwicklungsprozeß des Münzwesens spiegelten sich in der Entwicklung der Geldwirtschaft wider. Ihr Charakter liegt im Wandel der Münzorganisation und der Weiterentwicklung des Münzsystems. Eine wichtige Rolle spielte in diesem Zeitraum die Verpachtung der Münzstätten an Einzelpersonen oder Konsortien. Durch die Trennung der Finanzverwaltung vom Münzmeisteramt entstanden eine Reihe neuer Funktionen und insbesondere in der Münzorganisation eine große Arbeitsteilung. Das Wechselgeschäft wurde aus der Kompetenz der Münzproduktion genommen und vermögenden Bürgergemeinschaften oder den Bergstädten zusammen mit dem Bergzehnt (Urbura), der Einnahme des Königs aus den Bergwerken, übertragen.

Die weitreichenden wirtschaftlichen Veränderungen im Lande beschleunigten auch die Entwicklung der Geldwirtschaft.

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8 J. PETRTYL, *Funkce slitkového stříbra v našich zemích ve 13. století*, in *Sborník II, loc. cit.*, S. 85-105.

9 J. SEJBAL, *Das Erbgut des Münzwesens des 13. Jahrhunderts in Mähren und Schlesien*, in *Numismatický sborník*, XII, Praha, 1973, S. 84.

10 F. DWORSCHAK und A. LOEHR, *Ein Silberbarren im Wiener Markgewichte*, in *Mitteilungen der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 73-75, 1933, S. 1-2; G. SKALSKÝ, *K otázce váhy hřivny moravské*, in *Numismatický časopis československý*, 9, 1933, S. 85.

11 *CDM* (*Codex diplomaticus Moraviae*) IV, no. 66; J. PÁNEK, *K otázce moravské hřivny*, in *Sborník I, loc. cit.*, S. 92, Anm. 6; J. SEJBAL, *Příspěvek k metrologickým..., op. cit.*, S. 6, Anm. 3.

# Foreign and Native Coins in Poland's Monetary System in the 14th Century

Borys PASZKIEWICZ*

The period under discussion herein will be limited to the years 1300-1378. The political and geographical shape of Poland at that time was subject to significant changes. Out of a loose confederacy of principalities a centralized kingdom appeared which, however, did not cover all Polish territories. As early as the beginning of the 14th century it lost Pomerania, up to the middle of the century Silesia would gradually drop out. After 1340 Polish expansion was directed to Ruthenia which would be gradually incorporated up to 1366. The feudal principalities in Mazovia, Kujawy, in the region of Łęczyca, part of Ruthenia, temporarily also in southern Great Poland remained within the boundaries of the Polish Crown.

After the unification of the Polish Kingdom by Ladislas the Little Ell (1306-1333) the royal and feudal provinces would still strike separate coins, exclusively denarii. We have described such coins only of the royal Duchy of Cracow[1] and hypothetically those of Mazovia[2]. Written sources imply their existence also in Great Poland, Łęczyca and Sieradz[3]. Yet those were unepigraphic bracteates which we are not able to classify. The extent the *renovationis monetae* system would be upheld is still unknown. We have described ten types of Cracow denarii by Ladislas the Little Ell. Their large number proves the fact that renovation, albeit fairly irregular, was still be used.

In Silesia, divided into numerous tiny duchies, a new monetary system was introduced as early as before 1300; it consisted of coins of the grossus type, i.e. quartenses equal to 1/4 of a scot or 1/96 of a mark, and the fractions thereof – denarii – struck in the form of two-sided coins or bracteates. Renovation was probably given up[4]. However, the reform covered only Lower Silesia, in Upper Silesia the previous system seems to have been maintained. Since in the years 1306-1314 the Lower Silesian principality of Głogów seized a large part of Great Poland, quartenses were introduced also there, their emission was to be ended after Great Poland had been conquered by Ladislas the Little Ell.

In the Polish records and finds of the time there occur coins of two adjacent countries : those of Bohemia and Teutonic Prussia. Expansion of Bohemian coins was based upon the Kutná Hora silver reserves, exported in the form of Prague grossi struck since 1300.

Teutonic coins up to the second part of the 14th century were only of the bracteate type, *denarii Culmenses* or *Thorunenses*, they would be subject to renovation – though not very frequently according to the Culm law – every 10 years[5].

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Traduction : R. Skarzyński.

1 B. PASZKIEWICZ, *Mennictwo Władysława Łokietka (The Coinage of Ladislas Łokietek)*, in *WN*, 30, fasc. 1-2, 1986.

2 J. PINIŃSKI, *Skarb monet z Rawy Mazowieckiej a problematyka mennictwa i obiegu brakteatów na Mazowszu w XIV wieku (The Hoard from Rawa Mazowiecka and the Problem of the Bracteate Mintage and Circulation in Mazovia in the 14th Century)*, in *PracMat*, 8, 1988, p. 69-80.

3 B. PASZKIEWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 13-19.

4 R. KIERSNOWSKI, *W sprawie genezy kwartników śląskich (The Origin of Silesian quartenses)*, in *WN*, 10, fasc. 4, 1966, p. 197-220.

5 Privilegium Culmense, § 22; the newest edition : K. ZIELIŃSKA-MELKOWSKA, *Przywilej chełmiński 1233 i 1251*, Toruń, 1986, p. 46-49.

The earliest finds of Prague grossi, dated by coins struck until 1311, bearing the name of Venceslaus II, are concentrated chiefly in the Duchy of Cracow, in smaller numbers in Upper Silesia, Great Poland and Mazovia[6]. As opposed to written sources, Prague grossi appear already in 1302 both in Upper and Lower Silesia[7]. More regularly occur finds dated by coins of the following Bohemian kings – John I the Blind and Charles I, which come across also in Ruthenia. Yet they seldom occur in Kujawy and are not found in northwestern Great Poland at all.

Teutonic bracteates occur in Poland chiefly in Kujawy, smaller concentrations appear in Mazovia and in eastern part or Great Poland. Written sources add also northern Great Poland, the so called Krajna, where all transactions should be concluded by means of Thorn money. It is plain to see that Teutonic bracteates and Prague grossi are mutually exclusive. A Prague grossus was found only in one hoard of Teutonic coins (Mikanowo)[8].

In the 1320s in Great Poland and the Duchy of Cracow the conversion rate of the Prague grossus was into 12 local denarii in use. The studied Cracow coins on the whole differ significantly much to the disadvantage of that standard. Thus the factor did not result from the contents of metal or weight. It must have been established arbitrarily by the ruler. This is confirmed by the fact that in 1334 the grossus was generally changed to 16 denarii[9]. This is the proof of the official devaluation carried out soon after Casimir III the Great (1333-1370) became king. At the same time the so far rather unclear monetary terminology in official documents was considerably stabilized. Smaller amounts, in the Duchy of Cracow generally up to approx. 10 marks, still smaller in Great Poland, are defined as *grossi, marce (fertones* or *scoti) grossorum*, every now and then simply as *marce*, time and again with the extension of *currentis monete* or *pecunie usualis*. Greater amounts are, as a rule, approached as *marce grossorum Pragensium* (or *Bohemicalium*), often with the proviso of *pecunia parata* or *numerata*. However, numerous exceptions to the rule can be pointed out.

For quite a time researchers would treat records on documents literally, i.e. the term *grossi* would imply the use of actual Prague grossi, whereas the term *moneta usualis* or *currens*, or no specification at all would testify the use of local money. This view was questioned by Roman Grodecki[10] and refuted by Ryszard Kiersnowski who proved that on documents of papal collectors regional variations of *grossi* could be differentiated, thus those were account grossi composed of the local denarii[11]. This does not mean that foreign and local coins were not differentiated. Prague grossi in Poland almost always make up the entire contents of hoards. After 1340 they intermingle only with other grossi

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6 So far the catalogue of late medieval monetary finds has not been published in Poland (it is being prepared by S. Kubiak); fragmentary inventories have been regarded as the basis here : J. KISIELEWSKI, *Materiały do inwentaryzacji znalezisk groszy praskich ukrytych na ziemiach polskich (Materials for the Inventory of the Finds of Prague Grossi in Polish Lands)*, in *WN*, 12, fasc. 3-4, 1968, p. 211-225; M. MECLEWSKA, *Materiały do inwentaryzacji znalezisk monet krzyżackich (Materials for the Inventory of the Finds of the Teutonic Knights Coins), ibidem*, p. 193-211, as per the Ukraine : M. KOTLAR, *Znaleziska monet z XIV-XVII w. na obszarze Ukraińskiej SRR. Materiały (Les trouvailles de monnaies des XIV-XVIIe siècle sur le territoire de la RSS d'Ukraine. Matériaux)*, Wrocław, 1975.

7 J. A. SZWAGRZYK, *Szerokie grosze praskie na ziemiach polskich 1302-1547*, in *Ze skarbca kultury*, 18, 1967, p. 88.

8 S. SUCHODOLSKI, *Der Umlauf der Ordens-Münzen in der Brakteaten-Zeit*, in *NNÅ*, 1981, p. 122; S. MUSIAŁEK, *Skarb brakteatów krzyżackich z Mikanowa (The Teutonic Knights' Bracteate Hoard of Mikanowo)*, in *WN*, 32, 1988, p. 80-94.

9 R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Data i kształt reform monetarnych Kazimierza Wielkiego (The Date and Character of Kazimierz the Great's Monetary Reform), part I*, in *WN*, 12, fasc. 3-4, 1968, p. 168.

10 R. GRODECKI, *Pojawienie się groszy czeskich w Polsce (Das Aufkommen der böhmischen Groschen in Polen)*, in *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*, 18, 1936, p. 76-87.

11 R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Data i kształt...*, p. 169-174.

- Hungarian, grossi of Meissen, very seldom Tournois grossi[12], towards the end of the period in question Polish and Teutonic grossi. Polish denarii occur chiefly in single finds, in small complexes, though very seldom in larger hoards containing no grossi. However, the line between amounts deposited in denarii and grossi runs much below the amount of a few marks which had been previously pointed out in written sources (1 mark most often equals to 48 grossi). The largest bracteate hoards are those found at Lichynia in Upper Silesia (it consisted of 2 marks of grossi and almost 1 mark of denarii)[13], Przyłęk in the Duchy of Cracow (2/3 of a mark of denarii)[14], Wieleń in Great Poland (almost 3 marks of denarii)[15]. The largest grossi hoard, that of Środa Śląska, amounted to 153 marks of grossi, to say nothing of gold coins and ornaments[16].

Thus the Prague grossus was incorporated into the Polish monetary system in which it co-existed together with the local denarii of Great Poland and Cracow. It seems to make up the basis of both provincial currencies. The first emissions of Cracow denarii of Venceslaus II and Ladislas the Little Ell until *c.* 1308 were probably of approximate full value. Later the metal contents of Cracow denarii were considerably lowered, the rate, however, could be maintained at the level of 1/12 of the grossus due to the possibility of exchange into full value grossi. Such status is to be observed in modern Europe, where undervalued coins, billon, have a limited capability of releasing from obligations, their rate being guaranteed through exchangeability into full value coins courant. Of course, one cannot suspect a clear billon-courant status in the 14th century, yet such was the sense of the general differentiation in Europe : *moneta nigra - moneta bona*. Also in Bohemia the Prague grossus was soon to become an element of such status. Devaluation of denarii of Cracow and Great Poland in 1334 was presumably the result of the overemission thereof, or a governmental fiscal operation diminishing the ruler's obligations to exchange his own coins[17].

Quite different was the situation of Mazovia, where Thorn denarii or local ones corresponding to them were circulating. Cracow denarii did not have here their credit value, they were merely of substantial value, hence the rate thereof was not stable[18]. The difference between local or Teutonic coins and the Prague grossus is especially illustrated by the verdict passed in 1358 by king Casimir III in the argument between duke Siemowit III of Mazovia and bishop John V of Poznań whose jurisdiction covered southern

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12 Only one find of the original Tournois grossus of Zawodzie near Częstochowa is known in Poland : a single coin of Philip IV (M. PRZENIOSŁO, *Skarby z lat dziecinnych*, in *BN*, 1984, p. 133), and one hoard containing an imitation of the Tournois grossus among Prague grossi in Zawichost : Brabant, Joanna (1355-1404), mint of Vilvorde (unpublished hoard, National Museum in Warsaw). In the Ozorków hoard there occurred two grossi of the botdrager type of Adolph of Cleve, mint of Büderich (T.J. HORBACZ, A. MIKOŁAJCZYK, *Skarb groszy z XIV w. z Ozorkowa pod Łodzią (A 14th Century Hoard of Grossi from the Town of Ozorków, Łódz voivodeship)*, in *WN*, 19, fasc. 3, 1975, p. 129-152. Those are the Western-European grossi of the time found in Poland.

13 It was the only hoard in which occurred side by side larger numbers of grossi and bracteates. They were found in two crocks within the distance of 3-4 metres from each other (yet grossi with bracteates were in one of them only); see F. FRIEDENSBURG, *Neue Münzfunde*, in *Altschlesien*, 3, 1930, p. 75-77; F. HUFNAGEL, *Der zweite Münzfund von Lichtendorf Kr. Cosel OS.*, in *Altschlesien*, 10, 1941, p. 132-137.

14 J. REYMAN, *Skarb brakteatów guziczkowych z Przyłęku, pow. Jędrzejów (A Hoard of «button» Bracteates from Przyłęku, Jędrzejów district)*, in *WN*, 16, fasc. 4, 1972, p. 201-233.

15 K. BEYER, *Wykopalisko wieleńskie (Filehne)*, Warszawa, 1876.

16 J. PINIŃSKI, *The Hoard of Silver and Gold Coins and Ornaments of Środa Śląska, voivodship of Wrocław*, in *WN*, fasc. 3-4, 34, 1990 (=*Polish Numismatic News*, V), p. 194-200.

17 An interesting aspect of the circulation of Prague grossi in Poland has been explained by J. KISIELEWSKI, *Ślady działania prawa Kopernika-Greshama w metrologii groszy praskich, ze znalezisk odkrytych w Polsce (Operation of Kopernik-Gresham Law as observed in relation to the Metrology of Prague grossi)*, in *WN*, 15, fasc. 2, 1971, p. 65-77.

18 See R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Data i kształt...*, p. 171, 185.

Mazovia. The duke was inter alia to pay the bishop *octaginta octo marcas usualis monete*. However, who so breaks the conditions of the agreement, shall pay to the king, *trecentis marcas grossorum Pragensis [sic] numeri in nostro regno currentis*[19]. Thus all clearings between the most powerful magnates of Mazovia were carried out in bracteates, whereas their obligations towards the king were cleared in Prague grossi.

The separate issue of relationships between Prague grossi and Silesian quartenses has already been discussed at length by R. Kiersnowski, and thus needs no further discussion[20].

The entire monetary system in Poland changed in the 1360s. Cracow denarii in finds gradually spread over Great Poland and Kujawy, which proves their status to have been changed from provincial coins to national[21]. This was the first – so far unnoticed – stage of the great monetary reform of Casimir III postulated for in the words of the king's Statutes about 1360 : *ex quo unus princeps est omnium, una moneta in toto nostro regno haberi debet cum consilio tocius nostre baronie et assensu, que debet esse perpetua et bona in valore, ut per hoc ceteris sit magis grata et accepta*[22]. The second stage was the establishment of Polish quartenses, halfgrossus coins in 1367, the third one, just before the king's death in 1370, the introduction of «Cracow» grossi corresponding to those of Prague, quarter-grossi and denarii of a new type : their dies were different from the Cracow denarii which had been struck for over 30 previous years[23].

This did not, however, mean the liquidation of the local coinage known today from the ephemeral emissions of two-sided denarii of Kalisz and Poznań[24], maybe also those of Pyzdry (three major cities of the Great Poland of the time). Quartenses of the Mazovian duke Siemowit III appeared as well[25]. However, as far as one can infer from the finds, all those provinces were parts of the uniform monetary market of the Polish Kingdom whose money acquired a gradually higher status in their realm.

The so far clear situation emerging from the hoards underwent a considerable complication. Generally Cracow grossi make up a small part of the hoards of Prague grossi, they do not occur together with denarii. Yet quartenses do appear accompanied both by denarii and grossi. They seem not to have been treated in the same way, the hoards in which they occurred together with grossi being concealed later than those in which they had been added to denarii.

For quartenses, judging by variations regarded as the oldest, were originally to equal in metal contents half a grossus[26]. Having satisfied that condition, they were of course full value coins. Yet within a few months such standard considerably lowered, furthermore overemission caused the exchange rate of quartenses in relation to grossi to collapse. The king's first response was in 1368 an administrative ban on any demands of all payments to be cleared in foreign coins, stipulated by capital punishment and confiscation of property[27]. This was the demonetization of Prague grossi. A year later the

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19 *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae Maioris* III, 1369.

20 R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Kwartniki Śląskie i czeskie grosze (Silesian «kwartniks» and Bohemian Groshes)*, in *WN*, 6, fasc. 3-4, 1962, p. 225-244. See also J. PINIŃSKI, *Obcięte grosze czeskie Jana Luksemburskiego (John of Luxembourg's Cut off Bohemian grossi)*, in *Nummus et historia. Pieniądz Europy średniowiecznej*, Warszawa, 1985, p. 153-158.

21 See B. PASZKIEWICZ, *Mennictwo Władysława...*, p. 93, map 10.

22 Statuta Maioris Polonie, XXXV : Cum sub uno principe; the newest edition : L. ŁYSIAK, *Statuty Kazimierza Wielkiego, part II, Statuty wielkopolskie*, Poznań, 1982, p. 52.

23 R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Data i kształt...*, *passim*; ID., *Pradzieje grosza*, Warszawa, 1975, p. 231-262.

24 M. GUMOWSKI, *Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik*, Graz, 1960, No. 369, 370.

25 *Ibidem*, No. 408.

26 F. PIEKOSIŃSKI, *O monecie i stopie menniczéj w Polsce w XIV i XV wieku*, Kraków, 1878, p. 33-56; M. GUMOWSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

27 *Starodawne prawa polskiego pomniki*, ed. A.Z. HELCEL, Kraków, 1856, vol. I, p. 226.

king only required his coins to be accepted at the nominal value[28], while he himself expected tributes to be paid in Prague grossi. Thus it was an attempt to keep the obligatory rate of quartenses and Polish denarii without securing their cash rate, which of course was bound to fail. As a result e.g. in 1368 a land estate near Olkusz in the Cracow Duchy was sold *pro 20 marcis, videlicet decem marcas in grossis grossorum Pragensium et decem marcas in moneta in Regno communiter currente*[29]. Similar transactions are to be come across in the following year[30].

This is an example of a compromise between full value and depreciated money, which quite often occurred in history : by this way obligations were cleared e.g. in Portugal at the beginning of the 19th century[31]. After king Casimir's death in 1370, the quartenses were devaluated[32], thus they became full value coins – this is why they found themselves in the grossi hoards of Ozorków and Poznań[33]. Hence such transactions as the one of 1372, when a bailiwick in the duchy of Cieszyn just off the Crown's border was sold *pro decem et octo marcis grossorum Pragensium Polonici pagamenti*[34].

On the other hand, in the category of full value coins Cracow grossi and new Teutonic coins were quite stable, particularly half-scots which are present in the grossi hoards beyond the traditional range of Thorn coins[35].

The situation of Ruthenia was completely different. There was no decision to incorporate it, thus pointing out its separateness both administrative as well as ethnic and religious. The royal chancellery used sporadically for Casimir III the title of the «king of Poland and Ruthenia»; what is still more important is the fact that Ruthenia had a separate administration of treasury[36]. About 1367 Casimir III started Ruthenian coinage[37], in which coins similar to Polish quartenses were of primary importance[38]; externally they resembled Mazovian quartenses (albeit here the direction of borrowings might have been just the reverse), yet sources would call them *grossi, parvi*. So far Ruthenia did not have its own coins, although as early as before the middle of the 14th century hoards of Prague grossi appeared here. Time and again sources pass the mutual relationship of the coins : the Prague grossus, *grossus latus*, was equal to 2 *grossi parvi*. As it seems, the grossus parvus did not undergo, originally at least, such devaluation as the Crown quartenses[39], perhaps the government bearing in mind the example of the Polish Crown with its billon inflation, avoided the overemission of those coins. It is worthwhile to mention that the only find of the Mazovian quartensis is known from Lviv (Lwów, Leopolis), the capital of Ruthenia, which emphasizes the links between both emissions of halfgrossi. The grossi parvi of Casimir III did not occur beyond the boundaries of Ruthenia at all,

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28 *Najstarsze księgi i rachunki miasta Krakowa od r. 1300 do 1400*, ed. F. PIEKOSIŃSKI, J. SZUJSKI, Kraków, 1878, part II, p. 22.

29 *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich*, IV, 992.

30 *Codex diplomaticus Minoris Poloniae*, 359.

31 L. FORT, *Neueste Münzkunde. Abbildung und Beschreibung der jetzt coursirenden Gold- und Silbermünzen mit Angabe ihres Gewichts, Feingehaltes, ihrer Geltung und ihres Werthes*, Leipzig, 1853, p. 439.

32 *Joannis de Czarnkow Chronicon Polonorum*, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* II, Lwów, 1872, p. 650-651.

33 See note 12.

34 *Zbiór dokumentów małopolskich* I, 136.

35 T.J. HORBACZ, A. MIKOŁAJCZYK, *op. cit.*, p. 149-150, did not pay attention to that difference.

36 H. PASZKIEWICZ, *Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Warszawa, 1925; J. SIERADZKI, *Polska wieku XIV. Studia z czasów Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Warszawa, 1959, p. 9-127.

37 This date has been introduced by R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Pradzieje grosza*, p. 279. Ukrainian researchers declare for the beginning of coinage in the years 1351-1354 : M.F. KOTLAR, *Narysy istorii obihu i lichby monet na Ukrayini XIV-XVIII st.*, Kyiv, 1981, p. 19, which due to the context of Polish coinage is completely unacceptable.

38 M. GUMOWSKI, *op. cit.*, no. 367.

39 M.F. KOTLAR, *Hroshovyi obih na terytoryi Ukrayini doby feodalizmu*, Kyiv, 1971, p. 71.

whereas no Crown coins have been found in Ruthenia, which on the one hand proves the monetary autonomy of the province; on the other – it is a premise to presume that grossi parvi were undervalued coins which could not be taken away to where they were not supported by the official rate. Nor have grossi parvi been found at the area of north-Ruthenian duchies, where apart from Prague grossi, Lithuanian silver bars, so called roubles, are also to be found[40].

The role of Prague grossi in the 14th century Poland is one of the numerous examples how in the country deprived of large metal deposits foreign coins imported in great masses become absorbed into the local monetary system in which they form a frame of reference for the local coins. It was only the depreciation of the Prague grossus at the time of Venceslaus IV that questioned that function[41].

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40 Hoards : Volodymyr Volhynsky (Włodzimierz Wołyński), A. CYNKAŁOWSKI, *Materiały do pradziejów Wołynia i Polesia Wołyńskiego*, Warszawa, 1961, p. 166; B. PASZKIEWICZ, *Znaleziska średniowieczne i nowożytne w zbiorze i archiwum Państwowego Muzeum Archeologicznego w Warszawie (Medieval and Modern Findings in the Collection and Archival Material of the State Archaeological Museum in Warsaw)*, in *WN*, 32, fasc. 3-4, 1988, p. 238; Sosnina (Biskupicze Szlacheckie), distr. Lokache, L. ŻYTYŃSKI, *Wykopalisko w Biskupiczach Szlacheckich*, in *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne*, 1895, col. 346.

41 For the sake of conciseness this paper disregards the question of gold which would make up a separate circulation stratum. It has been at length discussed by R. KIERSNOWSKI, *Złoto na rynku polskim w XIII-XIV w. (Gold on the Polish Market in the 13th and 14th Centuries)*, in *WN*, 16, fasc. 3, 1972, p. 129-156.

# Le nom du prince qui n'est pas l'émetteur. Un exemple des monnaies polonaises du XIIe siècle

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Pendant l'examen et la classification des monnaies, on admet implicitement que les données fournies par les inscriptions figurant sur celles-ci sont véridiques. Autrement dit, on estime que le nom des émetteurs, de même que le lieu et la date de la frappe des monnaies, sont dignes de foi. On sait en général qu'une dérogation à cette règle, en principe juste, intervient dans deux cas : l'immobilisation et l'imitation des types. Par suite d'immobilisation, les données comprises dans les types peuvent perdurer pendant quelques années, quelques décennies et même quelques siècles. Les monnaies au nom de l'empereur latin Louis le Pieux (814-843) émises en Suisse encore au XIIe s. en sont un exemple classique[1]

Par contre, l'imitation des types conduit à reproduire sur un autre territoire les données contenues dans les émissions modèles. À titre d'exemple, nous pouvons citer les nombreuses imitations produites aux Xe et XIe s. dans la zone de la Baltique, et parmi elles, surtout celles qui portent le nom du roi Ethelred II[2].

Certains traits caractéristiques des imitations apparaissent également lorsque les monnaies n'ont pas été frappées sous le nom propre de l'émetteur, mais sous celui du souverain ou d'un co-gouvernant. Les monnaies d'or du roi des Ostrogoths Théodoric, sur lesquelles ont été reproduits les types des monnaies des empereurs Anastase ou Justinien Ier, sont un exemple du premier cas[3]. Pour le second, il s'agirait par exemple des monnaies frappées aux IVe et Ve s. au nom des co-gouvernants des autres parties de l'Empire romain. Ces monnaies, à la différence de la plupart des imitations, ont toutefois généralement conservé un élément authentique de leur origine sous forme de la marque de l'atelier monétaire ou du monogramme de l'émetteur[4].

Une autre raison de faire figurer sur la monnaie, à la place ou à côté du nom de l'émetteur, celui d'une autre personne, pouvait être le désir de commémoration. C'est ainsi qu'est apparu le nom de Charlemagne (Dbg 295, 296, 1848) sur des monnaies allemandes du XIe s.

Enfin, un autre cas où l'émetteur remplaçait son nom par celui d'une autre personne se présente lorsqu'il s'agissait de légitimer le nouveau pouvoir. Nous examinons de plus près cette situation sur l'exemple des ateliers silésiens de la seconde moitié du XIIe s. Jusque voilà peu, ces monnaies étaient rares et les tentatives pour les identifier restaient infructueuses[5]. Cette situation changea avec la découverte en 1987, à Głogów, en Basse Silésie (voïvodie de Legnica), du plus grand ou de l'un des plus grands trésors du Haut Moyen Âge en Pologne. Parmi les plus de 20.000 pièces qu'il contenait, les deniers dont

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1 C. MARTIN, *Problèmes numismatiques du bassin du Léman aux XIe-XIIe siècles*, dans *Nummus et Historia. Mélanges offerts à Ryszard Kiersnowski*, Varsovie, 1985, p. 83-89.

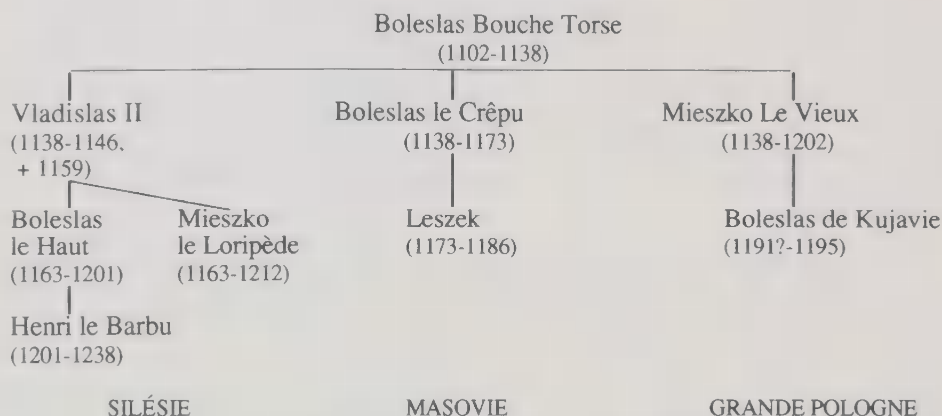
2 M. BLACKBURN, *An Imitative Workshop Active during Aethelraed II's Long Cross Issue*, dans *Studies in Northern Coinages of the Eleventh Century*, éd. C.J. BECKER, *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter* 9/4, Copenhague, 1981, p. 29-88.

3 W. HAHN, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, Bd. 1. *Von Anastasius I bis Justinianus I (491-565)*, Vienne, 1973, p. 79-85; S. SUCHODOLSKI, *Remarques sur les monnaies des Ostrogoths*, dans *RIN*, 91, 1989, p. 152 s.

4 P.V. HILL, J.P.C. KENT et R.A.G. CARSON, *Late Roman Bronze Coinage A.D. 324-498*, Londres, 1972, p. 43 sv.; R.A.G. CARSON, *Principal Coins of the Romans*, III. *The Dominate A.D. 294-498*, Londres, 1981, p. 79, 83, 88-90 sv.

5 M. GUMOWSKI, *Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik*, Graz, 1960, p. 19, 94; S. SUCHODOLSKI, *Moneta możnowładcza i kościelna w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej (Coins of Magnates and Church in Early Medieval Poland)*, Wrocław, 1987, p. 46-50.

il est question plus haut sont en immense majorité[6]. Ils portent les noms de Ladislas, Boleslas, Mieszko et Henri ou ils sont anépigraphes. Ces noms étaient liés à divers souverains polonais régnant depuis la première moitié du XIIe s. jusqu'au troisième quart du XIIIe s. en Grande-Pologne (Gniezno) ou en Petite-Pologne (Cracovie). Seule la légende Henri ne fait pas de doute; il s'agit du prince de Silésie Henri le Barbu (1201-1238). Aucun autre souverain de ce nom n'existait à l'époque. Les monnaies d'Henri permettent, en même temps, de fixer d'une manière sûre l'enfouissement du trésor à une date postérieure à l'année 1201.




Peu de monnaies étrangères sont antérieures et peu remettent en question la datation du trésor de Głogów : 2 Wienerpfennige de la première moitié du XIIe s., 20 deniers de l'archevêque Conrad de Magdebourg (1134-1142) dont 19 d'un type jusqu'ici inconnu, une bractéate de Halle de cet archevêque, une bractéate d'un type inconnu – il est possible qu'elle soit d'Albrecht l'Ours – une bractéate non définie attribuée au prince tchèque Sobieslas II (1173-1180) et enfin deux bractéates de la région de Goslar-Hildesheim (env. 1150).

Revenons donc aux types indigènes constituant l'élément fondamental du trésor. Ils se divisent en trois groupes. Les monnaies avec un revers rappelant celles du duc de toute la Pologne et de Silésie, Ladislas II (1138-1146) (Pl. III, 1) forment le premier; en effet, un combat avec un lion y est représenté. Les droits sont divers. Ils comportent soit une effigie du duc à cheval et le nom de Ladislas (Pl. III, 2), soit une effigie anépigraphe de l'évêque (Pl. III, 3). Le trésor compte respectivement 356 et 5.723 exemplaires de ces deux types.

Les monnaies du second groupe sont les plus nombreuses : plus de 12.075 pièces. Elles présentent un seul type, avec des noms plus ou moins déformés. D'un côté sont représentés deux souverains debout tenant une bannière. Elles portent en général le nom de Mieszko ou des traces déformées de celui-ci. Au revers se trouve une croix à double bande, entre les bras de laquelle, et parfois même à l'intérieur des bras, sont inscrites les lettres des noms : Ladislas, Boleslas ou Mieszko (Pl. III, 4-5).

Deux types à nouveau font partie du troisième goupe. Les monnaies susmentionnées portant au droit, à côté du souverain tenant en main un glaive, le nom de Henri et au revers un ange ou un aigle, appartiennent au premier type (Pl. III, 6). Le second type s'en rapproche, mais ici le souverain tient un glaive sur les genoux et non la lame en l'air. L'inscription indique qu'il s'agit du duc de Mieszko (Pl. III, 7). Les monnaies de ce

6 ID., *Zmiany chronologii i atrybucji monet polskich z XII/XIII w. w świetle skarbu z Głogowa (Les changements de la chronologie et d'attribution de monnaies polonaises du XIIe-XIIIe s. à la lumière du trésor de Głogów)*, dans *WN* (sous presse); Z. WILCZEWSKI, *Wstępna informacja o skarbie monet wczesnośredniowiecznych z Głogowa – próbka statystyczna (Preliminary Information on the Early Medieval Coin Hoard from Głogow. Statistic Sample of 210 Coins)*, dans *PracMat*, 9, 1989 (1990), p. 117-124.



*Pl. III. 1. Pologne, Ladislas II (1138-1146), éch. : 4,5 : 1 (photo de l'auteur); 2. Pologne, Silésie, Boleslas le Haut (1163-1201) et Mieszko le Loripède (1163-1211) au nom de Ladislas II, duc au cheval et combat avec un lion; éch. : 2 : 1, ø c. 16 mm (photo P. Kobek, dessin S. Nowińska); 3. Pologne, Silésie, Boleslas le Haut (1163-1201) et Mieszko le Loripède (1163-1211) au nom de Ladislas II, l'évêque et combat avec un lion; éch. : 2 : 1, ø c. 16 mm (photo P. Kobek, dessin S. Nowińska); 4. Pologne, Silésie, Boleslas le Haut (1163-1201) et Mieszko le Loripède (1163-1211) avec le nom de Ladislas II-VODZLAVS, croix à doubles bandes et deux souverains debout tenant en commun une bannière; éch. : 2 : 1, ø c. 16 mm (photo P. Kobek, dessin S. Nowińska); 5. Pologne, Silésie, Boleslas le Haut (1163-1201), avec le nom de Boleslas - BOLI; éch. : 2 : 1 , ø c. 16 mm (photo P. Kobek, dessin S. Nowińska); 6. Pologne, Silésie, Henri le Barbu (1201-1238), duc tenant un glaive - INDRIh et un aigle; ø c. 16 mm (dessin S. Nowińska); 7. Pologne, Silésie, Mieszko le Loripède (1163-1211), duc tenant un glaive-MIZCO et un ange; ø ca 16 mm (dessin S. Nowińska).*

groupe étaient beaucoup plus rares que les précédentes. Nous en avons recensé à peine respectivement 108 et 94.

En même temps, elles constituent, semble-t-il, la clé pour déchiffrer tout le problème. Comme on l'a vu, nous avons affaire ici aux monnaies de Henri le Barbu (1201-1238). Le Mieszko régnant à la même époque ne pouvait être que son neveu Mieszko dit le Loripède (1163-1211). Les deux types ont donc vu le jour au début du XIIIe s. mais en Silésie, certainement à Wrocław et à Racibórz, et non à Cracovie comme le présumaient les anciens chercheurs. Ils avaient pris pour axiome qu'à l'époque bractéate, on n'émettait rien d'autre en Silésie que des bractéates[7].

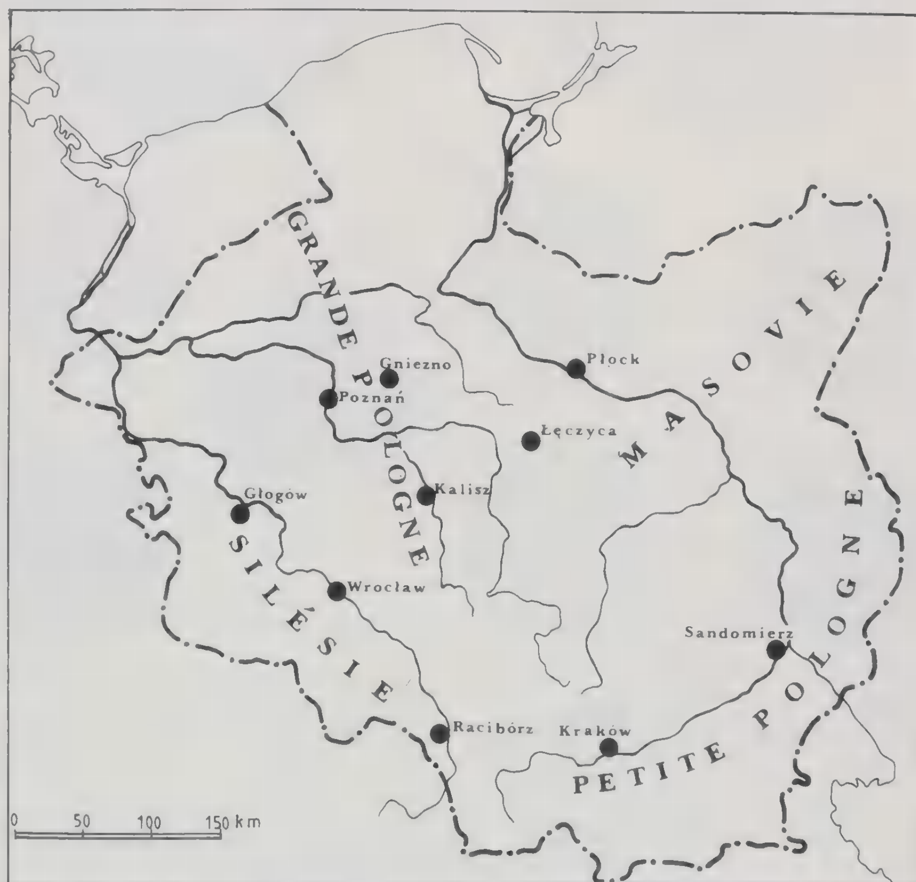



*Fig. 1. Pologne c. 1200 (dessin S. Nowińska).*

Les monnaies du groupe 2, en tant qu'antérieurs, ont dû être frappées déjà dans la seconde moitié du XIIe s. Les noms de Mieszko et de Boleslas qui y figurent, désignent donc les frères régnant en même temps en Silésie : Mieszko le Loripède, déjà mentionné, et Boleslas le Haut (1163-1201). Qui toutefois était Ladislas, lié à ces derniers, dont le nom apparaît sur des monnaies semblables ou sur les mêmes monnaies? Nous formulons l'hypothèse qu'il s'agit de leur père, Ladislas II (1138-1146), duc de Silésie et de toute la Pologne. La difficulté consiste dans le fait qu'en 1146, Ladislas avait déjà été détrôné par ses frères, et qu'il mourut en 1159 en exil en Allemagne. Étant donné que ses fils ne revinrent en Silésie qu'en 1163, il est évident que c'est la date la plus ancienne possible pour le début de leur monnayage. Si notre hypothèse est juste, il s'avérerait que le nom

7 F. FRIEDENSBURG, *Schlesiens Münzgeschichte im Mittelalter*, II. *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, XIII, Breslau, 1888, p. 7 sv., 151 sv.; M. GUMOWSKI, *Handbuch*, p. 18-20.

de Ladislas sur les monnaies en question ne serait pas celui du souverain régnant mais indiquerait à quel titre ses fils avaient pris possession de leur patrimoine.

Cette supposition trouve sa confirmation dans la situation politique d'alors. Lorsqu'en 1138, le duc Boleslas Bouche Torse (1102-1138) partagea la Pologne entre ses fils, l'aîné, Ladislas II, reçut outre les droits suzerains et le séniorat, la possession héréditaire de la Silésie. C'est là justement que les fils de Ladislas – Boleslas et Mieszko – revinrent en 1163 avec l'aide impériale. Leurs oncles, les frères de Ladislas II, qui régnaient toujours et qui avaient conservé le contrôle des quatre plus importantes villes de Silésie, contestèrent au début leurs droits. Dans les sources de l'époque, les jeunes ducs figuraient non seulement sous leurs noms, mais ils étaient aussi appelés *Wladislaidae*[8].

Sur les monnaies du groupe I, que nous considérons comme les plus anciennes, apparaît un rapport encore plus grand avec Ladislas II. Comme il en a déjà été question, un combat avec un lion est présenté au revers de ces monnaies, tiré des plus anciennes monnaies de Ladislas II frappées vers 1138-1140 (Pl. III, 1). Par contre, la représentation de ce duc à cheval au droit est nettement postérieure à son époque, étant donné que sur les monnaies polonaises ceci apparaît seulement à la fin du règne de Boleslas le Crépu (1146-1173; Gum., *H*., 98). Nous identifions l'évêque du deuxième type avec Saint Adalbert, patron de Gniezno et de toute la Pologne. Ce fait est très éloquent. Nous n'avons pas encore affaire ici au patron silésien local, Saint Jean-Baptiste, mais à celui qui avait sous sa protection tout l'État sur lequel régnait Ladislas II.

Si notre raisonnement est juste, les trois groupes de monnaies correspondraient à trois étapes du monnayage des plus anciens ducs de Silésie. Première étape (env. 1170-1180 ?) : leurs noms ne seraient absolument pas mis en évidence, mais les types renoueraient directement ou indirectement avec le père. Deuxième étape (env. 1180-1201) : les types sont déjà nouveaux. À côté du nom du père, et parfois même à la place de celui-ci, apparaît le nom des deux fils. Ils sont aussi représentés sur l'autre face où ils reprennent de la main de leur père une bannière, symbole de l'exercice du pouvoir. Troisème étape : absence totale d'un lien quelconque avec le fondateur de la dynastie des ducs de Silésie. Sur les monnaies apparaissent uniquement les souverains régnants.

En conclusion, nous constatons qu'une telle situation a pu se produire également dans d'autres cas plus mal documentés. Il se peut par exemple qu'une partie des bractéates silésiennes attribuées à Boleslas le Haut (Gum., *H*., 137-144) aient en réalité été émises par son fils Henri le Barbu. Les bractéates portant son nom sont de la plus grande rareté (Gum., *H*., 225).

Il y a encore une autre possibilité. Depuis longtemps, on se demande à qui attribuer un grand nombre de types de bractéates et de deniers portant le nom de Boleslas. Ces monnaies proviennent de trouvailles, principalement de Kujavie, et sont datées de la fin du XIIe s.[9] Un seul duc du nom de Boleslas dit de Kujavie, fils de Mieszko III le Vieux, régnait alors là-bas. Son règne dura peut-être deux ans, tout au plus cinq, ce qui semble nettement trop court pour émettre une quinzaine de types de monnaies. Est-ce qu'une partie aurait été frappée par un autre souverain ne portant pas en réalité le nom de Boleslas, mais pouvant s'en servir? Je pense à Leszek, fils de Boleslas le Crépu[10]. Il est certain que lorsqu'il monta sur le trône de Masovie et de Kujavie en 1173, il était encore très jeune et soumis à la tutelle de son oncle Casimir le Juste. Nous ne connaissons aucune monnaie portant le nom de Leszek.

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8 *Paene siquidem in ipso ingressus vestibulo, non donationis, non beneficii titulo, sed heredibus ut pote legitimis, successione legitima dictam sibi accessisse provinciam [sc. Silesiam], asserunt Wladislaidae*; dans *Magistri Vincentii Chronicon Polonorum. Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, II, Lwów, 1872, [1961], p. 372.

9 I. POLKOWSKI, *Découverte à Głebokie des monnaies polonaises du Moyen Âge*, Gnesen, 1876, n°48, 49, 53, 54, pl. VI a-f; M. GUMOWSKI, *Handbuch*, p. 93.

10 Une opinion semblable a déjà été exprimée par F. FRIEDENSBURG, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

De nos considérations découlent deux conclusions fondamentales. Premièrement : à la même époque et probablement dans les mêmes ateliers monétaires étaient frappés aussi bien des bractéates que des deniers avec des types totalement différents. Deuxièmement : on ne peut pas toujours faire confiance à ce que nous lisons sur les monnaies. Nous n'avons cité que quelques exemples de discordance entre la teneur des inscriptions et la réalité. Les cas de ce genre étaient certainement plus fréquents et étaient le fait, entre autres, de l'immobilisation des types, de leur imitation, du désir de commémorer les souverains précédents ou de légitimer les nouveaux. Il convient donc, avant toute tentative pour définir une monnaie et la classer, de la soumettre auparavant à une critique des sources.

# Das Bild des böhmischen mittelalterlichen Staates im Spiegel der Symbolik der böhmischen und mährischen Münzen

Tomáš KREJČÍK*

Eine bedeutende Quelle für die Erkenntnis des in der Staatsideologie im Verlauf der Zeit eintretenden Wandels stellen die Symbole dar, welche die Herrschergewalt versinnbildlichen. Die Auswahl an Objekten, die als solches Symbol dienen könnten, war relativ breit, neben verschiedenen Insignien, Reliquien, Waffen und weiteren Gegenständen konnte auch ein Bauwerk, oder ein ganzer Bautenkomplex eine Idee symbolisieren.

Wir möchten hier jene Symbole der Herrschergewalt näher betrachten, die sich auf böhmischen und mährischen Münzen des Mittelalters vorfinden. Wir schränken zwar auf diese Weise die Quellenbasis unserer Untersuchung ein, anderseits haben die Münzen den Vorzug, eine ununterbrochene Reihe von einzelnen Artefakten zu bilden, die sehr schnell und genau auf Impulse aus dem Milieu des Herrscherhofes reagierten.

Man darf nicht vergessen, dass das Münzbild im Mittelalter das am meisten verbreitetet Mittel war, das dem Herrscher und seinem Hof ermöglichte, durch ein ebenso einfaches wie wirkungsvolles Bildzeichen die Untertanen sowie auch das Ausland an seine Macht und seine Rechte, aber auch an seine Verpflichtungen zu erinnern. Die seinerzeit für die Bilder der Denarmünzen geprägte Bezeichnung «Massenmedium des Mittelalters» ist also zutreffend.

Was die Interpretation dieser Materie anbelangt, finden wir in der Literatur zwei verschiedene Anschauungen. Die eine bringt das Münzbild in engem Zusammenhang mit einer bestimmten, einzig dastehenden historischen Situation oder Begenbenheit. Dieser Vorgang läst sich aber anhand anderer Quellen oft nur schwer überprüfen und kann daher auf Irrwege führen. Die andere Forschungsmethode konzentriert sich eher auf das Dechiffrieren der allgemeinen, im Bild verborgenen Symbolik. Ihre Auslegung erlaubt uns dann mit ziemlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit zu begreifen, worauf die zeitlich bedingte Aktualität des gegebenen Sinnbilds beruhte. Die häufigen Umgestaltungen des Münzbildes machten Münzen zum geeigneten Medium, das die Schaffung eines ganzes Komplexes von Symbolen möglich machte, die alle zusammen das Abbild eines guten Herrschers zum Ausdruck brachten. Die Schlichtheit und klare Bedeutung dieser Bilder dürften der Hauptgrund gewesen sein, weshalb einzelne ikonographische Schemata auf den Münzen verschiedener Münzherren häufig wiederkehrten. Daraus ergab sich im gewisser Traditionalismus und Konservativismus des Münzbildes, dazu geeignet die Kontinuität der Staatsidee zu vermitteln.

Sollten die böhmischen Denare jener staatsideologischen Funktion genügen, mußte man vorerst auf ihre bayrischen und angelsäsischen Vorbilder, die man von der ersten Phase des böhmischen Münzwesens nachahmte, verzichten. Das führte eine gewisse Säkularisierung des Münzbildes herbei, wo bis dahin religiöse Symbole vorherrschten. Gegen das Jahr 1000, zur Zeit der ersten schweren politischen Krise der Přemyslidenstaates, ist eine Wandlung und Bohemisierung der bildlichen Gestaltung der Münzen zu beobachten. In Zeiten, wo die Sicherheit des Landes gefährdet war, wurde die Darstellung des Herzogs, der den Staat verkörperte, zum Ausdruck der Einheit und Integrität seiner Besitzungen[1].

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1 J. HÁSKOVÁ, *Česká mince doby románské*, Cheb, 1975; A. MERHAUTOVÁ-DUŠAN TREŠTÍK, *Románské umění v Čechách a na Moravě*, Praha, 1984; ID., *Ideové proudy v českém umění 12. století*. Studie ČSAV 1985, Num. 2.

Allein durch die Erweiterung des Ikonographischen Repertoires der böhmischen Denare war aber die Bohemisierung am Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts nicht gewährleistet. Deshalb wird bereits unter Herzog Jaromír (1004-1012) die Gestalt des hl. Wenzels den anderen Münzmotiven angegliedert. Vorläufig war er bloß auf den Prägungen der Prager Münzstätte zu finden, die Prägungen der Slawnikiden zeigten sein Bild ebensowenig, wie später die mährischen Prägungen Břetislav I., oder jene der mährischen Teilfürsten, die Anfangs die Schutzheiligen der verschieden Ortskirchen bevorzugten. Die Einzeilfälle wo sich die St. Wenzels-Motive doch auf den mährischen Münzen durchsetzten, waren vorerst gewöhnlich mit direkten böhmischen Einflüssen im Zusammenhang[2].

Die Bilder der mährischen Denare erinnern in einigen Fällen an die großmährische Staatssymbolik, die uns vorwiegend aus manchen erhaltenen Schöpfungen der Goldschmiedekunst und des Kunstgewerbes bekannt ist und unverkennbare byzantinische Einflüsse verrät. Auch Břetislav I. mußte in seinen Prägungen den St. Klemens-Kult, der in Mähren seit der großmährischen Epoche überlebt hatte, berücksichtigen. Nicht wenige Verfechter fand die Ansicht, durch das Zeichen der sog. mährischen Königskrone auf seinen Münzen hätte Břetislav die Kontinuität der Herrschergewalt in seinem Staat zum Ausdruck bringen wollen. Diese Problematik ist jedoch bislang nicht völlig geklärt[3].

Es steht außer Frage, daß die Prägungen Břetislavs I. in beträchtlichen Maße zur Vielfältigkeit der Darstellungen eines Herrschers mit verschiedenen Attributen seiner Gewalt beigetragen haben. Sie bildeten den ikonographischen Fonds, aus dem das böhmische und mährische Münzwesen länger als ein Jahrhundert schöpfen konnte, wobei den heimischen Motiven bereitwillig fremde hinzugefügt wurden. Die Ermittlung des Weges, auf dem sich bestimmte Schemata verbreiteten, ist heutzutage recht schwierig. Das Münzbild reife durch eine beeindruckende Abbreviatur die Gerechtigkeit, Heeresmacht und Tapferkeit sowie Freigebigkeit des aus Gottes Gnade regierenden Herrschers ins Gedächtnis. Ein Kreuz, Schwert, Banner, Szepter oder eine Lanze in der Hand, stehend, thronend oder reitend auf der Münze dargestellt, wurde er von den Zeitgenossen ganz konkret als Symbol einer bestimmten, in seiner Person verkörperten Tugend aufgefasst. So hielt die Galerie der Münzbilder in seiner Gesamtheit die grundlegenden Rechte und Pflichten eines guten Herrschers fest.

Die literarische Grundlage für diesen Zyklus waren offensichtlich die zeitgenössischen fürstlichen Spiegel, bzw. seine Vorstufen. In böhmischen Verhältnissen war der Keim eines solchen Fürstenspiegels, der sog. *Versus post missam*, der schon bei Krönung Vratislavs I. gelesen worden sein dürfte oder aber Charakterzeichnungen einzelner Fürsten, zusammengestellt nach zeitgenössischen Vorbildern in der Chronik Kosmas. Ähnliches finden wir im urkundlichen Material. Nicht zuletzt können als Grundlage Passagen aus dem Minnesang oder aus anderen literarischen Quellen gedient haben[4].

Wie schon erwähnt, wurde der Zyklus der Tugenden des Herrschers schon auf den böhmischen Denaren benutzt. In der Hälfte des 13. Jh. fand diese Auffassung der Ideologischen Wirkung der Münze auf den Brakteaten ihren Höhenpunkt. Jetzt wurde

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2 V. RYNEŠ, J. HÁSKOVÁ, *K počátkům svatováclavského motivu na českých denárech*, in *NListy*, 22, 1967, S. 145-152; V. RYNEŠ, J. SEJBAL, *Svatý Mikuláš Myrský na moravských denárech*, in *NListy*, 23, 1968, S. 144-152; L. SKRUŽNY, *Kult světců na Moravě v raně feudálním období ve svědectví mincovních obrazu*, in *Rodná zeme, Sborník k 100. Výročí Musejní a vlastivědné společnosti v Brně a k 60. narozeninám PhDr Vladimíra Nekudy*, CSc. Brno, 1988, S. 191-206.

3 P. RADOMĚRSKÝ, *Koruna králů moravských*, in *SborNárodMuzPraze*, 12, 1948, Num. 4, S. 181-232.; ID., *Dva příspěvky k velkomoravské tradici ve středověku*. Moravské numismatické zpravy, 1967, Num. 10, S. 41-48. Dazu J. POŠVÁŘ, *Byzantské a velkomoravské prvky v moravském mincovnictví*, in *NListy*, 32, 1977, S. 1-14.

4 P. SPUNAR, *Rex, regnum a regnare ve sbírce sentencí a přísloví Jana z Letovic*, in *Studie o rukopisech*, 14, 1975, S. 167-181; A. LIVOROVÁ-MERHAUTOVÁ, *Antické tradice na českých denárech*, in *Umění*, 25, 1977, S. 540-548.

der Zyklus vollständiger, besser durchgearbeitet und mit gewisser Raffinesse präsentiert. Den Stempelschneidern ist es gelungen, auf einer kleiner Fläche die wichtigsten Wirkungsbereiche des Herrschers zu erfassen und dabei – und darin besteht gerade der Unterschied gegenüber den älteren Denarprägungen – wurde er immer in Majestät, also in seiner erhabensten Würde abgebildet.

Es ist nötig, noch einen Unterschiede zu betonen. Durch die Vereinheitlichung des Münzbildes wurde die vorwiegend religiöse Symbolik abgegrenzt, die auf einem Teil der älteren vorangehenden Münzproduktion vorherrschte. Daran kann die Tatsache nicht ändern, dass eine Reihe dieser Symbole einer allgemeinen christlichen Vorstellung entsprach, im Gegenteil sollten gerade diese Symbole so wahrgenommen werden, dass der Herrscher sie fest in seinen Händen hält. Die Vorstellung des Herrschers von der Stellung der Kirche in seinem Staat ist jedoch nicht deutlich genug demonstriert. Man muss nicht vor Augen halten, das die Prägung von grossen Brakteaten in die Zeit des 1. Viertel des 13. Jhs. als fast zugleich mit dem Ausbruch des politisch religiösen Kampfes zwischen König und Bischof[5]. Wir sind deshalb der Ansicht, dass die Reform des Münzbildes nicht bloss die Nachahmung des sächsischen Vorbildes, sondern auch ein von Konzept her wohlüberlegter Schritt war.

Wir möchten also feststellen, dass die Unifizierung der Münzbilder auf den grossen böhmischen Brakteaten, trotz deren scheinbarer Einförmigkeit, die Ideologische Rolle des Königs stärkte und zum wirkungsvollen Instrument seiner Propaganda wurde. Im Münzbild stabilisierte sich die Vorstellung über die Nachteilung in böhmischen Staat, wie wir sie auch an der Interpretation der Siegel und Wappen beobachten können.

Das Münzbild der grossen Brakteaten trug den thronenden mit verschiedenen Attributen dekorierten Herrscher immer gekrönt, da die Krone zum einzigen anerkannten Unterscheidungssymbol zwischen den böhmischen und den sächsischen Brakteaten wurde.

Zahlreiche Numismatiker befassten sich ausführlich mit dem Studium dieser Attribute und deren wechselseitige Zusammenhänge. Ohne Erfolg bleiben die Versuche aufgrund der Attribute die Chronologie der Brakteatenprägungen erarbeiten. Wir sehen in den Attributen auf den Brakteaten Symbole der königlichen Macht, was mit Hilfe der üblichen Handbücher der Ikonographie leicht zu erkennen war. Symbole wie Zepter mit Lilie oder Kreuz, Lanze, Fahne, Schwert, Palme, Reichsapfel, Bauwerk, Schild oder Wappen brauchen nicht näher erklärt werden. Wir möchten die Wiederholung oder innere Verbindung einzelner Attribute auf den grossen Brakteaten Přemysl Otakars I., Wenzels I. und Přemysl Otakars II. verdeutlichen und zwar bis der Münzreform in den 60er Jahren des 13. Jh. Aus diesem Vergleich geht hervor, dass sich der ganze Zyklus bei jedem dieser drei Herrscher in fast allen Einzelheiten wiederholt. Die Bedetung einzelner Attribute und ihre Kombination bieten ein klares Bild über die Rechte und den Pflichtenkreis des jeweiligen Herrschers gegenüber dem Staat.

Unter Přemysl Otakar II. änderte sich die Situation als Folge der unterschiedlichen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Umwandlungen. In der 60er Jahren des 13. Jh. wurde das bisherige Währungssystem aufgegeben, die Reformen Otakars sind als Versuch um die Vereinheitlichung der Währung in einzelnen Ländern seiner bemerkenswerten Personalunion interpretiert. Der böhmische Staat wurde zu einem vielgestaltigen Reich, in dem die Idee des Staates als patriarchalischen Besitzes der Herrscherfamilie, eines Nachfahren des hl. Wenzels, nach und nach in den Hintergrund gedrückt wurde. Der böhmische Staat öffnete sich neuen Einflüssen, was sich in der Vielfalt der Motive der Münzbilder der letzten Brakteaten wiederspiegelt[6].

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5 J. ŽEMLIČKA, *Přemysl Otakar I.*, Praha, 1990, S. 214-239.

6 J.K. HOENSCH, *Premysl Otakar II. von Böhmen, Der goldene König*, Graz-Wien-Köln, 1989, S. 174-181.

Erst nach den schlimmen Jahren, die dem Tod des Königs Ottokar II. von Böhmen folgten, tauchte am Ende des 13. Jh. ein neues unifiziertes Bild mit der Harpye auf. Diese Prägung reiht sich zeitlich unmittelbar vor die bedeutsame mittelalterliche Münzreform im böhmischen Reich vor die Einführung des Prager Groschens. Daher wäre es leicht vorstellbar aus Münzbildern Entwicklungsreihen aufzustellen, selbst von Münzen, die in Zeit und Ort sehr entfernt voneinander auftreten, was eine Zusammenarbeit von Numismatikern und Kunsthistorikern möglich und förderlich machen könnte[7]. Es hat den Anschein, als könnten wir in jenen wechselden Motiven die Schatten unbekannter Münzmeister, Stempelschneider und Angestellten der Münzstätten auf ihren Wanderungen durch das mittelalterliche Europa erblicken.

Die Entwicklung der mährischen Münze des 13. Jh. war reich an Wandlungen und die Entwicklung in Mähren verlief etwas unterschiedlicher. Von 1197 bis 1253 wurden Denare des Pfennigstyps geprägt. Die Erschliessung ausgiebiger Erzvorkommen unweit von Iglau, führte in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts als Folge zur Prägung von kleinen Brakteaten und Denaren. Seit 1278, im Rahmen der Reformen des Königs Otokar II., wurden mittlere Brakteaten geprägt. Diese anderseitige Entwicklung stand im Zusammenhang mit der ökonomischen Bindung Mährens an Österrreich und Ungarn. Im 13. Jh. wurden deswegen die mährischen Münzen von Münzen der österreichischen Herzoge, aber auch von Motiven der byzantinisch-osteuropäischen Kultur beeinflust. Es fehlen auch nicht orientalische Motive, natürlich nicht direkte, sondern vermitteltende.

Im Ende des 13. Jh. erlebte die Währung eine besondere Krise, da diesen Nachfolgern des Denars das erreichte Niveau des Güteraustausches nicht mehr entsprach. Ein Ausweg aus dieser Situation versuchten verschiedene europäische Münzstätten zu finden, als Beispiel können wir Böhmen anführen. Hier schufen der wirtschaftliche Aufschwung und die steigende Förderung von Silbererzen die Voraussetzungen für die Münzreform im Jahre 1300. Die Münzprägung wurde in Kuttenberg konzentriert, wodurch das bestehende Netz von böhmischen und mährischen Münzstätten dem Verfall preisgegeben wurde. König Wenzel II. liess fiorentinische Fachleute nach Böhmen kommen, um mit ihrer Hilfe neue Münzen im Umlauf zu bringen. Deren Avers ist dem Zeichen der Krone – *Corona regni Bohemiae* – gewidmet als Symbol der Staatsverfassung. Das Bild des Herrschers verschwandt und wurde durch dessen Wappen ersetzt. Die neue Münze ist eine «ewige mitelalterliche» Münze, deswegen ist ihre Symbolik auch ständig. Der Prager Groschen stellte die neue Stufe in der Ikonographie und Propaganda des Staates dar.

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7 A. MERHAUTOVÁ-LIVOROVÁ, *Numismatika a dějiny umění*, in *Československá numismatika, současný stav, problémy a perspektivy*, Brno, 1986, S. 143-149.

# The Effect of the Byzantine Gold Coins on the Hungarian Coinage

István GEDAI*

The gold coinage of Europe was born in 1252 in Florence. It does not mean, however, that earlier no valuable and festive gold coin turned up at one time or another beside the medieval silver penny. Byzantine gold coins were always in circulation in Europe, sometimes even imitated, moreover their constant presence and the tradition of the Roman imperial gold coinage served occasionnally as models for official issues too. Most examples originate from Italy and from the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. Byzantine coins, which were spread throughout Europe, the Mediterranean and the East trade, played an important part also in eastern Europe. The capital of the Khazar kaganate was Itil in the 8th-10th centuries, was one of the most known commercial cities of the area at that time, with a remarkable transit trade, but it used to be also the final destination of several trade routes. It can be supposed that the Hungarians – who belonged to the relationships of the Khazar empire until the 9th century – frequentated Itil, they took part in its commercial life. Archaeological remains are however only from their new home, the Carpathian basin from the 10th century and later[1]. These facts prove that the Byzantine gold coins belonged to the most important standard of values and means of hoarding, while the Arab dirhems and more likely the west European pennies played mostly the role of garment – and harness decoration.

The political relations between Byzantium and Hungary became gradually more important and reached a high level. King Stephen, the founder of the state, married Gisela, the Holy Roman Emperor's sister, but their son Imre married a Byzantine princess. At the end of the 11th century the daughter of King St. Ladislaus, Piroska, became empress of Byzantium, known as Eirene.

Hungarian foreign policy has chosen two directions during two centuries (11th-12th centuries), toward the west and toward Byzantium. Economic trends do not diverge, of course, from politics, though foreign trade was perhaps a bit more one-sided, because coins finds, from which foreign trade can be understood indicate definitely the direction of Byzantium : if a coin find contains a foreign coin, it is exclusively Byzantine. They are always gold coins until the end of the 11th century, whereas in the 12th century, Byzantine copper coins also occur[2].

With these historical, economic and monetary circulation facts in mind, we may take a closer look at two gold coins kept in the Coin Cabinet of the Hungarian National Museum, along with a third coin from the Gotha collection[3]. Both sides of the coin depict a half-length portrait with halo and an open crown with a fleur-de-lis, holding a small ball in his hand. Their legend is : STEPHANVS REX, and PANNONIA. Both the Hungarian and the Saxonian research regarded it is a modern fictitious, historical medal, an amulet[4]. Detailed analysis of the coins and historical, numismatic background exclude the modern origin.

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* Hungarian National Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, Budapest.

1 L. HUSZÁR, *Das Münzmaterial in den Funden der Völkerwanderungszeit im mittleren Donaubecken* (*Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae*), Budapest, 1955, p. 61-109. L. KOVÁCS, *Münzen aus der Ungarischen Landnahmezeit*, Budapest, 1989.

2 I. GEDAI, *Adalék a XI-XII. századi bizánci rézpénzek forgalmához [Additional Data to the Circulation of the 11th-12th Centuries Byzantine Copper Coins]* (*Folia Archaeologica*, 19), Budapest, 1968, p. 145-150.

3 Hungarian National Museum : Dpt. of Coins and Medals, Inv. 81.A/1906, and 17.B/1909-16.

4 St. SCHOENVISNER, *Notitia Hungaricae rei numeriae ab origine ad praesens tempus*, Typ. Univ. Budae, 1801, p. 92-96; L. HUSZÁR, *A Régi Magyar Emlékérmek Katalógusa a legrégibb idôktôl*



*Fig. 1.*

In Hungary the period of the fictitious, historical medals starts practically at the very end of the 18th century and last during the 19th century. At that time the gold coin examined had already been in the Gotha collection for a long time. In the centuries preceding this period commemorative medals were usually struck in the same weight as circulation coins, i.e. gold medals followed the weight standard of the ducat, the silver medals that of the Tahler. The weight of each of the three gold coin is 4,52 g. As the weight is exactly the same of all the known pieces, we must suppose a deliberate use of the weight standard of the Byzantine solidus. These gold coins must have been struck in a period of the Hungaro-Byzantine relations, when the Byzantine solidi were present in the Hungarian monetary circulation, and thereby had an influence on the Hungarian coinage. This period lasted from the 10th to the 12th century. Because King Stephen is depicted on the coin, the 10th century is obviously excluded, as is the 12th century, because at that time, scyphates were struck and they had no influence on the above mentioned gold coins. There is another proof for the 11th century origin. The legend of either side is PANNONIA, a name for Hungary used only in the 11th century[5]. Therefore we think that the coin could been have struck in the 11th century.

Within the 11th century two periods may be considered for a precise year of minting. The first is, of course, St. Stephen's time, he would then be the issuer himself. There are important pros for this proposal. Mostly the legend : STEPHANVS REX. Usually, the issuer's name appears on the coin, and on this coin no other ruler's name is written. The figure on the reverse is questionable, but the most likely is the depiction the Virgin Mary. Her figure would perfectly fit in the attribution to St. Stephen, because, as Géza Érszegi proves very convincingly, about 1030, the cult of the Virgin Mary increased very much, as several churches were dedicated to her[6]. In this case, there would be another way of interpretation of the fine *pensa auri* as it occurs in St. Stephen's

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*1850-ig. I. Történeti Érmek. 1. Középkor [Catalogue of the Old Hungarian Medals from the Beginnings to 1850. I. Historic Medals. 1. Middle Ages]* Magyar Éremgyÿjtôk Egyesülete (Association of the Hungarian Coin Collectors), Budapest, 1972, no. 40-41.

5 B. HÓMAN, *A magyar nép neve és a magyar király címe a középkori latinságban. [The Name of the Hungarian People and the Title of the Hungarian King in the Medieval Latinity]*, in *Történeti Szemle [Historic Review]*, 9, 1917-1918, p. 13-15, 30.

6 St. Stephen's worship to the Virgin Mary. Lecture held by Géza Érszegi in Alsóőr in 1988.

laws, which were so far regarded as Byzantine gold coins[7]. It would mean now St. Stephen's gold coins. It would solve the contradiction between an independent state and an obligation to be paid in foreign currency. According to the Hungarian charter research the laws were issued in two different times, one is about 1001, the other about 1030-1038. The laws assess the fines in most cases in the ancient Hungarian produced money, steer (*iuvencus*). Point no. 14 of the first law-book, and point 9 of the second ordain the payment by means of gold coins : «... he shall pay one hundred and ten gold coins.», «... he should pay twelve gold coins...» or «... should pay ten gold coins....». («... *sciat ne secundum nostri senatus decretum centum et X daturum pensas auri...*», «... *XII auri pensas persolvat...*», «... *sit debitor decem pensarum auri...*»)[8].

The above mentioned three gold coins were apparently struck with two dies. This leads us to a supposition that a bigger quantity was struck, more than just a few pieces were needed, which would have made a single die enough. This idea is supported also by the assays. The metal of the two pieces of the National Museum are so different – though both of them refer to early Middle Ages – that they should have been struck from two different bullion supplies, i.e. this also refers to the minting of a bigger quantity. The comparative metal analysis reinforces the hypothesis that the coins originate from the early Middle Ages[9].

On the other hand several arguments are against a dating in St. Stephen's time. One is, that St. Stephen is depicted with a nimbus like a saint. However, a figuration like this may occur on the coins of Byzantine emperors, but in the court of Stephen, where rather the principles of Rome were dominating, it is far less likely. Another contradiction is that all the reverse legends on King Stephen's coin read as follows : REGIA CIVITAS, so it is again very difficult to suppose two different legends of two different types with a reference to the same mint. The reverse legend PANNONIA began with Stephen's successor, King Peter, and ended with the rule of St. Ladislaus, i.e. at the end of the 11th century. It must be admitted that in King Stephen's time the name Pannonia meaning Hungary also occurred, in the Greek deed of foundation of the Veszprém valley. It is also interesting that King Stephen calls himself King of Hungaria in this charter. Not unambiguous is the interpretation on the expression *pensa auri* occurring in St. Stephen's laws either. The first law-book ordains pecuniary obligations in eight cases and *pensa auri* is mentioned only once. In the second law-book it occurs only once again. Apart from the fact, that mentioning two different kinds of payment in the same law-book is obscure (steer and gold coins), it is also problematic that it occurs as early as in the first law-book of King Stephen about 1001, so it can hardly be a reference to the gold coin depicting Stephen, because in this case we should regard it as our coin. The increased cult of the Virgin Mary (the probable reverse depiction) did not begin until about 1030. At the same time *pensa auri* means Byzantine gold coins is reinforced by King Ladislaus's law, where beside the pensa (not *pensa auri*!) and the denarius at one place (St. Ladislaus's second law-book point no. 11.) it say : «... their crime should be redeemed for 55 Byzantine ones ...». The Hungarian law-books in the 11th century contradict each other and they do not seem to prove that *pensa auri* which occur in St. Stephen's laws refer to a gold coin depicting St. Stephen, if we accept the dating of our charter specialists. The lack of reinforcement of the laws does not exclude, however, that these gold coins were struck by King Stephen.

If we reject the idea of issues of the gold coins by St. Stephen, the only possible date of issue is 1083. It is the year when King Stephen and Prince Imre and Bishop Gerald were canonized. This event must have had an extremely strong political influence. King Ladislaus needed to prove that he is a rightful heir to St. Stephen also within the country. The obscure times full of fight for the throne and pagan riots which followed

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7 B. HÓMAN, *Magyar Pénztörténet [Hungarian Coinage]*, Budapest, 1916, p. 158-168.

8 Laws in the times of the Árpád-dynasty. Translated by Lóránd Szilágyi. Ed. by Tankönyvkiadó.

9 Assays by Iván Gresits at the Budapest Technical University with the contribution of Mrs. Márta Káplán-Juhász at the evaluation.

King Stephen's death, made Stephen's time even more attractive, so it was needed to recall him as a king who could bring back peaceful times. It was even more needed to refer to Stephen as a predecessor from the point of view of foreign affairs. The pope did not want to acknowledge Ladislaus as a king, because he crowned himself against an ointed king (King Solomon). It also paved the way for Ladislaus in the fight between the pope and the emperor, as the emperor turned against Ladislaus, being Solomon's father-in-law. It was in any case needed to increase King Ladislaus' authority, and therefore the canonization of the founder of the dynasty was a prominent opportunity. To publicize this news, an ancient well proved propaganda means was available : the issue of a representative commemorative coin. Beside the historical likelihood another fact speaks for King Ladislaus : the reverse legend on each of his coins is PANNONIA. This theory is contradicted by the fact that King Ladislaus is not mentioned on the coin, albeit the main point would be that King Ladislaus is Stephen's heir. Here the identification of the reverse portrait is more problematic. A reference to canonization would mean rather Prince Imre, he was member of the dynasty, who was canonized together with Stephen. The reverse legend is hardly acceptable as a reference to Imre.

Very briefly the small ball-like object in the depicted ruler's hand on the gold coin should be mentioned. As far as we think the mistake of the die should be excluded, because the whole representation emphasizes that the King holds something in his hand. In theory also the orb might come into question, but this identification cannot be supported without the cross, which is not present on this ball-like object. However a Byzantine coin depiction exists, which might have served as a model for the design of this Hungarian gold coin. Mary on the solidi of Michael VII holds a small medallion in front of her with the picture of Jesus on it. It is a fact that the medallion would be very difficult to identify on this Hungarian gold coin, but the round object in the hand might be a reference to it. In that case dating would refer to King Ladislaus's time, as the emperor reigned from 1071 to 1078. Obviously this view is no more than a hypothesis.

After all as a summary – all we can say is that in Hungary in the 11th century as an effect of the circulation of Byzantine solidi, following its weight standard gold coins were issued.Their more precise dating cannot be pinpointed because the lack of available sources.

# New Notions about the Hungarian Mintage Development of the 11th-14th Centuries related to the Territory of Slovakia

Ján HUNKA*

Slovakia (in 1991 still part of the Czechoslovak Republic) was one of the most important parts of the Hungarian state in the period of the Middle Ages. There were rich finding places of precious and colored metals (gold, silver, copper, lead, iron and others). The territory was also known through a number of free king's towns, where trade and crafts were concentrated. Slovakia had a great variety of economical relations to neighbouring geographical units, mainly to Bohemia, Austria, Poland and also Germany.

The first Hungarian (and also Slovakian) coins were struck in the time of Stephen Ist (997-1038), and probably between the years 1001-1038. Mainly Stephen's coins were silver obols inscribed : STEPHANUS REX - REGIA CIVITAS. But we know also a few silver denarius and obolus types of LANCEA REGIS - REGIS CIVITAS (41 items) and PRESLAVVA CIV/ITAS/- SPHANUS REX (3 items)[1]. The most important Hungarian mint was probably in the capital of Hungary : Esztergom in the time of Árpáds rule. But there are some reports about minting in other towns : between 1211-1221 in Csanád, after 1255 in Buda, and since the 1283 in Pécs[2]. Quite, so Slovakia shared minting of home coins. The duke's silver obols of later kings Bela I and Geisa I (1048-1060 and 1064-1074) were struck in Nitra in the first half of 11th century[3]. The denarius PRESLAVVA CIV/ITAS, from the time of Stephen I, and also silver imitations of Vienna denarii (second half of 13th cent.) were minted in Bratislava[4]. There is an assumption, that also the other kinds of árpádian coins were struck in Slovakia, but there are no concrete documents supporting this hypothesis.

The early árpádian coinage weas minted in good weight and quality, till the end of 11th century. But from period of Ladislaus I (1077-1095) these coins were replaced by reduced denarii of less quality. Every year money exchanging (so-called *renovatio monetae*) was a reason of long lasting standard crisis, which were corrected only in the time of Bela III (1172-1196). Hungaria was becoming one of the most important European states at the end of the 12th century. Long lasting contacts with France, England, Germany and the Byzantine Empire are supporting home and foreign business and also agricultural and craft development. The favourable development of Hungarian economy was interrupted by the invasion of the Tatars in 1241. Many towns and villages were destroyed, a great number of inhabitants were killed or taken into the Tatar slavery during the invasion. The whole economy was subverted. The low-quality Hungarian money used in domestic circulation after this invasion were replaced by the better quality Vienna denarii and later also by the so-called denarii from Banát, produced at the mint of Zagreb. The critical situation in the Hungarian coinage was solved by currency and mining reforms of the king Charles Robert of Anjou (1308-1342), in the thirties of the 14th century. We know about 400 different types of silver and copper coins from the 300 years period of Árpád dynasty rule.

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1 I. GEDAI, *A magyar pénzverés kezdete*, Budapest, 1986; J. HLINKA, *Bratislavská mincovňa*, Bratislava, 1982, p. 16-18.

2 L. HUSZÁR, *Münzkatalog Ungarn (von 1000 bis Heute)*, Budapest, 1979, p. 23-25.

3 G. JESZENSZKY, *A vezérek pénzverése*, in *NK*, 13, 1914, p. 25-27; I. GEDAI, *Numizmatikai adatok a dukátus kérdéséhez*, in *Folia Arch*, 20, 1969, p. 99-103.

4 J. HLINKA, *op. cit.*, p. 18-19; B. HÓMAN, *Magyar pénztörténet 1000-1325*, Budapest, 1916, p. 206, 369.

At present, about 8500 Árpádian coins are known from the territory of Slovakia[5]. The majority of them (about 8100) come from hoards. The rest were found during the archaeological investigations of the medieval settlements and cemeteries. Among the most important finds belong 22 hoards of Árpádian and other coins, that were concealed in the earth sometime between 1074-1290. These hoards contain many domestic coins of Andreas I, Salomon, Koloman, Stephen II, Bela III, Andreas II and Stephen V as well as many Friesach and Vienna denarii. In the three cases here were found also pieces of silver ingots or divided silver ingots (Malinovec, Krupina, last found from Trnava) along with the coins. The foreign coins from Slovak hoards come from Bohemian, Austrian and Bavarian regions. All the coins from hoards testify not only economic and political importance of individual sites (Nitra, Trnava, Košice, Banská Bystrica, Hronský Beňadik) and long lasting settlements of the respective regions (surroundings of Nitra, Topoľčany) but also the roads of the old military ways, forts, tolls (Vrakuňa near Bratislava, Trhovište near Michalovce) and various political and military conflicts between Hungarian, Austrian, Polish and Tatar forces (Devín, Nitra, Trnava). Of no less importance are also isolated finds of Árpádian and other coins from the period between the 11th-14th centuries. In a greater extent they were obtained during archaeological excavations of medieval towns, villages, castles, churches and monasteries. All coins are important for dating the particular cultural levels and for the chronological arrangement of objects found and remains of the structures. It happens quite often, that the coins can date the earliest settlement phases (e.g. Nitra-castle, Devín) or their destruction (a water-castle in Partizánske- Šimonovany). Many Árpádian coins were found also during archaeological investigations of medieval cemeteries (Ducové, Krásno, Čakajovce, Nitra-Šindolka, Malé Kosihy, Nitra-Dražovce and others). The coins were used here as the so-called obolus of dead (or Charon's obol) instead of other charitable gifts. Very frequent are coins of Stephen I, Andreas I, Bela I (also as a duke), Salomon, Ladislaus I, Koloman, Bela III, Andreas II, Bela IV, Stephen V and Wencezlaus III. It is interesting to note that aproximately 10 % of the total amount of the coins found in the graves are Austrian, Bohemian and Bavarian money, mainly from the period of the 12th-13th centuries.

Till today there exist plenty of problems that aren't satisfactorily solved, even though the summarizing works of B. Hóman and L. Huszár[6] have offered us all the known facts on Árpádian coins. Among them, the problem of the so-called minting of the dukes[7]. Younger sons of ruler, so-called dukes (in our case we are dealing with dukes Bela and Geisa) had one third of the land in their administration. They had a permanent army, their own economy, as well as the right to issue their own coins. There is a proposal, that the coins of the dukes were printed in the centres of both duchies – in Bihár (in present is in Roumania) and in Nitra (Slovakia). The last finds of the coins of the dukes confirm this supposition for the territory of Slovakia. All silver obols of the dukes Bela and Geisa accumulate around the town of Nitra (where there used to be an old bishop's and king's centre), or in its surroundings (Ludanice and Dolné Chlebany to 20 km, Nové Zámky and Hurbanovo-Bohatá to 40 km). No such coins were found in the territory of central and eastern Slovakia. It is very likely, that the duke's mint will never be found, because the space of Nitra's castle (where the mint is supposed to be) was rebuilt several times (e.g. in 13th, 14th, 16th-18th centuries). But the coins themselves bear witness to its existence.

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5 J. HLINKA, L. KRASKOVSKÁ, J. NOVÁK, *Nálezy stredovekých a novovekých mincí na Slovensku*. II., Bratislava, 1968, p. 46-60; J. HLINKA, E. KOLNÍKOVÁ, Ľ. KRASKOVSKÁ, J. NOVÁK, *Nálezy mincí na Slovensku*. III., Bratislava, 1978, p. 43-49, especially p. 218-223, 285-287, Table 4-5, 7; p. 220-221, 223.

6 B. HÓMAN, *op. cit.*; L. HUSZÁR, *op. cit.*

7 G. JESZENSZKY, *op. cit.*; I. GEDAI, *Numizmatikai adatok ... op. cit.*; R. MARSINA, *Údelné vojvodstvo na Slovensku*, in *ZborSlovNárodMúz*, 81, *História*, 27, 1987, p. 199-211.

The second main problem concerns the minting of the first copper coins in Hungary[8]. Copper coins (today considered to be the coins of Bela III) of the so-called Byzantine and Arabian type are the most widespread finds located in the medieval Slovak and Hungarian settlements. They bear the names of the kings Stephen and Bela. They appear to be the most problematic issues of the Hungarian mint, because till today we don't know at what time and why these coins were produced. An older generation of Hungarian numismatists (Rupp, Weszerle- beginning of the 19th century) considered these coins to be the issues of the kings Bela IV (1235-1270) and Stephen V (1270-1272) and that they were minted after the Tatars had left the country in 1242. L. Réthy in his first catalogue of Hungarian coins, in 1898, attributes these coins to the times of Stephen IV (1162-1163), an anti-king, who was imposed by the Byzantine Emperor. Since 1936 there is an opinion in favour of the first hypothesis by G. Jeszenszky and after him also by E. Unger and L. Huszár that these coins were minted by king Bela III (1172-1196). This king was one of the most important rulers of medieval Hungary. He realised according to Western European models some very important reforms (mainly those of home- and foreign policy, metrology, economic system and those of the state administration).

During the archaeological investigation in centre of capital of Slovakia, Bratislava (on 4th April's square) several objects were found in the level dated to the 12th century[9]. Pieces of pottery, as well as five coins were found there : one copper coin of Bela III, of the so-called Byzantine type (Huszár 72) and one silver anonymous denarius (Huszár 92) as well as three Vienna denarii, two of them, from the Fischau mint, from the times of Ottakar IV (1164-1192) (Koch 66 and 71)[10]; the third, from the Vienna mint is from period of Leopold V (1177-1194) (Koch 28). All these coins were found in one level, which certifies that they were issued approximately at the same time. *C.* 150 m from this area, in 1976-1977, near archaeological excavations of another area, two different copper coins of Bela III came to light. For the first time, we are able to date the copper coins of Bela III by stratigrafic situation and with the help of coins and pottery. The majority of the copper coins of Bela III (although we know several thousands pieces of them) was so far undated, or dated only to the period of the 11th-13th centuries. It is very important that the find context in Bratislava helped us to date these issues to the period of Bela III. It is likely that these coins were minted by the end of the ruler's rule in 1190, during the time of the Third Crusade and that they constituted an attempt to change the Hungarian monetary system.

TABLE I. SURVEY OF FINDS DUKE'S COINS FROM SLOVAKIA.

| Locality | Bela dux (1048-1060) | Geisa dux (1064-1074) |
|---|---|---|
| Brodzany | 1 | - |
| Čakajovce | 2 | - |
| Dolné Chlebany | 18 | 1569 |
| Hurbanovo | 1 | - |
| Ludanice | 1 | 209 |
| Malé Kosihy | 1 | - |
| Nitra-Mlynárce | 1 | - |
| Nitra-Šindolka | 5 | 1 |
| Nové Zámky | 1 | - |
| so-called Slovensko | 3 | 334 |
| together | 34 pieces | 2113 pieces |

8 G. JESZENSZKY, *Az elsö magyar rézpénzek*, in *NK*, 34-35, 1935-1936, p. 35-47; J. HLINKA, *Mincovníctvo Belu III (1172-1196) in Spravodaj SNS*, č. 1., 1985, p. 6-12.

9 I give my thanks for my colleages leading the excavations in Bratislava, Dr. P. Baxa, Dr. D. Čaplovič, Dr. K. Marková who gave me basic informations.

10 The most recent data about the development of the denarius period in Slovakia are in *SlovNumiz*, 10, 1989, p. 103-240.

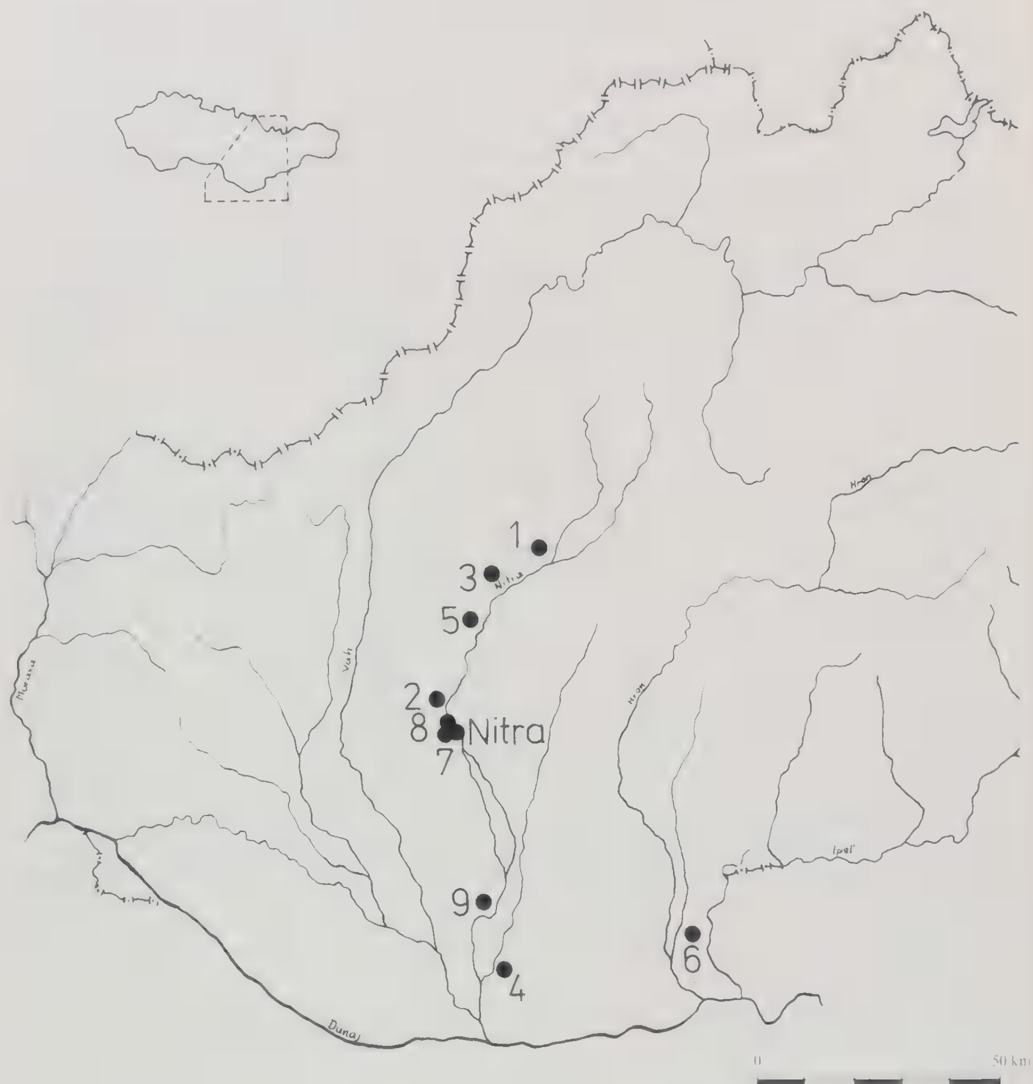



*Fig. 1. Localities with coins of the dukes : 1. Brodzany; 2. Čakajovce; 3. Dolné Chlebany, 4. Hurbanovo; 5. Ludanice; 6. Malé Kosihy; 7. Nitra-Mlynárce; 8. Nitra-Šindolka; 9. Nové Zámky.*

# Les gros de Prague dans la circulation monétaire de l'Europe centrale et orientale

Jerzy PINIŇSKI*

Les gros de Prague occupent une place très importante dans la circulation monétaire de l'Europe centrale et orientale au bas Moyen Âge. Leur émission commença en 1300 à la Monnaie de Kutna Hora et ils furent frappés jusqu'en 1547 avec une interruption de quelques dizaines d'années lors de la période hussite. On les nommait «les gros de Prague» en raison de l'inscription gravée au revers.

Il est évident que les gros, en tant que monnaie locale, circulaient largement en Bohême, et qu'ils étaient souvent cachés en terre. Les irrégularités de fréquence d'apparition des dépôts datant de périodes différentes et l'apparition plus rare des gros de certains souverains, proviennent du fait que, pendant certaines périodes, on enfouissait plus de trésors, on en déterrait moins, ou que l'émission de gros était plus faible.

Au cours du XIVe siècle, l'intensité d'apparition des dépôts des gros en Bohême faiblit. La même caractéristique se retrouve en Moravie. La plupart des ensembles ne sont composés que des gros de Prague. En Bohême et en Moravie, on ne trouvait que très rarement les gros de Prague isolés. Ceci ne représente probablement pas leur circulation réelle dans les marchés locaux, laquelle a sûrement été animée pendant tout le XIVe siècle, mais reflète l'affaiblissement de la thésaurisation durant cette période, dû au développement économique et à la circulation croissante de la monnaie.

La situation change tout à fait au XVe siècle. Le nombre de dépôts de gros de Prague s'accroît largement. On a trouvé en Bohême presque trois fois plus de dépôts datant du début du siècle au moment de la reprise de l'émission par George de Podiebrad – l'authenticité des gros de Ladislas Enfant Posthume n'étant pas sûre – que pour tout le XIVe siècle. En Moravie, ce nombre augmente de moitié.

Un rôle important revient ici aux troubles de la période hussite favorisant l'enfouissement des trésors monétaires, lesquels souvent ne furent pas retrouvés en raison de la mort des propriétaires. Dans ces ensembles, les gros de Prague occupent toujours une place importante, bien que l'on ait cessé de les frapper dans les années vingt du XVe siècle. Les gros de Misnie et de Hesse affluent encore en grand nombre en Bohême et en Moravie.

Dès la fin du XIVe siècle, les gros de Prague furent contremarqués par les villes allemandes et de Moravie. La raison en était la frappe fréquente de gros de qualité différente, surtout en Allemagne. On contremarquait les monnaies pour en distinguer les meilleures acceptées en circulation : les gros de Prague étaient considérés comme tels. Les gros contremarqués en Allemagne, surtout ceux de Venceslas IV, reviennent ensuite au XVe siècle, en Bohême, avec le flot des gros allemands.

On reprit la production des gros de Prague, au moins dès le règne de George de Podiebrad. On a retrouvé ses monnaies dans des dépôts de Bohême et de Moravie. Le successeur de George, Ladislas II, les émit en grand nombre. On connaît de très nombreux dépôts contenant les gros de ce souverain datant de son règne, retrouvés surtout en Bohême. Le dernier roi de Bohême de la dynastie Jagellon, Louis I, limita fortement l'émission des gros. Ceci trouve son reflet dans les dépôts, qui ne contiennent en général que les gros des souverains précédents.

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L'épilogue de l'émission des gros de Prague survient en 1547, sous le règne de Ferdinand I. Ils sont alors émis en plus grand nombre qu'au temps de Louis I, mais leur nombre n'égale pas celui du temps de Ladislas II. Son règne, comme d'ailleurs celui de son prédécesseur, est caractérisé par la diminution du nombre de dépôts. Le pays sort de la crise du XVe siècle et ce fut probablement le développement économique qui augmenta la circulation de la monnaie, en laissant moins de place à la thésaurisation.

À côté des gros des souverains de Bohême de la fin du XVe siècle et du début du XVIe siècle, circulent aussi de nombreuses monnaies de leurs prédécesseurs, notamment de Venceslas IV. Leur production dut être très grande car ils se maintinrent longtemps dans la circulation. L'arrêt de la production des gros de Prague ne causa pas leur disparition du marché. Ils constituent encore la majorité de nombreux dépôts datant de la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle. Les gros plus anciens disparaissent de la circulation, ceux qui restent étant les gros de Ladislas II et de Ferdinand I. Dès la fin du XVIe siècle, ces monnaies sont toujours en minorité et ne jouent qu'un petit rôle pendant la guerre de Trente ans.

Les gros de Prague circulaient en masse en Silésie, qui appartenait d'abord à la Pologne. À partir de 1327, le roi de Bohême se l'approprie et ce processus finit en 1368. Comme la Silésie se situait près de la Bohême et de la Moravie et qu'elle dépendit ensuite de la Bohême, l'afflux de la monnaie de Prague était favorisé. Les premières mentions dans les documents concernant la circulation des gros de Prague en Silésie datent de 1302 et deviennent nombreuses à partir de cette date. La circulation de ces monnaies en Silésie est attestée par de nombreux dépôts dès le début du XIVe siècle.

D'après ces sources, nous pouvons constater que l'afflux et la circulation des gros de Prague en Silésie au XIVe siècle sont assez réguliers. En tant que grosse monnaie, les gros de Prague n'avaient pas de concurrence en Silésie. Les kwartnik locaux ont probablement été frappés en nombre limité, les gros de Misnie et les gros polonais n'y arrivant qu'en faible quantité. Les dépôts datant de la fin du XIVe siècle sont nombreux, ce qui différencie la Silésie de la Bohême et la rapproche de la Pologne.

De nombreux dépôts silésiens furent enfouis au XVe siècle déjà, généralement dans la première moitié du siècle. Plus tard, les gros de Prague datant du XIVe siècle et du début du XVe siècle sortirent rapidement de la circulation : ils n'apparaissent que rarement dans les ensembles datant de la fin du XVe siècle et plus tard.

Le flot suivant des gros de Prague arrive en Silésie dès la fin du XVe siècle. Ce sont les monnaies de Ladislas II, puis de Ferdinand I. Les gros de Prague des XVe-XVIe siècles y circulant jusqu'au milieu du XVIIe siècle, ne jouent plus un rôle principal mais cependant très important. Ce rôle se termine à l'arrivée du système monétaire à plusieurs degrés, basé sur le crucifer, comme en Bohême, en Moravie ou en Autriche.

On retrouve rarement des pièces isolées des gros de Prague datant de la première moitié du XIVe siècle. À partir de la seconde moitié de ce siècle, leur nombre augmente visiblement.

Dès le début de leur émission, les gros de Prague arrivent en Pologne. On connaît les dépôts de ces monnaies datant de la première décennie de ce siècle, enterrés en Petite-Pologne, en Grande-Pologne et en Mazovie. On en trouve de nombreuses mentions dans les documents. S'ils circulent en grand nombre pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle, ils arrivent à flots dès la moitié de ce siècle. Ils l'emportent sur la circulation des grosses monnaies et les émissions polonaises du roi Casimir le Grand, faites sur le modèle des gros de Prague, n'atteignent pas les mêmes quantités.

L'arrivée des gros de Prague s'arrête au début du XVe siècle. La circulation de ces monnaies sur le territoire de la Pologne n'est pas régulière. Ces gros sont plus nombreux en Petite-Pologne, plus proche de la Bohême, bien qu'ils constituent également la grosse

monnaie de base sur d'autres terrains. Ils sont souvent trouvés séparément, surtout en Petite-Pologne.

Malgré l'arrêt de l'arrivée des gros de Prague au début du XVe siècle, lié probablement à l'émission intense des demi-gros locaux, ils ont circulé plus longtemps, probablement jusqu'à la moitié du siècle. Toutefois, les demi-gros sont devenus plus populaires. Sans doute la quantité de la monnaie bohémienne n'était-elle plus suffisante.

Les gros de Ladislas II arrivent en Pologne à partir de la fin du XVe siècle, en petites quantités, leur circulation étant limitée aux terrains voisins de la frontière de la Silésie. Ainsi donc, les gros de Prague plus anciens ont encore longtemps circulé en Pologne. Pendant la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle et au XVIIe siècle, le nombre des gros de Prague sur le marché polonais diminue. Il y a de moins en moins de gros plus anciens, les gros de Ladislas II l'emportent. Ces monnaies, qui ne circulent que près de la frontière silésienne, pénètrent maintenant plus loin en Pologne mais ne jouent pas un rôle important. Elles apparaissent rarement dans les dépôts du XVIIIe siècle.

Ces monnaies arrivent au XIVe siècle en petites quantités sur le territoire du Grand Duché de Lituanie. En revanche, les gros de Venceslas IV y affluent en masse au XVe siècle ou peut-être à la fin du XIVe siècle. Au XVe siècle, les gros de Prague circulent sur presque tout le territoire du Grand Duché, sauf dans les parties Est et Sud-Est. Ils sont particulièrement nombreux dans le bassin du haut et moyen Dniépr et de la Pripet moyenne.

Cet afflux, quoique très intensif, ne dura pas longtemps et se termina vers la moitié du siècle. Les monnaies datant de la seconde moitié du XVe siècle et de la première moitié du XVIe siècle y apparaissent rarement. Aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles, des gros plus anciens, ceux de Venceslas IV, circulaient encore. On a découvert plusieurs gros de Prague particuliers au territoire du Grand Duché de Lituanie. Les dépôts funéraires, que l'on trouve généralement vers le haut Niémen, sont les plus intéressants.

Au Nord-Est, les gros de Prague dépassent les limites du Grand Duché de Lituanie et se retrouvent dans la région de Riazan et au Sud de Moscou. En Europe de l'Est, on note également des exemplaires contremarqués en Allemagne. Ils ne sont pas arrivés directement d'Allemagne, mais de Bohême et de Moravie avec d'autres gros de Prague.

Les gros de Prague arrivaient aussi en grande quantité dans les pays allemands. Les gros de Jean de Luxembourg arrivent en Misnie à partir de la seconde décennie du XIVe siècle. En 1338, Frédéric II commence à frapper ses propres gros qui, plus tard, l'emportent sur la monnaie de Bohême, grâce à ses propres gisements d'argent. Les gros de Prague y circulent encore durant le troisième quart du XIVe siècle mais disparaissent vers la fin de ce même siècle.

Les gros de Prague arrivèrent en Brandebourg vers le milieu du XIVe siècle. Ils furent particulièrement nombreux en Marche Centrale et leur plus grande expansion date de la fin du XIVe siècle et du début du XVe siècle. Ils circulèrent encore au temps des premiers Hohenzollerns mais ici aussi, les monnaies locales de moindre qualité l'emportèrent. Les gros de Prague envahirent les autres régions de l'Allemagne et n'arrivèrent qu'au début du XVe siècle en Allemagne du Nord où, d'ailleurs, ils ne prévalurent jamais.

Les gros de Prague pénétrèrent en Autriche à partir de la seconde décennie du XIVe siècle. Au début, ils étaient destinés aux transactions commerciales importantes. Vers le milieu de ce siècle, ce rôle revint aux monnaies d'or. À la fin du XVe et au début du XVIe siècles, commence la renaissance de l'afflux des gros de Prague avec les monnaies de Ladislas II et de Ferdinand I. Elles se répandirent surtout en Basse Autriche mais cessèrent brusquement de circuler dans le premier quart du XVIIe siècle et ne sont que rarement notées au début du XVIIIe siècle.

Les gros de Prague arrivèrent sporadiquement en Hongrie dès le début du XIVe siècle. Ce n'est qu'à la fin du XVe siècle que les gros de Prague de Venceslas IV arrivèrent en plus grande quantité. La monnaie bohémienne n'y fut plus jamais utilisée, comme dans certains pays.

Pour résumer, il faut constater que les gros de Prague ont joué un rôle important dans la circulation monétaire de plusieurs pays d'Europe centrale et orientale. Ces monnaies, frappées dès le début en grande quantité, étaient l'objet d'exportations dès le début de leur émission, durant les vingt premières années du XVe siècle. Ce fait démontre la politique économique favorisant l'importation en Bohême. Les gros ont joué un rôle tout à fait différent lors de la reprise de leur frappe sous le règne de George de Podiebrad. Ils devinrent une monnaie plus locale, de circulation limitée à la Bohême, à la Moravie et à la Silésie.

# Le début du monnayage des gros serbes

Vujadin IVANIŠEVIĆ*

Après une pause ayant suivi les premières émissions de monnaies du roi Radoslav (1228-1234), la frappe des monnaies reprit en Serbie au cours de la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle. Ce rétablissement d'un système monétaire était possible grâce au renforcement politique et économique de l'État serbe. Toutefois, à la différence des premiers monnayages réalisés à l'image des monnaies byzantines, les nouvelles émissions eurent pour modèle les gros du système monétaire vénitien. L'atelier de frappe se trouvait à Brskovo, sur la rivière Tara où était exploitée à cette époque la plus importante mine d'argent de Serbie.

Plusieurs opinions ont été émises en ce qui concerne la date précise de cette reprise de la frappe monétaire. Le problème résulte avant tout de la difficulté d'attribuer la légende VROSIVS R/E/X S STEFAN des gros, sur lesquels on trouve au droit la figure du Christ et au revers celle du roi recevant le drapeau des mains de Saint Étienne. Les nombreuses émissions différentes entrant dans le cadre de ce monnayage sont donc, suivant les auteurs, attribuées à l'un ou l'autre des deux souverains dont les noms pourraient correspondre à cette légende, à savoir Stefan Uroš Ier (1243-1276) ou Uroš II Milutin (1282-1321).

Dans son catalogue, S. Ljubić a attribué toutes les émissions présentant cette légende au roi Uroš Ier. Cette classification, qui ne fait appel ni à l'analyse stylistique, ni à l'étude métrologique, repose avant tout sur les signes de droit et de revers apparaissant sur ces monnaies, interprétés par cet auteur comme la preuve de l'existence d'un seul système, c'est-à-dire d'un monnayage unique[1]. Une opinion tout à fait différente a été exprimée par J. Brunšmid qui se prononce pour l'attribution de toutes les émissions au roi Milutin[2]. Enfin, G. Čremošnik les a, pour sa part, réparties entre ces deux souverains[3]. C'est cette dernière théorie qui a prévalu jusqu'à présent auprès de la majorité des numismates[4]. Toutefois, ces derniers temps, V. Jovanović a réactualisé la question de l'attribution de ce monnayage en avançant une thèse selon laquelle toutes les émissions en question pourraient être attribuées au roi Milutin[5].

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1 S. LJUBIĆ, *Opis jugoslavenskih novaca*, Zagreb, 1875, p. 34-51.

2 J. BRUNŠMID, *Najstariji hrvatski novac*, dans *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, VII, 1904, p. 182, n. 3.

3 G. ČREMOŠNIK, *Razvoj srpskog novčarstva do kralja Milutina*, Belgrade, 1933, p. 30, 32.

4 R. MARIĆ, *Studije iz srpske numizmatike*, Belgrade, 1956, p. 27-49, 75, pl. IX, 2, XIII, 5-6 : notre émission 2; pl. IX, 3 : émission 2; D. GAJ-POPOVIĆ, *Zbirka srpskog srednjovekovnog novca Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu*, dans *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*, 13, 1969, p. 43, n. 1 : émission 1, n. 2 : émission 4; Lj. NEDELJKOVIĆ, *Mletačka intervencija protiv raškog dinara u XIII i XIV veku*, dans *Zbornik radova Narodnog muzeja*, 6, 1970, p. 287-308, groupe A : émission 2, groupe B : émission 3, groupe C : émission 4; S. DIMITRIJEVIĆ, *Novčane emisije kralja Dragutina, Vladislava II i kralja Milutina*, dans *Starinar*, 27, 1976, pl. I, 1-2 : émission 2; D.M. METCALF, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe 820-1396*, Londres, 1979, pl. 7, 1 : émission 1; S. DIMITRIJEVIĆ, *Ostave koje sadrže srpski srednjovekovni novac iz perioda do 1371 godine*, dans *Spomenik Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti*, 122, 1981, p. 1-59; S. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Srpski srednjovekovni novac u kabinetu za novac i medalje Muzeja grada Beograda*, dans *Godišnjak Muzeja grada Beograda*, 33, 1986, p. 26-27, n. 1-3 : émission 2. Nous avons donné ici un bref aperçu des diverses attributions des monnaies du roi Uroš Ier en citant les références auxquelles correspondent nos émissions.

5 V. JOVANOVIĆ, *Ostava srednjovekovnog novca iz Tetova*, dans *Numizmatičar*, 3, 1980, p. 169-180; ID., *Srpski srednjevekovni novac*, Belgrade, 1984.

Compte tenu de cette grande diversité d'opinions, nous avons abordé la solution de ce problème en procédant à une analyse de l'ensemble du monnayage et à l'édition des principales émissions et de leurs variantes[6]. La classification que nous proposons est donc fondée sur les éléments suivants : traits stylistiques, métrologie, dépôts monétaires et sources historiques.

La première partie de notre analyse a concerné le style des monnaies, c'est-à-dire l'établissement du modèle vénitien. Nous avons ainsi constaté que les gros de Serbie reproduisent un modèle apparaissant pour la première fois sur les gros du doge Raniero Zeno (1253-1268), époque à laquelle l'atelier vénitien a certainement vu l'arrivée d'un nouveau graveur de coins *-intaiator*. Cette comparaison stylistique nous a permis d'obtenir comme *terminus post quem* pour le renouveau de la frappe de monnaie en Serbie l'année 1253, ce qui exclut l'opinion de certains auteurs, faisant débuter ce monnayage serbe en 1243.

La phase suivante de notre analyse stylistique a consisté en une édition des émissions et de leurs variantes. Celle-ci était en effet un élément essentiel à l'apport d'une réponse à la question posée, d'autant plus qu'il s'est avéré que la façon dont certaines variantes ont été attribuées par les auteurs mentionnés au roi Uroš Ier, révèle une inconséquence et une imprécision dans les attributions à ce même souverain des émissions proprement dites[7]. L'analyse comparative du monnayage de Dragutin avec notre monnayage à la légende VROSIVS R/E/X S STEFAN, dont il ne diffère que par l'inscription STEFANVS R/E/X S STEFAN, a également fourni d'importants résultats.

Un premier classement de ce monnayage en émissions et en variantes de celles-ci a été effectuée sur la base de l'analyse du dépôt de Postenje (comptant 679 exemplaires de notre monnayage conservés au Musée Ras à Novi Pazar). Huit émissions ont été distinguées en se fondant sur les traits stylistiques, le système de signes, la métrologie, et finalement la représentation des exemplaires dans les autres dépôts (Fig. 1).

Dans les deux premières, nous avons rangé les types qui, par l'ensemble de leurs caractéristiques, s'avèrent les plus proches de leur modèle – le gros de Venise – et qui appartiennent de toute évidence aux premières séries frappées, ce que nous suggère, outre leur poids supérieur à celui des autres émissions, leur présence dans les dépôts les plus anciens. Nous les rencontrons notamment dans les trésors dont les monnaies les plus récentes appartiennent aux émissions du doge Jacopo Contarini (1275-1280), Tetovo et Rudine[8].

Les émissions ultérieures peuvent être suivies à travers leur développement qui marque un éloignement vis-à-vis du modèle original : schématisation des figures, transformation des lettres qui deviennent plus irrégulières, multiplication des signes tant au droit qu'au revers, tandis que le poids des pièces commence à varier par rapport à celui des premières émissions avec une tendance constante à la baisse.

Le monnayage s'achève avec notre émission 4 qui constitue le type le plus éloigné sur le plan stylistique et métrologique, émission pour laquelle nous pouvons d'ailleurs donner une datation plus précise. En effet, cette série a servi de modèle direct à la première émission de Mihail Šišman Asen (1323-1330)[9]. Cette ressemblance a d'ailleurs

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6 La première tentative de publication de ces émissions est due à Lj. NEDELJKOVIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 287-308. Ses interprétations concernant ces monnaies sont toutefois arbitraires et il convient de ne les accepter qu'avec une grande réserve.

7 Voir note 4.

8 V. JOVANOVIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 169-180; M. POPOVIĆ et V. IVANIŠEVIĆ, *Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku*, dans *Starinar*, 39, 1988 (1989), p. 153-154, fig. 24 et p. 170-176, n. 122-125, fig. 38.

9 Nous n'aborderons pas ici le problème posé par l'intervalle de temps se situant entre les émissions des souverains serbes et bulgares. Il ne sera possible d'apporter une réponse à cette question

amené T. Gerasimov et V. Penčev à supposer que cette émission bulgare avait été frappée en Serbie[10] (Fig. 2).

Notre analyse nous a également fourni un autre élément permettant de dater avec précision le premier monnayage de gros serbes. En l'occurrence, les émissions 1 à 4 offrant deux inscriptions différentes : STEFAN R/E/X S STEFAN et VROSIVS R/E/X S STEFAN, suggèrent clairement qu'il s'agit de séries frappées à la même époque pour deux personnages différents, les rois Dragutin et Milutin. Les faibles différences de style qui apparaissent dans le cadre des deux premières émissions (1s-1v et 2s-2v) sont le reflet d'un certain écart chronologique entre leurs frappes.

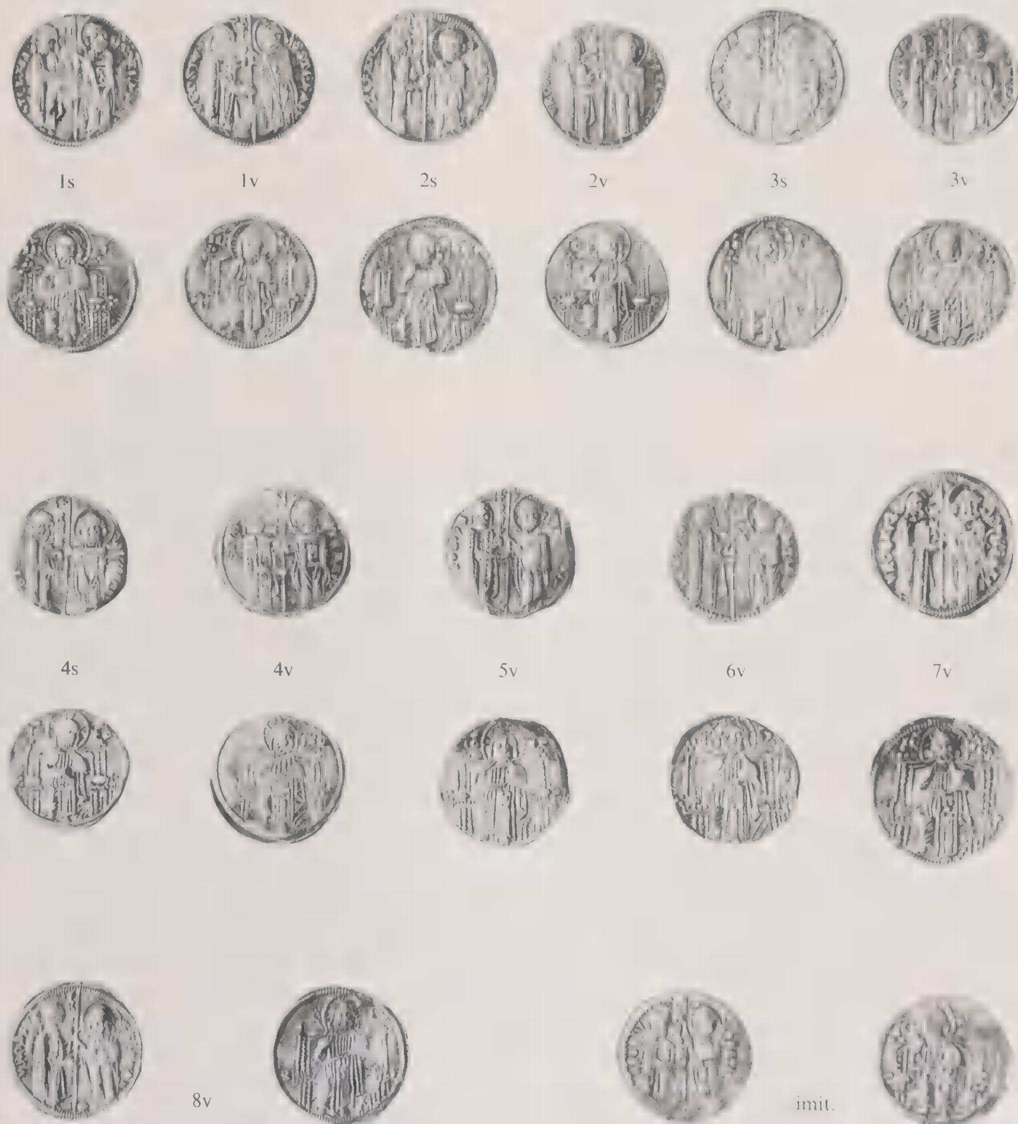



*Fig. 1. Émissions 1 à 8 d'après le trésor de Postenje.*

qu'après l'analyse d'un plus grand nombre de trésors et surtout de l'ensemble du fonds monétaire de cette époque.

10 T. GERASIMOV, *Novi moneti na car Mihail Asen*, dans *IzBID*, 16-18, 1940, p. 88-89; V. PENČEV, *Kolektivna monetna nahodka (XIV v.) ot s. Tiševica Vračanski okrug*, dans *Numizmatika*, 3, 1983, p. 32.

Le fait que ces émissions ont été frappées pour ces deux souverains nous est également prouvé de façon directe par le contenu des dépôts monétaires. Sur le territoire du roi Milutin, ce sont les émissions de ce souverain qui dominent (trésor de Postenje, dans la région de Ras), tandis que dans les régions situées plus au nord, nous avons un pourcentage plus fort de monnaies du roi Dragutin (trésor de Tiševica, non loin de Vraca). Nous avons un phénomène semblable avec les imitations, les contrées sud ayant imité les monnaies du roi Milutin, tandis qu'au nord les imitations portent uniquement sur celles du roi Dragutin.

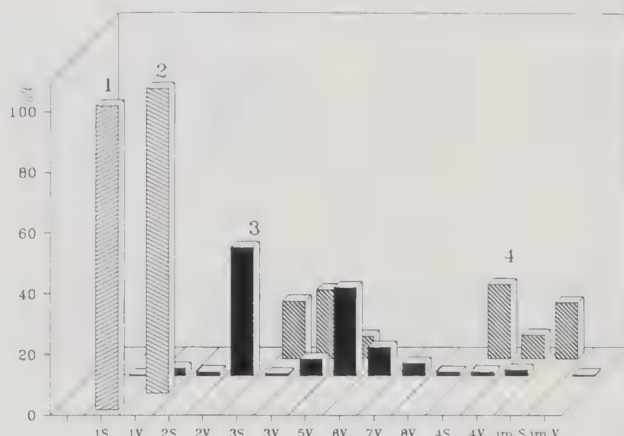



*Fig. 2. Représentation et pourcentage des émissions 1 à 8 dans les trésors de Tetovo, dernière émission datée de 1275/80 (1), Rudine - 1275/80 (2), Postenje - 1289/1311 (3) et Tiševica - 1323/30 (4).*

L'analyse métrologique nous a, elle aussi, apporté une série de données supplémentaires sur nos émissions. Les deux premières, suivant notre classement, s'avèrent être les séries les plus lourdes, de 2,15 à environ 2 g. Chez les autres, on note une chute progressive du poids qui finit par se maintenir aux environs de 2 ou 1,8 g. Cette tendance générale à la baisse du poids marque un éloignement vis-à-vis du système monétaire d'origine basé sur les gros de Venise, tandis que les fluctuations intermédiaires suggèrent une certaine instabilité du système monétaire. Face à cette situation et constatant la propagation des gros serbes, le gouvernement vénitien a pris une série de mesures contre cette monnaie à partir du début des années quatre-vingt du XIIIe siècle. La principale raison ayant motivé ces mesures était bien sûr la faible valeur et l'instabilité du gros serbe[11] (Fig. 3).

Les sources historiques viennent confirmer l'attribution des premières émissions au roi Dragutin (1276-1282/1316). Nous trouvons en effet la première mention des *denarii grossi de Brescoa* dans un document daté du 29 septembre 1277[12]. D'autre part, le *denarius grossus de Brescoa* est mentionné pour la première fois, il est vrai de façon indirecte, dans une reconnaissance de dette du 3 juillet 1281 relative à l'été 1276, c'est-à-dire à la première année du règne de Dragutin, date à laquelle a très probablement commencé la frappe des premiers gros serbes[13]. D'autres types de monnaies ont également été frappées au cours du règne de ce souverain. Celles-ci n'ont toutefois pas fait l'objet de grandes séries, comme c'est le cas pour les émissions au drapeau,

11 F.C. LANE et R.C. MULLER, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, I, Baltimore-Londres, 1985, p. 262-265; R. ĆUK, *Srbija i Venecija u XIII i XIV veku*, Belgrade, 1986, p. 27-31.

12 G. ČREMOŠNIK, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

13 *Ibidem*, p. 37.

lesquelles ne sont mentionnées que par un seul document daté du 22 juin 1283, dans la formule *denarii de Brescoa de bandera*[14].

La frappe des gros au drapeau, comme l'attestent en premier lieu les sources écrites, les dépôts monétaires et le développement même de ces monnaies, a donc vraisemblablement commencé sous le règne du roi Dragutin (1276-1282/1316) (émission 1s). Suite à son abdication en faveur de son jeune frère Milutin en 1282, lors de l'assemblée de Deževa, la frappe de ce type de monnaie s'est poursuivie avec une nouvelle émission destinée au nouveau souverain mais aussi à Dragutin. Cette thèse est corroborée par des émissions identiques portant les noms de l'un ou l'autre de ces souverains (émissions 1 à 4). Leur frappe peut s'expliquer par le fait que l'ancien roi avait conservé une position élevée. En l'occurrence, d'après les prescriptions de l'accord de Deževa qui ne peuvent toutefois pas être reconstituées avec certitude, Milutin fut proclamé roi mais le trône devait ensuite revenir aux fils de Dragutin, vraisemblablement à Vladislav[15]. Par ailleurs, Dragutin se voyait confier le gouvernement de certains territoires. Le fait que la première de ces prescriptions ait été respectée, est attesté par les représentations du roi Milutin sur les fresques. D'autre part, bien qu'il semble que Dragutin ait renoncé au titre royal, les auteurs des documents non officiels ont continué de l'appeler roi. Cette dualité est parfaitement attestée par les représentations de ces deux souverains en habits royaux sur les fresques de Saint Achillée à Arilje, de la chapelle du roi Dragutin aux Đurđevi Stupovi, ainsi que sur une icône aujourd'hui conservée au Vatican.

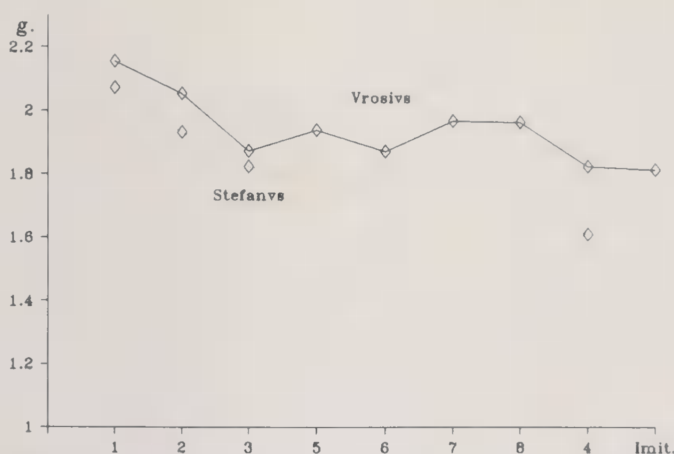


*Fig. 3. Poids moyen des émissions 1 à 8 d'après le trésor de Postenje.*

Ces émissions communes ont de toute évidence persisté jusqu'à l'éclatement de la discorde entre les deux frères avec, en arrière-plan, la question de la succession au trône, conflit qui culmina en guerre ouverte au plus tard en 1301. Ce conflit pourrait bien être l'événement qui mit un terme à la frappe des gros au drapeau pour Dragutin, tandis qu'elle se poursuivait pour le roi Milutin (émissions 5-8). La frappe de cette monnaie pour Dragutin a toutefois repris (émission 4) après la réconciliation des deux frères en 1311 ou 1312.

Les résultats offerts par les premières analyses du début de la frappe des gros serbes ont uniquement permis une définition des cadres généraux de ce monnayage, ainsi la classification des gros au drapeau et l'analyse comparée des différents éléments obtenus ne sont qu'un point de départ pour l'interprétation des premières émissions de gros serbes. Les recherches futures sur le fonds monétaire de cette époque, prenant en compte tous ses segments, contribueront grandement à élargir nos connaissances sur le premier monnayage de gros en Serbie.

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14 *Ibidem*, p. 42.

15 *Istorija Srpskog naroda*, I, Belgrade, 1981, p. 437-439.

# Problems in the Analysis of Serbian Medieval Coins

Staniša NOVAKOVIĆ (†)*

After having examined an article by Miroslav Jovanović, in which he was the first to suggest that Vuk Lazarević had his own coins[1], I was prompted to try to clarify some problems in Serbian medieval coinage using the analysis of its metal content.

M. Jovanović rightfully reexamines the former attribution of Serbian medieval coins bearing the inscription BΛbKb. About 20 types of coins are in question. According to the first classification of Serbian medieval coins, published in the XIXth century, all these types were asigned to Vuk Branković. M. Jovanović explains this attitude by pointing out that at the time of the publication of these first classifications the historians knew much more about Vuk Branković than of Vuk Lazarević. *History sees Vuk Branković today in a more modest light, while Vuk Lazarević has acquired greater historical significance*[2].

Vuk Branković could only have struck coins from after the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, until he became a Turkish prisoner-of-war at the end of 1396. Vuk Lazarević, according to M. Jovanović, could have minted his coins only from after the death of Vuk Branković in 1397, or more precisely only after 1400, until he too was taken prisoner by the Turkish prince Musa in 1410. In view of the length of the period of minting, M. Jovanović doubts that during a period of only seven years Vuk Branković could have minted so many types of coins. On the other hand, it appears rather unlikely that Vuk Lazarević did not make use of his prerogative to mint his own coins at all. I think that M. Jovanović is right in general, although I consider that it was possible for Vuk Branković to produce more types of coins than his brother-in-law, since Vuk Lazarević ruled independently (in the southern regions of Serbia) only after his uprising against his brother Stefan at the end of 1408, until July 1410.

In any case, I agree with the main thesis in M. Jovanović's article that today we do not have any substantial reason to attribute to Vuk Branković all the coins that bear the name BΛbKb. The distribution of this type of coins between the two Vuks, and M. Jovanović proposed a fairly equal distribution, *cannot be accepted as reliable*, or, as I would prefer to say, is completely hypothetical.

Since Vuk Branković, we are certain of that, had two types of coins minted in Skoplje, and furthermore since it is evident that the silver for minting the coins of Vuk Branković came from different mines than the silver for the coins of Vuk Lazarević, I tried (Pl. IV, 1) to find out whether by analysing the metal contents of the coins, we can achieve some results that would, to some extent, justify the already suggested distinctions between the coins with the inscription BΛbKb.

Since there are a number of types of Serbian medieval coins that bear the inscription *Novo brdo* or *Novo monte*, I also wanted (Pl. IV, 2) to find out whether these coins (minted most probably of silver from the Novo brdo mine) differ from the coins for which the silver most probably originated from other mines.

Finally my aim was (Pl. IV, 3) to find out whether Serbian medieval coinage followed the same rule that applied in the coinage of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), whose first

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1 M. JOVANOVIĆ, *Pravo na kovanje novca - novac Vuka Lazarevića*, in *Numizmatičar*, 13, 1990, p. 63-73.

2 *Ibidem*, p. 65.

archival traces date back to 1337, for which the Grand Council decided on the percentage of copper that had to be added to the silver alloy, the former of which steadily increased.

With these three goals in mind, I chose 30 different Serbian medieval coins to be examined by means of a non-destructive X-ray fluorescent (XRF) analysis. The measurements were performed by Dr Mladen Župančić at the Boris Kidrič Institute of Nuclear Sciences in Vinča, Belgrade (IBK)[3]. It was carried out with a Si(Li) detector equiped with a 1 mil beryllium window having a resolution of 250 eV on 5.9 Kev. X-ray radiation, characteristic for particular chemical elements, was excited by gamma rays of a radioactive cadmium-109 source. The measurements of the K-line, characteristic for the chemical elements of atomic number (z) from z=20 to z=45, and of the L-line for the elements of higher atomic number values, was performed. In the spectra obtained, the K-lines of Fe and Cu, and the L-lines of Au, Hg, Pb and Bi were considered.

The calibration of the spectra intensities needed for a quantitative determination of the chemical elements present in the numismatic set, was done by means of a destructive analysis of one coin chosen from the set[4]. In this manner, a similarity of the matrix of the coin used for calibration and of the remaining coins was achieved. The X-ray spectrum of the coin subjected to destructive analysis was run before the coin was dissolved in nitric acid. It made possible the complete calibration of the X-ray spectra of the chemical elements occurring in the coin set.

The destructive analysis was performed by dissolving the coin chosen for calibration in boiled concentrated nitric acid (analytical grade). The determination of the particular chemical elements in the solution formed was done by using the technique of inductively coupled plasma-atomic emission spectroscopy (ICP) with a Perkin-Elmer ICP 6500 energized by radiofrequency at 27 MHz ac and power level of 1.2 KW. The argon flow was kept at 15 dm3/min and the flow of 1.1 dm3 held through the disperser.

The concentration of Fe, Au and Hg in the coin used for the calibration were within the same order of magnitude of the low limit of their ICP measurability. As a consequence, the concentrations of Fe, Au and Hg in the numismatic set have to be considered as semiquantitative results. On the other hand, these elements are not often present in the set and their content can be regarded, perhaps, as accidental. On the contrary, the results of the quantitative analysis of Cu, Pb and Bi may be used for the interpretation of X-ray fluorescent spectra of the numismatic set. Due to small concentrations of the admixed elements, as well as to errors that arose in the calibration of the XRF measurements, errors in determining the concentrations are greater when one considers the absolute values of particular elements, then in the case of comparison of the individual elements in the numismatic set spectra. Therefore, the proportion of the established values of the elements in the set is much more reliable than the determination of their individual absolute concentrations.

The destructive chemical analysis of the coin used as a standard for the XRF analysis revealed, although in a minimal quantity (about 0.5%), some additional elements, as silicium (Si), aluminium (Al), zinc (Zn) and calcium (Ca), which the non-destructive XRF analysis could not discover. But, the insoluble part in the chemical analysis was about 12% (unexpectedly high!). Since only one coin was used for the chemical analysis, the statistical treatment of data could not be applied; nevertheless, the error might not be less than 5%. Anyway, since the silver content in the table was calculated as the remaining part(up to 100%) relative to all other components that were

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3 I am very grateful to Dr Župančić, from the IBK, for performing the XRF experiments and the interpretation of the XRF spectra, as well as for giving some valuable suggestions concerning the use of the results of the XRF analysis in solving my numismatic problems.

4 This analysis has been realized in the already mentioned Institute in Vinča by a friend of mine, chemist Dr Djordje Petković, who sacrified quite a lot of his time to help me, especially in connecting the results of XRF analysis with my numismatic considerations. Dr Petković also read the whole text and contributed greatly to its improvment.

found by means of the XRF analysis, an important warning is appropriate here. Taking into account the two just mentioned facts (the presence of XRF non-detectable elements, as well as the insoluble part), the real content of silver in our numismatic set should be reduced by 10 (±5%). I think, in fact, that a direct determination of silver as a macro component (using at least four identical coins) could lead to more correct results.

In the XRF analysis, the determination of the percentage of iron (Fe), mercury (Hg) and gold (Au) was of a semiquantitative character. These elements were found only in a particular number of pieces of our numismatic set (iron in 13.8 %, mercury in 6.9 % and gold in 44.8 % of the specimens). So, the reason they may interest us – even if they are instances of accidental impurity – lies is the fact that they might point to the specific character of the ore, i.e. the ore deposit. For example, the specimen Pl. IV, 9, belonging to duke Lazar contains a sufficient quantity of mercury to be singled out from the whole set. The question whether the alloy for this coin of duke Lazar actually came from a particular mine remains open. It could eventually be better clarified if we exposed not only one specimen to the XRF analysis, but twenty or even more samples of the same type of coin!

As for the percentage of copper (Cu), the result of our analysis should give the answer to our third question about the addition of more and more copper to the silver alloy of Serbian coins, which was already the official practice in Dubrovnik (Ragusa). Since the rulers in our table are arranged chronologically, starting from about 1331 until about 1456, which is a period of about 125 years, taking Dubrovnik (Ragusa) as a measure, we could have expected an increase in the copper component of 10 to 20 %. Nevertheless, a glimpse at the table does not indicate any such tendency whatsoever - the percentage of copper varies completely independently of the period in which a particular coin was minted. But, one has to bear in mind that even in Ragusa's minting – taking into consideration that in the whole mass of the prepared alloy, silver and copper were not evenly mixed, not to mention that they could not produce and add pure copper – the analyses of the Venitian mints already showed[5] that there were deviations to the rule of 5 to 10 %. In spite of that, I presume, if Serbian mints applied the same rule concerning the addition of copper, this would have emerged in our table which spans more than half of the entire period of Serbian medieval coinage.

This following remark by Lj. Nedeljković is aimed in that direction : *In contrast to Venitian matapans, the presence of copper, or gold, in Serbian medieval denars was extremely variable, which testifies that there was no regulated alloying... We do not have any evidence that any official determination of alloy content existed for our matapans* (similar to the rules in Venice which required 94.80% silver with 3.5% added copper, S.N.). *Most likely, they did not exist, but the coins were minted from the kind of silver as it came straight from the mine, though at that time this was high-quality silver*[6]. S. Dušanić also considers that *it is not possible to speak about compulsory standards of alloys for minting our medieval coins*[7]. I personally believe that our medieval coins however could not be minted without any standards, so that it would not be inappropriate to continue with testing such a hypothesis through the statistical treatment of a much greater number of coins.

Special attention in our XRF-analysis was paid to the percentages of lead (Pb) and bismuth (Bi) in our medieval coins; namely, these two elements represent perhaps the most characteristic components in the coins, since at that time there was no possibility of deliberately changing their percentage in the minting-alloy (bismuth even had not been

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5 M. REŠETAR, *Dubrovačka numizmatika*, I, Sremski Karlovci, 1924, p. 309-310.

6 Lj. NEDELJKOVIĆ, *Mletačka intervencija protiv raškog dinara u XIII i XIV veku*, in *ZborNarodMuzBeogradu*, VI/6, 1970, p. 298-299.

7 S. DUŠANIĆ, *Srednjovekovna moneta srpskog patrijarha*, in *Srpska pravoslavna crkva*, 1969, p. 132.


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TABLE OF METAL CONTENTS ANALYSIS.

| No. | Description of coin | Weight | ø | Ag | Fe (0.08) | Cu (0.01) | Au (0.01) | Hg (0.02) | Pb (0.05) | Bi (0.04) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Venetian matapan (doge Ranieri Zeno) | 2.06 | 20.0 | 95.88 | - | 3.5 | 0.03 | - | 0.59 | - |
| 2. | Serbian matapan : crowned king; double cross instead of banner; inscr.: S STEFAN-REX STEFAN | 1.64 | 19.0 | 95.95 | - | 3.5 | 0.03 | - | 0.37 | 0.15 |
| 3. | Uros V : seated emp.; inscr.: ꙋꙗь-ZPb | 1.12 | 18.0 | 90.48 | - | 8.8 | 0.07 | - | 0.06 | 0.59 |
| 4. | Uros V : horseman type; ꙋP-ꙗꙗ inscription | 1.19 | 20.0 | 97.03 | - | 2.4 | 0.13 | - | - | 0.44 |
| 5. | Uros V : seated emp., with aureole inscription : ꙋꙗь-ZPb | 0.97 | 18.0 | 91.80 | - | 7.4 | 0.18 | - | 0.17 | 0.27 |
| 6. | Uros V : horseman type; small; inscription : R-V | 0.97 | 16.0 | 83.78 | - | 15.8 | - | - | 0.08 | 0.34 |
| 7. | Uros V : emp. & empress; small illegible inscription resembles : VROSIVS-IMPERATOR | 0.83 | 17.0 | 88.71 | - | 10.9 | - | - | 0.15 | 0.24 |
| 8. | Duke Lazar : seated ruler; small; illegible inscription : Nζ-ΛΠ | 0.71 | 16.0 | 93.35 | - | 6.2 | - | - | 0.17 | 0.28 |
| 9. | Duke Lazar : seated ruler; inscription KNE-3b-Λ Δ -3Pb | 1.05 | 18.0 | 90.71 | - | 8.6 | 0.02 | 0.38 | - | 0.29 |
| 10. | Duke Lazar : standing ruler; inscription : CONTE-LAZAR; rev. ARGENTE-NOVOMONTE | 0.77 | 14.5 | 87.94 | - | 11.8 | - | - | - | 0.26 |
| 11. | Vuk, knealing ruler before a saint | 0.71 | 15.0 | 97.57 | - | 2.1 | 0.16 | - | - | 0.17 |
| 12. | Vuk, two-line inscription +BΛb-Kb | 0.69 | 15.0 | 96.96 | - | 2.6 | - | - | 0.06 | 0.38 |
| 13. | Vuk standing saint with censer; inscription : BΛbKb | 0.68 | 15.0 | 95.53 | - | 4.2 | - | - | 0.06 | 0.21 |
| 14. | Vuk, figure of lion; inscription all around : BΛbKb | 0.68 | 14.0 | 97.95 | 0.22 | 1.6 | - | - | - | 0.23 |
| 15. | Vuk, standing ruler holding banner; inscription all around : BΛbKb-BΛbKb | 0.93 | 15.0 | 91.16 | 0.08 | 8.4 | 0.03 | - | 0.16 | 0.17 |
| 16. | Vuk, inscription in 4 lines : BΛK-OBbꙁHN- Δ℺b-HГꙅ | 0.71 | 15.0 | 99.01 | - | 0.8 | - | - | 0.07 | 0.12 |
| 17. | Vuk and Jakov; obv. cfr no.15; rev. : inscription : Гꙅ ς-Bb | 0.77 | 16.0 | 96.23 | - | 3.2 | 0.06 | - | 0.27 | 0.24 |
| 18. | Stefan Lazarević; helmet with horns rev. : Christ enthroned | 0.49 | 18.0 | 96.19 | - | 3.4 | - | - | - | 0.41 |
| 19. | Stefan Lazarević; standing ruler holding labarum; rev. Christ's head | 0.42 | 17.5 | 95.08 | - | 4.7 | - | - | - | 0.22 |
| 20. | Stefan Lazarević; 3 lines inscr. : ꙁE-CΠO-Tb | 0.95 | 16.0 | 90.60 | - | 8.7 | - | - | 0.07 | 0.63 |
| 21. | Stefan Lazarević; helmet with horns horns and coat-of-arms under it; inscription : ꙁEC-ΠꙋTb | 0.40 | 13.0 | 92.65 | - | 6.9 | - | - | - | 0.45 |
| 22. | Stefan Lazarević; 4 lines inscription NOBΔ- ꙇEKΔГ-NΔ ꙁEC-ΠOTΔ | 1.02 | 16.0 | 96.32 | 0.14 | 3.2 | - | - | 0.08 | 0.26 |
| 23. | Djurdj Branković : 4 lines inscription ГNb- ꙁECΠO-TbГꙍP-bГb | 0.83 | 16.5 | 93.40 | - | 5.7 | - | - | - | 0.36 |
| 24. | Djurdj Branković, seated ruler, inscription all around : ꙁECΠOTb ГꙍPГb rev. : figure of lion and inscription CMꙁPBO | 0.96 | 13.5 | 98.04 | - | 1.5 | - | 0.04 | - | 0.42 |
| 25. | Djurdj Branković, cfr no.24, but on the rev. : inscription PꙋꙁNHKb | 1.03 | 14.0 | 98.30 | - | 1.4 | - | - | - | 0.30 |
| 26. | Djurdj Branković, cfr no.24, but on the rev. inscription NBꙃPꙁ | 1.05 | 13.0 | 97.02 | - | 2.3 | 0.02 | - | - | 0.66 |
| 27. | Djurdj Branković : 3 l. inscr. : ГNꙁE-CΠOTb-ꙍPГb; rev. figure of lion and inscription : CMEꙁEPEBO | 0.97 | 13.5 | 95.73 | - | 3.8 | - | - | - | 2.47 |
| 28. | Andrija Gropa, 4 l. inscr. : ΠO-MΛON-bꙖHꙌ - ꙁPꙅ | 0.92 | 16.5 | 79.22 | - | 20.4 | 0.02 | - | 0.29 | 0.07 |
| 29. | Rig, 3 l. inscr. : ΠOmI-ΛIꙃΔꙖꙊ-ꙺbΔPIГ | 0.59 | 14.0 | 97.16 | 0.12 | 2.7 | 0.02 | - | - | - |
| 30. | Skoplje, 2 l. inscr. : CKO-ΠΛb | 0.55 | 12.5 | 96.98 | - | 3.0 | 0.02 | - | - | - |

discovered at that time). Consequently, there was a hope that on the basis of the results of an analysis considering these elements, we could come closer to the answers of the first two questions : separating the coinage of Vuk Branković from that of Vuk Lazarević, as well as singling out specimens coined at Novo brdo. But, after a closer look at our table, we can only notice that, among the types with the inscription BʌbKb, there are samples containing a considerable quantity of lead in them (Pl. IV, 15 and 17). Other specimens, among them the type with censer (Pl. IV, 13), which was certainly minted in Skoplje, and so belongs for sure to Vuk Branković, either contain a negligible quantity of lead, or do not contain it at all (Pl. IV, 14). («Not at all» really implies the figure below 0.05 %). This may lead to the conclusion that the type with the standing ruler, holding a flag, as well as the same item with the inscription ΓdS-Bb on the obverse, belongs to Vuk Lazarević (as already mentioned by M. Jovanović). Besides the type with censer, the following two types belong to Vuk Branković : the type with the inscription BʌbKb in two lines (Pl. IV, 12), the type with a lion (Pl. IV, 14; this type has the rather rare characteristic of containing iron - 0.22 %), and the famous *Vuk's denar* (Pl. IV, 16; this last one is in contradiction to M. Jovanović classification).

As for singling out the coins minted «for certain» from silver coming from Novo brdo (I put «for certain» between quotation marks especially since the coins in medieval Serbia, except in the initial period of minting, were largely minted out of silver obtained by melting the coins of preceding rulers), there is no clear distinction, although the coins of Lazar minted at Novo brdo, as well as those of Djurdj (Vuković-Branković) (Pl. IV, 10 and 26) do not contain lead in them (i.e. if they do it is below 0.05 %). Nevertheless, some confusion arises since the coins of Djurdj minted in Smederevo and Rudnik (Pl. IV, 24 and 25) do not contain lead either; special attention should also be paid to the fact that in all our samples from Novo brdo, we did not see that we were dealing with well known silver ore, containing a considerable amount of gold. In regard of the coins of duke Lazar, the type with a seated ruler and the inscription in two lines on both sides of the ruler (Pl. IV, 9), and the type with a kneeling ruler (Pl. IV, 11), which S. Dimitrijević, in my opinion, wrongly attributed to duke Lazar, instead of to Vuk - there is nothing to dissuade us in supposing that these types were minted at Novo brdo. If Pl. IV, 11 belongs to Vuk, then this type, though it was minted somewhere else than Pl. IV, 15 and 17, belongs to Vuk Lazarević, and not to Vuk Branković (this is also in accordance with M. Jovanović's classification). Finally, one may conclude that some types of dukes and despot Stefan Lazarević (Pl. IV, 18, 19 and 21) were minted at Novo brdo.

The coin of despot Stefan Lazarević, with the inscription Nova ceka (Pl. IV, 22) which, as we know, was minted in Srebrnica, was also submitted to the XRF analysis in the hope of finding some specific characteristics of coins minted from the silver-alloy coming from the mine Srebrnica. And indeed, the alloy of this coin had the rather rare characteristic of containing iron (0.14 %). But, it has yet to be discovered (by means of analysis of a far greater number of coins) whether this feature is really connected with this mine, since, for example, the silver mine Trepca produced iron as well[8].

In the set of Serbian medieval coins analysed in IBK, I also included three samples that proved to be counterfeits made between the two world wars[9] (Pl. IV, 28-30). The aim was to find out whether the alloy-analysis could distinguish forgeries from the original pieces. The analysis showed that these three specimens did not contain bismuth; if the hypothesis that the forgeries were from the alloy acquired by melting some frequent and deteriorated samples of medieval coins was true, then the alloy was obtained by melting not Serbian but Venetian coins (v. Pl. IV, 1) which do not contain bismuth.

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8 D. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Dans la Serbie et la Bosnie médiévales : Les mines d'or et d'argent*, in *Annales, Économies-Sociétés-Civilisations*, 15, 2, Paris, 1960, p. 248-258.

9 S. DIMITRIJEVIĆ, *Savremene kovane i presovane imitacije srednjovekovnog srpskog srebrnog novca*, in *Starinar*, 26, 1975, p. 111-121.

We can find the first information about the quantity of silver in Serbian medieval coins in a well known text written by an old Venetian numismatist, Bernardo Nani, who said that one coin belonging to Uros Milutin had 92.4 %, and another one of lesser weight 87.5 % silver[10].

But, the first work to discuss the alloy of Serbian medieval coins is the classic *Description of Yugoslav Coins*[11] by Ljubić. Analyses made for Ljubić in the Mineralogy and Geology Department of Zagreb Museum, as well as in a grammar school specialized in the sciences, also in Zagreb, were «dry» and «wet», and Ljubić used them to assert that the Venetian ban of Rassian coins was of a political nature, since the coins of Stefan Dragutin did not fall short of the standards of weight and the quality of silver by more than 10 %, while, for example, at the same time the coins of the Venetian doge Ziani (who ruled shortly before Dragutin) deviated by more than 10 %. But, in the table of performed analyses (giving the percentages of silver, copper and gold), Ljubić gives only the names of the rulers, and not the type of their coin which was submitted to analysis[12]. This is a serious defect which makes any comparison of his results with contemporary analyses impossible. At the same time, we may without hesitation say that the analyses performed in Ljubić's time (not to mention those in the Middle Ages, for example Venitian) were less precise (not in measurement, but in separation) than contemporary ones. Even more so, since in contemporary, even destructive analyses, when they are most carefully prepared, the error goes without saying.

On the whole, when we refer to Ljubić's analyses, it looks as if the quantity of silver that is given is too high. It varies between 99.827 (Uroš I) and 80.000 (Balša III), but more than half of the analysed coins (more precisely 15 out of 24) have more than 90.0 % silver in the alloy. In addition, in the determined percentage of silver there are several obviously very questionable results : the specimen of Oliver (98.245) is the first one after Uroš I, while Vukašin (91.748) and Djurdj Branković (94.100) came before Milutin (90.994).

In discussing the decline in the weight and quality of Serbian matapans from Uroš I to Milutin, G. Čremošnik presents some data about an analysis performed in Vienna, as well as at the Assay office in Sarajevo. Otherwise, Čremošnik used a very unreliable test with lidit (a kind of alum, which was also used for determining the quality of gold)[13].

In his two papers dealing with the analysis of the metal of Serbian medieval coinage, D.M. Metcalf[14] managed to show quite successfully that, parallel to the loss in weight, Serbian medieval coins lost in the quantity of silver (from Uroš I to Dušan as king and emperor), until the minting of Dušan's «Coronation» type, when an attempt was made to regain higher standards (weight over 1.60, and over 90 % silver). In their article of 1969, Gordus and Metcalf presented the opinion that Serbian coins started wich such a quality which matched or even surpassed Venetian matapans (containing over 96 % silver), to fall at the beginning of the XIVth century to only 80 % silver. Relying on the proportion of gold in the silver-alloy of Serbian coins, these authors also endeavoured to identify the production of a particular mint, since at that time gold had not been deliberately added to the alloy (their analyses included only the percentage of silver and gold); in addition, they were completely justified in emphasising that this could be done only in the case where one was sure that particular coins had been struck from «new»

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10 B. NANI, *De duobus Imperatorum Rassiae Nummis*, Venetus, 1750, p. XXVI.

11 S. LJUBIĆ, *Opis jugoslavenskih novaca*, Zagreb, 1875.

12 Stefan Dragutin is mentioned, for example, three times with three different results, without indicating types of coins; not to mention the change of attribution of some types since Ljubić's time.

13 G. ČREMOŠNIK, *Razvoj srpskog novčarstva do kralja Milutina*, Beograd, SKA, 1933.

14 A.A. GORDUS and D.M. METCALF, *The Metal Contents of the Early Serbian Coinage*, in *RBN*, 115, 1969, p. 57-82; D.M. METCALF, *Analytical Problems in the Coinage of Stefan Dušan*, in *Numizmatičar*, 1, 1978, p. 101-110.

(not «re-cycled») silver coming directly from a small number of mines. And, in their opinion, this was precisely the case in Serbia in the XIIIth and at the beginning of the XIVth century. Gordus and Metcalf consider it possible, on the basis of their analyses, to conclude that it is the characteristic for the denars struck in Brskovo to have a small percentage of gold (0.014 %), while denars from Rudnik contain a greater amount of this «noblest» metal (0.1 % or more). For later denars, struck in the period when several new silver mines were being exploited, the authors notice raise more complicated questions of mint-attribution. They also mentioned the possibility of a correlation between the percentage of gold and the sigla occurring on the obverses of many Serbian medieval coins; this I consider is a failure in the same way as the attempt by R. Marić to find the correlation between those sigla and different minting-places[15]!

In his paper of 1978, Metcalf went a step further : besides a few samples of denars of Dušan as king, attention in the analysis focussed on Dušan's emperor-coinage. Instead of neutron activation analysis (NAA), this time the X-ray fluorescent (XRF) method of analysis was used. The new analysis of a few samples that had also been submitted to the first analysis, gave different results, with a deviation of 2 % (the «helmet» type with the inscription STEFANVS DEI GRA REX) up to 20 % (the «helmet» type with the inscription MONETA REX STEFA). The only type analysed by Metcalf, which appeared in our set too, was the matapan of Dušan (Pl. IV, 2), and the percentage of silver content found in it was nearly identical, if we take our primary calculation into consideration (95.5 and 95.95). In addition, Metcalf had to make an interesting point : after that attempt to increase the weight of the coins in Dušan's emperor coinage – «Coronation», «Horseman» and «4(5)-line inscription» types – the weight again begins to decrease, but not the quality of the alloy. According to our latest analyses it also seems as if the quality of the alloy even after Dušan, and nearly to the very end of Serbian medieval coinage, did not change almost at all, i.e. the silver content remained mostly the same.

As one can see from this presentation, all the former analyses of the metal contents of Serbian medieval coins, as well as our own on which we have based this report, were not able to provide any definitive answers to those problems for which one could reasonably suppose that they might be clarified merely by the analysis of the metal contents in the relevant coins. So, in this paper I can only come up with several hypotheses which need further investigation and testing.

If one is ultimately to learn a lesson for future analyses, then I can say the following : it emerged very clearly that the analysis of individual coins is not sufficient; there are several reasons for this :

1. having in mind the level of medieval technology, in the mixture that was prepared for striking, all the component-elements most probably were not evenly mixed, from which it follows that even in different parts of the same coin, not to mention the same type of coin belonging to one particular ruler, one can notice small differences in the percentage of some chemical elements in the alloy; a similar effect was produced by the reaction of the surface of a coin to the surroundigs (adsorption), as well as by deeper chemical reaction, especially when the coin remained under ground a long time (absorption)[16] all this should be tested by analysing more coins (20-30) of the same type, even those coming from the same die; from the hoard containing a great number of coins of the same type, which as a rule are not of the same weight, one ought to analyse a sufficient number of coins of different weight; special attention should be paid to the comparative analysis of one type of coin from different and territorially distant hoards;
2. in order to neutralize the influence of normally expected errors revealed in non-destructive analysis, it would be necessary not only to apply the multiple repetition of analysis of one and the same coin, but also to obtain the average

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15 R. MARIĆ, *Studije iz srpske numizmatike*, Beograd, 1956, p. 117-128.

16 Metcalf calls it «surface enrichment» and points out that an uncleaned surface gives higher numerical values of silver.

result of the analysis of a larger quantity of coins of all types (about 10 samples of each);

3. since none of the modern non-destructive methods of metal-analysis can «see» all those elements that may constitute the alloy, it would be advisable in certain cases to combine these methods; it would also be advisable to pay attention not only to those elements which appear in minimal quantities in the destructive analysis, but also to the undissolved part (residue), which always appears in destructive analysis;
4. one should take a different approach to the results of the analysis of the first emissions of the Serbian medieval coins (the XIIIth and maybe the beginning of the XIVth century), in cases when they were struck from «new» silver, in contrast to the later emissions, which were often struck from «old» silver produced by melting old types of coins; a superficial examination of the hoards from the emperor-period of Dušan's coinage, already indicates that old emissions were soon withdrawn from circulation and melted[17].

Bearing all this in mind, one can with some degree of certainty say that with these new methods of non-destructive analysis, we can expect to get some new and independent evidence, which might help in solving some of the yet unexplained problems of Serbian medieval coinage.

17 S. DIMITRIJEVIĆ, *Kontramarke na srednjovekovnim srpskim i bosanskim dinarima*, in *Istorijski časopis SANU*, 12-13, 1961-1962, p. 138-139; ID., *Ostave koje sadrže srpski srednjovekovni novac iz perioda do 1371 godine*, in *Spomenik SANU*, 1981, p. 49.

# Monnaies orientales

## 1. Indes

# Non-Destructive Analysis of Ancient Coins from Different Eras Using Cf-252 Neutron Source

D.G. ANGAL*, R.P. BHADANE** and N.S. RAJURKAR***

*Introduction*

Coins have been the principal source of our information about the various tribal and city republics and monarchical states that flourished in India during pre-christian centuries and later. In the history of Indian numismatics, study so far shows that coins are categorized mainly as copper, silver and gold alloys but detailed metallurgical composition for most of the coins is not known. Hence it is thought of interest to study the elemental composition of ancient Indian coins from different eras. As the conservation of ancient coins, which are of world-wide interest, is important from numismatic point of view a non-destructive technique *viz.* Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis[1] (INAA) has been used for this purpose.

*Experiment*

The coins (from 8th century B.C. to 17th century A.D.) and the standard samples were accurately weighed and subjected to neutron irradiation in a Cf-252 fission neutron source having integrated a neutron flux of about ~ $10^9$ n $s^{-1}$ for 24 hours. The activity of the radioisotopes formed *viz.* $^{64}Cu$, $^{108}Ag$, $^{198}Au$, $^{125}Sn$, $^{122}Sb$ were measured at their photopeak energies on a previously calibrated 8K multichannel analyzer coupled to a high purity germanium detector and interfaced with an IBM PC-XT. The spectral analyses were done using a MCA programme of EG & G ORTEC. Each sample was counted for at least three times at different time intervals.

*Results and Discussion*

The nuclear data for (n, γ) reaction on various elements, determined in the present work, are listed in Table I :

TABLE I. NUCLEAR DATA FOR (n, γ) REACTION ON VARIOUS ELEMENTS

| Reaction | r/% | σ/b | Half life of Radioisotope formed | γ-energy/keV |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| $^{63}Cu$ (n, γ) $^{64}Cu$ | 69.17 | 4.5 | 12.70 h | 1346 |
| $^{107}Ag$ (n, γ) $^{108}Ag$ | 51.83 | 37 | 2.41 min | 633, 434 |
| $^{197}Au$ (n, γ) $^{198}Au$ | 100 | 98.8 | 2.6935 d | 412 |
| $^{124}Sn$ (n, γ) $^{125}Sn$ | 5.6 | 0.13 | 9.5 min | 332 |
| $^{121}Sb$ (n, γ) $^{122}Sb$ | 57.3 | 6.2 | 2.70 d | 564, 693 |

The presence of these elements in various coins was confirmed by measuring half lives of radioisotopes formed following (n, γ) reaction on the corresponding elements as well as from the γ-radiation energy emitted by the radioisotope.

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1 G. HEVESY and H. LEVI, *Action of Slow Neutrons on Rare Earth Elements*, in *Mathematisk fysiske Meddelelser Dan udgivet of det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.*, 14, 1936, p. 3.

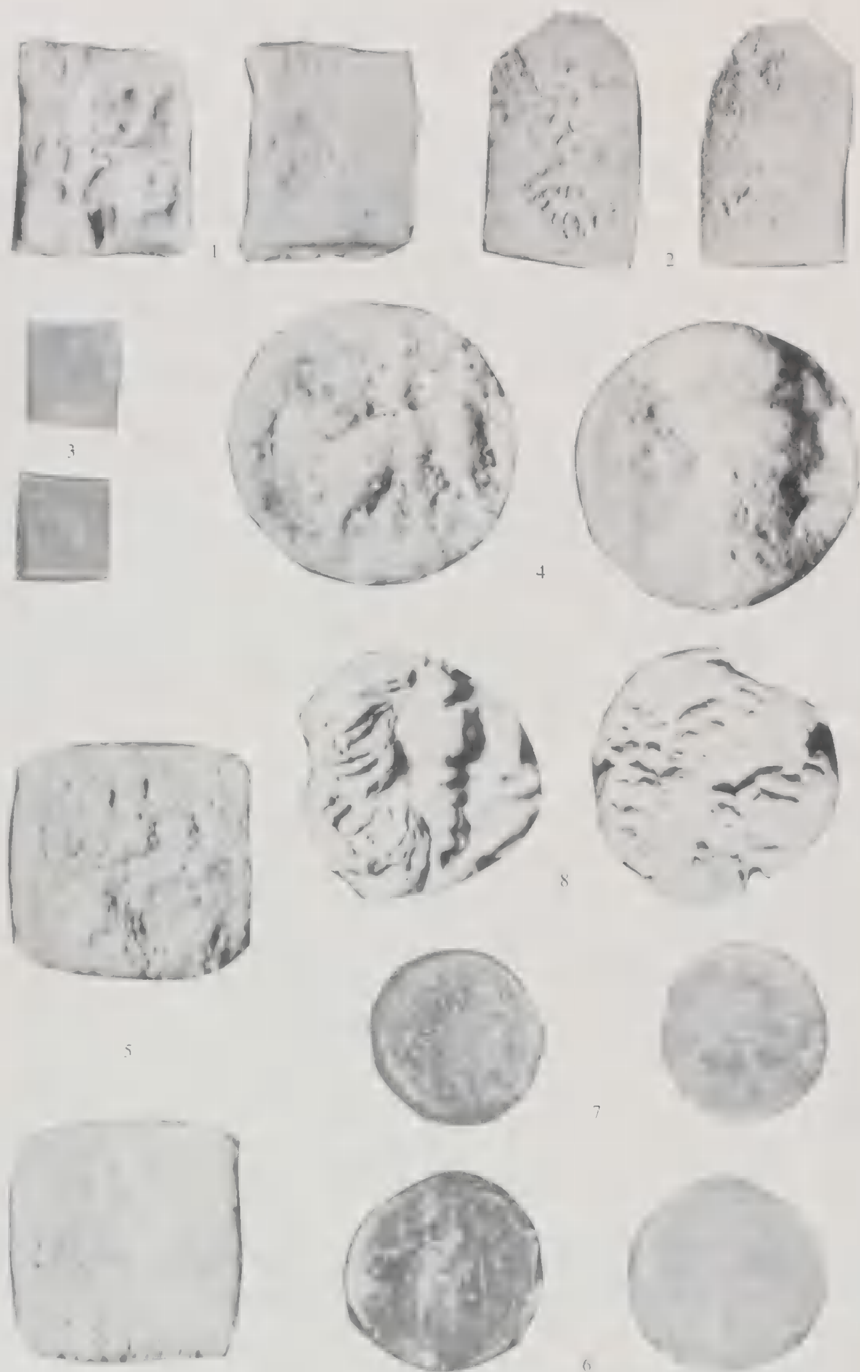



*Fig. 1. Various ancient Indian coins from 800 B.C. - 700 A.D.*

The elemental composition of different coins (the photographs shown in Fig. 1 and 2) was determined by the comparative method. For this purpose initially the calibration curves (activity versus weight of the element) were prepared by irradiating the accurately weighed pure metals of interest. The gamma ray activities of radioelements formed were counted at 1346 (500 sec), 633 (20 sec), 332 (50 sec), 412 (500 sec) and 564 (500 sec) keV energies for $^{64}Cu$, $^{108}Ag$, $^{125}Sn$, $^{198}Au$ and $^{122}Sb$ respectively. The elemental composition of different coins, treated and analysed under identical conditions, was then determined using these calibration curves (Fig. 3 and 4) The corresponding results are recorded in Table II along with the standard deviations. It is to be noted that each value presented in the Table II is an average of at least two independent measurements.

TABLE II. INNA OF DIFFERENT ANCIENT COINS

| | Coin and era | Weight in gm and shape | Percentage of elements | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Cu | Ag | $Au/10^{-3}$ | Sn | $Sb/10^{-3}$ |
| 1 | Punchmark 800-400 B.C. | 2.410 square | 64.25± 0.05 | 0.495± 0.005 | 6.85± 0.05 | - | 5.8± 0.4 |
| 2 | Punchmark 400-300 B.C. | 3.229 rectangle tapering at one end | 8.4± 0.1 | 14.44± 0.01 | 84.5± 2.5 | - | - |
| 3 | Punchmark Magadh 400-300 B.C. | 2.715 square | 58.83± 0.09 | 2.3± 0.1 | 15.5± 0.5 | - | - |
| 4 | Ujjain tribal 200 B.C. | 5.710 round | 38.3± 0.1 | - | - | - | - |
| 5 | Aeran 200 B.C. | 3.240 square | 50.22± 0.07 | - | - | - | 4.905± 0.005 |
| 6 | Kushan Havishk 100 A.D. | 16.534 round | 21.1± 0.5 | - | - | - | - |
| 7 | Satwahan 200 A.D. | 2.416 round | 25.44± 0.06 | - | 1.15± 0.05 | 5.10± 0.07 | - |
| 8 | Kashmir 700 A.D. | 5.235 round with notches at the periphery | 44.59± 0.09 | - | 0.61± 0.04 | - | 16.5± 0.5 |
| 9 | Gadhwal 800 A.D. | 5.504 round | 39.87± 0.09 | - | 2.68± 0.03 | 4.5± 0.2 | 66.5± 3.5 |
| 10 | Kidar 800 A.D. | 5.127 round | 53.4± 0.2 | - | - | - | - |
| 11 | Kashmir 800-900 A.D. | 5.906 round | 45.79± 0.08 | - | - | - | 84± 3 |
| 12 | Muhmmad Tughlak 1325-1330 A.D. | 9.107 round | 33.8± 0.2 | - | 1.69± 0.05 | 3.065± 0.007 | 27± 1 |
| 13 | Delhi Saltanat 1400 A.D. | 3.222 round | 51± 1 | 4.8± 0.1 | 48.5± 0.5 | - | 55± 2 |
| 14 | Ahmadshaha Bahamani 1422-1435 A.D. | 3.340 square | 50.0± 0.1 | - | 1.7± 0.4 | - | 50± 2 |
| 15 | Moghul 1526-1530 A.D. | 8.838 round | 35.8± 0.1 | 0.51± 0.01 | 3.6± 0.4 | - | 18.5± 0.5 |
| 16 | Raja Shiv Chhatra-pati 1700 A.D. | 11.903 round | 30.0± 0.4 | - | - | - | - |

An examination of Table II and the photographs shows that the coins of each era differ from one another in their execution, fabric, weight, quality of metal and symbology. The metallurgical composition is also found to be different in the coins from the distinctly different periods. As can be seen from Table II copper is present in all the coins studied, being in the beginning the main component while later at the trace level. The percentage of copper is varying from period to period between 8.4 (Punchmark coin 400-300 B.C.) to 64 (Punchmark coin 800-400 B.C.). The percentage of gold found to be highest in a Punchmark coin from 400-300 B.C. (0.0845) and lowest in a coin of Kashmir dated 700 A.D. (0.00061). The element Sb is found to be present in all the




*Fig. 2. Various ancient Indian coins from 800 B.C. - 1700 A.D.*

coins except the Punchmark coin from 400-300 B.C., Punchmark Magadh, Ujjain tribal, Kushan-Havishk, Satwahan, Kidar, Raja Shiv Chhatrapati, while silver and tin are found in the Punchmark coin 800-400 B.C., the Punchmark coin 400-300 B.C., the Punchmark coin Magadh, Delhi Saltanat, Moghul and Satwahan, Gadhwal, Muhmmad Tughlak respectively.

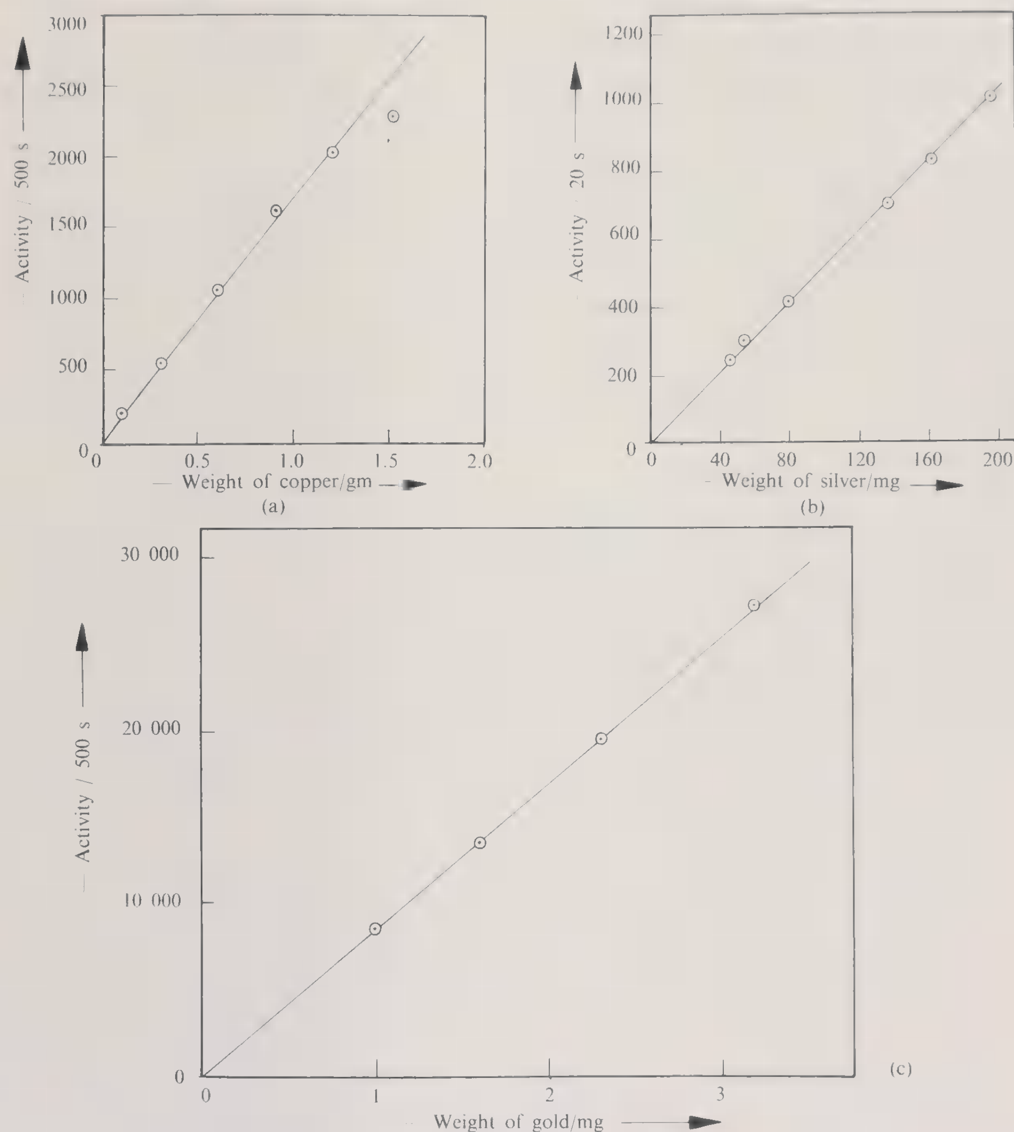



*Fig. 3. Calibration curve for the neutron activation analysis of (a) copper, (b) silver, (c) gold.*

The study of the metallurgy of coins over the range of 2400 years revealed many interesting facts. In the coins which were thought to be of copper or silver, traces of gold, tin and antimony are present. So one can conclude that either metal refining processes were not elaborate at that time or impurities were added with some specific purpose. The other inferences which can be drawn from the analysis are : available metals were different from place to place, certain noble metals such as silver or gold were deliberately alloyed, period of prosperity or hardship can be detected by change of concentration level of noble metals. The data thus obtained will be helpful in studying many hidden aspects of the civilization such as availability of metals in particular area, scarcity of particular metals, migration and change in status, change in economical status, effect of war, detecting forgeries, development of metallurgical knowledge, effect of invaders, infiltrations and identifying counterfeit coins. Thus instrumental neutron

activation analysis provides a simple and non-destructive technique for the analysis of ancient coins, which are of world-wide interest, with good precision.

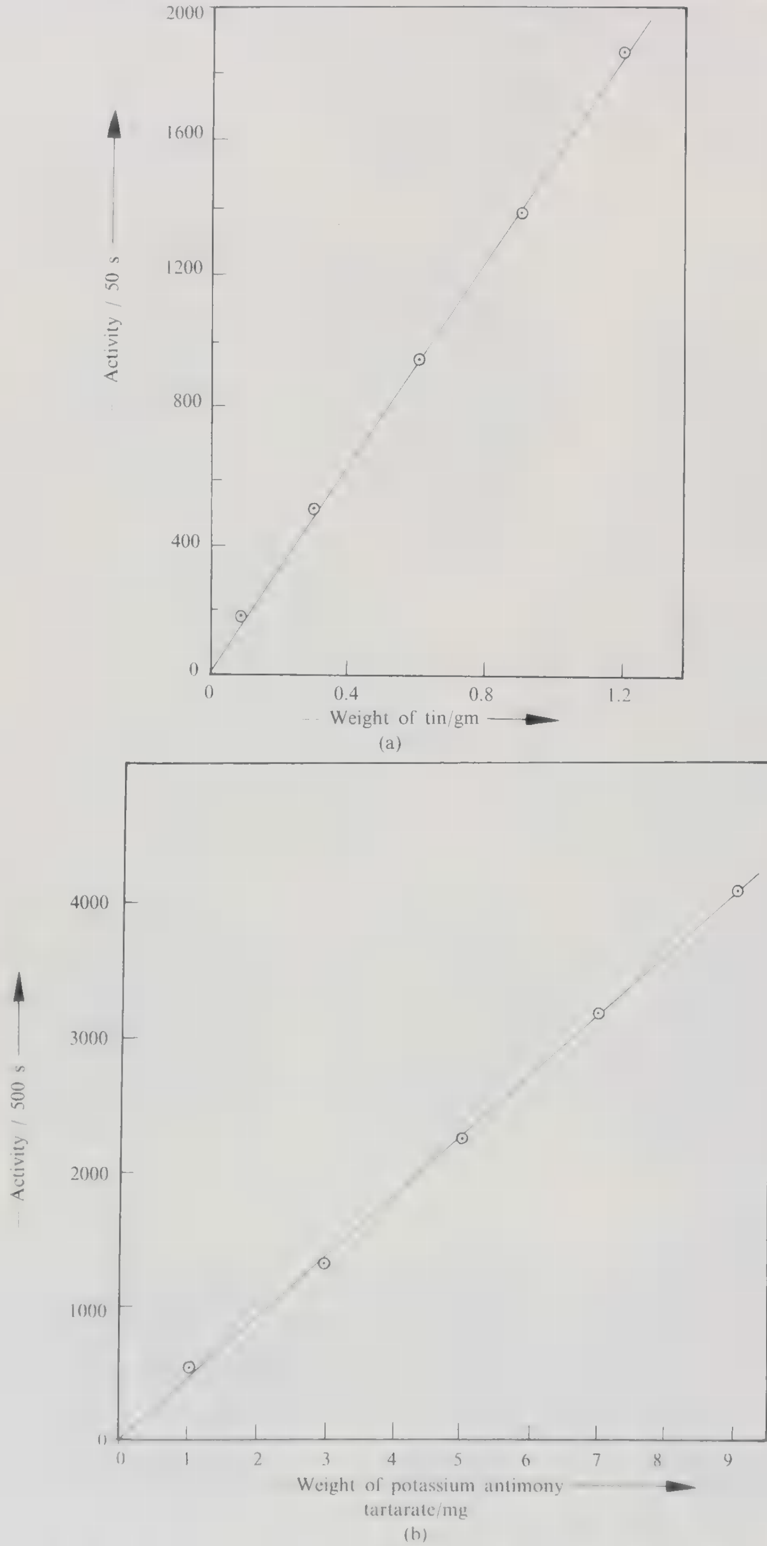



*Fig. 4. Calibration curve for the neutron activation analysis of (a) tin,·(b) antimony.*

# The Attribution of Brahmaṇyadeva Type Coins

Devendra HANDA*

The Yaudheyas occupy a very prominent position in the galaxy of ancient Indian republican tribes. Mentioned in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī* and *Gaṇapāṭha* for the first time, they are known through numerous literary and a few epigraphic references, a large number of their coins, coin-moulds, seals and sealings.

It was in 1834 that Captain Cautley came for the first time across some Yaudheya copper coins at Behat in the district Saharanpur, U.P[1]. Coins from this site were also published in 1835[2] and Prinsep included them in his *Essays* too in 1858[3]. Subsequently Cunningham brought to light a large number of Yaudheya coins[4], including a unique silver piece wich remains till now the only known specimen of its type in the white metal[5]. During 1888-89, Rodgers also procured Yaudheya copper coins from Jagadhari[6]. When Smith prepared his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, in 1906, he distinguished three different types of copper coins[7]. The corpus of Yaudheya coins went on growing and Allan distinguished six different classes in 1936[8], and Dasgupta had grouped them into eight classes[9].

Allan's classification has, however, been more popular and followed even now by most scholars. Under Class 3, he described the round silver coin and similar copper coins of nine varieties (a-i) showing on the obverse the six-headed Kārttikeya standing facing, holding a spear in his right hand and resting the left hand on his hip, and on the reverse a standing goddess (six-headed like Kārttikeya), identified as Sasthi, facing on a lotus between a tree in railing and a multiarched *caitya* surmounted by an umbrella or *triratna* and a wavy line below. The varieties differ because of the subsidiary symbols on the reverse. One variety (var. c) shows the goddess (unicephalous or six-headed) on the obverse and six-headed Kārttikeya on the reverse. Varieties d-i show deer as the main device on the reverse[10]. The Brāhmī legends on the obverse of these coins are found in two different versions :

1. *Bhagavata-Svāmino Brahmaṇya (-)-Yaudheya* on the silver coin[11].
2. *Bhagavata-Svāmino-Brahmaṇyadevas(y)a Kumāras(y)a*[12] on the copper coins (Kumārasya is added only on a few specimens)[13].
   A third version of the legend may also be gathered from some coins of this class published earlier and also recently.

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1 *JASB*, III, 1834, pl. XVIII.

2 *Ibidem*, IV, 1835, pl. XXXIV.

3 *Prinsep Essays*, 1858, p. 84-85, pl. IV, 11-12; p. 202, pl. VII, 3 and XIX, 22.

4 *CASR*, II, p. 14; XIV, p. 139-145; *CAI*, p. 75-79; *CAGI*, p. 245 etc.

5 *CASR*, XIV, p. 143, pl. XIV, 12; *CAI*, p. 78, pl. VI, 9.

6 C.J. RODGERS, *Report of the Panjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1988-89*, List of Coins, p. 4-5, no. 78 and 85-91.

7 SMITH, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, 1906, p. 180-183, pl. XXI, 13-20.

8 *BMCAI*, p. 265-278 and 288, pl. XXXIX, 5-22, XL, 1-15

9 *THAI*, p. 201-211.

10 *BMCAI*, p. CXLIX-CL and 270-275, pl. XXXIX, 21-22, XL, 7-15.

11 *Ibidem*, p. CXLIX and 270.

12 *Ibidem*, p. CL and 270-275.

13 *CAI*, p. 78; *IMC*, p. 128, no. 186; *BMCAI*, p. 275, no. 77-78, pl. XL, 12.

3. *Bhagavata-Svāmino Brahmanyadevas(y)a Darma-tr(tt)aya*[14].

Copper coins bearing the legend *Bhagavata-Svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya*, generally believed to have been issued by the Yaudheyas by all earlier scholars because of their similarity with the silver coin, have been attribued by Nisar Ahmad to the Kumāra tribe mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* as the last word Yaudheya of the silver coin is substitued by the word Kumāra on these coins[15]. He argues that *the identical legend pattern adopted on the Yaudheya silver coin and these copper coins is indicative of the fact that both these words were used on the same line. Further, it seems somewhat strange that on one place Kārttikeya is called by the name Brahmaṇya and on other, by two names Brahmaṇya and Kumāra and that, too, the second at the cost of the tribal name Yaudheya. Therefore, the word Kumāra which occurred on the copper coins may be taken as the tribal name like Yaudheya used on the silver coin*[16].

This attribution has been rejected by Ajay Mitra Shastri on grammatical grounds as the name of the tribe in the legend occurs with the genetive singular suffix *sa (Kumārasa)*[17]. P.L. Gupta, however, has tried vehemently to uphold Nisar Ahmad's attribution by referring to Shastri's argument as grammatical jugglery[18]. Nisar Ahmad himself was aware of this weakness of his attribution and cited the examples of legends like *Kāḍasa* and *Upagodasa*, which are in genetive singular forms[19]. It must, however, be noted that in the whole range of our ancient literature, Kāḍa and Upagoda have not been referred to anywhere as the names of tribes and that their tribal significance is very doubtful[20]. Reference to the word Yaudheya on the silver coin, both by Nisar Ahmad and P.L. Gupta, is also misconceived. Of the two versions of the legend, i.e. *Bhagavata-svāmino Brahmaṇya (-)-Yaudheya* and *Yaudheya-bhagavata-svāmino Brahmaṇya (sa* or *sya)* given by Allan, he preferred the second one and translated it as *of Brahmaṇya (a name of Kārttikeya), the divine lord of the Yaudheyas*[21]. We may, however, point out that Rapson has read the legend on the silver coin as *Bhagavata Svāmina Brahmaṇya (Deva) Yaudheya...*[22]. The dot marks put by him at the end of the last word clearly indicate that he felt that the legend was not complete. Bela Lahiri reconstructed the legend as *Bhagavataḥ Svāmino Brahmaṇyasya* (or *sa*) *Yaudheyasya* (or *sa*)[23] but D.C. Sircar has rightly deciphered it as *Bhagavato Svāmino Brahmaṇyasya Yaudheyānām*[24]. P.L. Gupta's rejection of the name of the tribe Yaudheya in the legend[25] is illogical, as the

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14 *JNSI*, II, p. 112, no. 95; XXVIII, p. 113 ff; XLVI, p. 14-17, etc; *JAINS*, VI, p. 68-72; *ND*, XI, p. 34-38.

15 NISAR AHMAD, *The Kumaras. A Forgotten Ancient Indian Tribe*, in *Seminar Papers on the Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, ed. by J.P. SINGH & NISAR AHMAD, Varanasi, 1977, p. 154-192.

16 *Ibidem*, p. 185-186.

17 *ND*, VIII, p. 35-36.

18 In 1978, P.L. Gupta had observed that Nisar Ahmad's *arguments have some weight but it needs further probe before it is accepted* (*ND*, II, ii, p. 23). In 1987, he was all out to uphold this identification and criticized Ajay Mitra Shastri for his rejection of Nisar Ahmad's identification (*ND*, XI, p. 130 ff). See also his *Numismatic History of Himachal Pradesh*, Delhi, 1988, p. 28-29 where he has not referred to Nisar Ahmad at all and passed on this attribution as his own.

19 NISAR AHMAD, *op. cit.*, p. 186-187.

20 *THAI*, p. 236-239 and 244-245. See also D. HANDA, *Studies in Indian Coins and Seals*, Delhi, 1985, p. 36-39.

21 *BMCAI*, p. CXLIX.

22 E.J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins* (rpt., New Delhi, 1970), Key to pl. III, 15.

23 B. LAHIRI, *Indigenous States of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1974, p. 204.

24 D.C. SIRCAR, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, p. 357. Sircar interpreted the legend as *(Coin) of the Divine Lord Brahmanya. (Coin) of the Yaudheyas*. The legend may be interpreted like Allan as *(Coin) of the Divine Lord Brahmanyadeva of the Yaudheyas*.

25 *ND*, XI, p. 28-29.

illustrations of this silver coin in the works of Cunningham[26], Allan[27] and Mitchiner[28] clearly show. We agree to Sircar's reading of the last word of the legend as *Yaudheyānām*[29].

Unable to explain satisfactorily the grammatical inaccuracy of the legend as pointed out by Shastri, P.L. Gupta asks himself if the genetive singular form *Kumārasa* for a tribe cannot be taken as an exception. Why should it be taken as an exception when it can otherwise be explained very easily as going together with *Brahmaṇyadevasya*? Both Nisar Ahmad and P.L. Gupta, however, see the duplication of the name of the god if *Kumārasya* is taken to stand for Kārttikeya. The latter incites Shastri to quote a single instance where he has noticed the name Kumāra used for Kārttikeya anywhere in the pre-Christian era[30]. P.L. Gupta is perhaps correct. Kumāra in this legend is not the name of Kārttikeya, but his epithet. As an epithet of the war-god, Kumāra has been in use from very early times[31]. It is used in the coin-legend along with Brahmaṇyadeva in the same way as it has been used along with Skanda on Huviṣka's coins (*Skando Komaro*)[32]. These coins depict Skando Komaro as one god though both Skanda and Kumāra used independently also denoted the same deity, i.e. Kārttikeya, later. The use of *Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* should not, therefore, be interpreted to denote duplication of the name of the same deity or to mean Kārttikeya and the Kumāra tribe.

In his obsession to prove that the word Kumāra in the coin legends under discussion stands for the name of a tribe, as it substitutes the word Yaudheya on the silver coin, P.L. Gupta has gone to the extent of offering a very ridiculous suggestion that the word Darmattaya (we read it as Darmatraya)[33] occurring on a number of similar coins after *Brahmaṇyadevasya* also stands for an unknown tribe[34]. Coins bearing the legends *Bhagavato-svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* and *Bhagavato-svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Darmattaya* (or *Darmatraya*) are not only of the same period, type and fabric but also come from the same region. How can then the Kumaras and the Darmattayas, if they were different tribes as held by P.L. Gupta, be accomodated in the same region, at the same time and issuing similar coins? Darmattaya does not occur anywhere in literature or epigraphs as the name of a tribe, but Darmatraya makes some sense. Further discoveries will prove as to which reading is correct. Whatever may have been the actual form of this word, it is clear that it did not denote the name of a tribe.

Both Nisar Ahmad and P.L. Gupta are silent about the attribution of those coins listed by Allan under the same class, which do not contain the word Kumāras(y)a at the end of the legend. Since they cannot be attributed to the Kumāras (and the Darmattayas of P.L. Gupta's fancy), whom are they to be attributed to? As noted above, the foundation of Nisar Ahmad's hypothesis is based on certain epic and Pauranic references. He holds that the name of the Kumāras as a people occurs in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[35] :

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26 *CAI*, pl. VI, 9.

27 *BMCAI*, pl. XXXIX, 21.

28 M. MITCHINER, *Indo-Greek and Indo Scythian Coinage*, 4, London, 1975, p. 331, Type 598 ; 7, 1976, p. 637, Type 940.

29 We have discussed the problem of the legend and the attribution of the silver coin to the Yaudheyas at length in another paper submitted to the First Oriental Numismatic Congress, Nagpur, Oct. 27-Nov. 2, 1990.

30 *ND*, XI, p. 30.

31 P.K. AGRAWAL, *Skanda-Kārttikeya*, Varanasi, 1967, p. 18 ff. Also see A.K. CHATTERJEE, *The Cult of Skanda-Karttikeya in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1970, p. 1 ff.

32 P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, Chicago, 1966, p. 149-150, pl. XXVIII, 22-24.

33 *JAINS*, VI, p. 68-72.

34 *ND*, XI, p. 38.

35 As quoted by NISAR AHMAD, *op. cit.*, p. 194, fn. 75.

*Keralānuṣṭrakarṇāmśca Kirātānapi caiva hi /*
*Kālodarān vivarnāmśca Kumārān svarṇabhūṣitān //*
*Samaṇḍale samudrasya tirobhūtā'nuparvataḥ /*
*Tatastu pāvanī bhaiva prācīmeva diśam gatā //*

A similar reference occurs in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* also[36] :

*Dhīvarānṛṣikāmścaiva tathā Nīlamukhānapi /*
*Keralānuṣṭrakarṇāmśca Kirātānapi caiva hi //*
*Kālodarān vivarnāmśca Kumārān svarṇabhūmikān /*
*Amaṇḍalam Samudrasya tirobhūtāmśca pūrvataḥ //*

The references to the Kumāras in the above-mentioned passages from the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* are couched in almost similar words mentioning them amongst the peoples of Dakṣiṇāpatha along with the Kālodaras, Vivarṇas and Svarṇabhūmikas. *Svarṇabhūṣitāḥ* seems to be a mistake for the name occuring in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. It will not be irrelevant here to quote Pargiter who had observed that *the versions of the Matsya, Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa present a remarkable similarity. The two latter agree so closely that they resemble two recensions of the same text, and the Matsya, though not in such marked agreement, contains a text very similar. There can be no doubt that their versions are based upon one original compilation...*[37] The Kālodaras have been mentioned as *Kalindagatikas, Kālañjras* and *Kālidaras* in the *Matsya Purāṇa*[38]. They can not be identified properly. The Vivarṇas have been referred to as Ekakarṇas and the Kumāras as Kuśikas in the *Matsya*. The Svarṇa-bhūmikas are the Svarga-bhaumakas of the same *Purāṇa*[39]. They were the inhabitants of the Suvarṇa-bhūmi, i.e. Burma[40]. What is, however, notable for us is the fact that all these peoples have been mentioned in the above-mentioned Puranas as belonging to Dakṣiṇāpatha. The name Kumāra occurs in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. also with its variant Kusuma[41]. Pargiter, who translated the *Purāṇa*.into English and studied the variant readings, suggested that the reading should be *Kurumbas* or *Kurubas* and placed them in the Deccan[42]. D.C. Sircar regards the Kumāras to be the inhabitants of Cape Comorin[43]. We thus see that these Pauranic references cannot be relied upon for the exact names of these peoples and for their geographical locations.

For the Kumāras, Nisar Ahmad also refers to the following passages of the *Mārhabhārata* :

1. *Kāśmīrāsca Kumārāśca Gaurakā Hamsakāstathā*
   (Bombay edition, Sabha Parva, ch. 78, v. 89)

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36 *Ibidem.*

37 F.E. PARGITER, *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Bombay, 1913, p. VI.

38 As quoted by D.C. SIRCAR, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1960, p. 65, fn. 3. See also M.R. SINGH, *Geographical Data in the Early Purāṇas : A Critical Study*, Calcutta, 1972, p. 32.

39 *Ibidem.*

40 *Ibidem.* Also see N.L. DE, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, (rpt.), New Delhi, 1971, p. 198.

41 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*(Veṇkaṭeśvara Press ed.), 58-46 mentions Kumāras whereas the Sarasvatī Press edition, Calcutta, refers to Kusumas.

42 F.E. PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*, Eng. tr., Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, p. 32 n. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* (Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, 13.47) also mentions Kumārāda as a *janapada* of southern India.

43 D.C. SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 29-30, fn. 9.

2. *Kāśmīrāsca KumārāścaGhorakā Hamsakāyanāḥ*
(Poona edition, Sabha Parva, ch. 52, v. 14)[44]

Nothing is known about the Gaurakas/Ghorakas and Hamsakas/Hamsakāyanas[45]. Their mention along with that of Kumāras and Kāśmīras indicates that they may have been north-western tribes. The Poona edition of the *Māhabhārata* also contains a reference to Kumāra-*viṣaya* in Bhīma's *digvijaya* :

*Tataḥ Kumāraviṣaya Śreṇimantamatajayat /*
*Kośalādhipati caiva Bṛihadvalamarindameḥ //*[46]

*That chastiser of all foes (i.e. Bhīma) then vanquished king Śreṇimat of the country of Kumāra, and then Vrhadvala, the king of Kośala*[47]. How is it possible that king Śreṇimat referred to here, issued coins not in his own name but in the name of his country called Kumara? And where was this Kumāra-*viṣaya* located? Probably somewhere near Kośala if the reference under consideration may be of any help, or in the south because Sahadeva is also said to have defeated him during his conquest of the southern quarter[48]. The provenance of these coins with *Kumārasya* legend negates any possibility of their having been issued by Śreṇimat in the Kumāra country. We, thus, see that the passages quoted by Nisar Ahmad to prove the existence of the Kumāras were not studied by him critically. Much more important is the fact that the word Kumāra in the Pauranic passages has variants like the Kunasas[49], Kumanas[50], Kusumas[51] and Kupathas[52] and that it does not occur at all in the critical edition of the *Māhabhārata* [53].

Even if, for the sake of argument, we believe that the Kumāras have been mentioned in the Pauranic and epic texts, no text locates them in the eastern Haryana-Dehra Dun-Garhwal region, which is the provenance of these coins[54]. And no text associates them with Brahmanyadeva or describes them as his worshippers, as provided by the internal evidence of the coins themselves. On the contrary, there is copious literary evidence regarding the association of the Yaudheyas with Kārttikeya depicted on these and even other coins.

The attribution of these coins to the Kumāras is, thus, based only on a hunch and very flimsy ground and the whole edifice of arguments to attribute them to the Kumāras crumbles at the very touch of a critical study.

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44 As quoted by NISAR AHMAD, *op. cit.*, p. 192, fn. 78.

45 The Hamsakayanas may be the same as Hamsamārgas of the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* located by Sircar at Humza in north-west Kashmir. For details, see D.C. SIRCAR, *op. cit.*, p. 26 fn. 8 and M.R. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

46 *Ibidem.*

47 ID., p. 186.

48 V.S. AGRAWAL, *Mahābhārata Kī Nāmānukramaṇikā*, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2036, p. 73 and 360.

49 *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (Bangavāsī ed.), 49.56.

50 *Vāyu Purāṇa*(Veṇkaṭeśvara Press ed.), I, 45, 125.

51 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Sarasvati Press ed.), 57, 46. *Mārk P.* (Veṇkaṭeśvara Press ed.), 58.46 mentioned Kumara.

52 *Matsya Purāṇa*(Veṇkaṭeśvara Press ed.), 114.47.

53 NISAR AHMAD himself was aware of this fact (*loc. cit.*).

54 D.C. SIRCAR (*op. cit.*, p. 30) has located the Kumāras at Cape Comorin. See also *Purāṇa*, IV, no. 2, p. 253.

# A Hoard of Late Kushan Coppers from Bhuj (India)

Dilip RAJGOR*

## I. Introduction

An earthen pot containing two hundred and fifty odd copper coins was unearthed, in June 1989, while constructing a building at Ravani Street in the Bhuj city of the Kachchh district, Gujarat State, India. Unlike other hoards, the present one was fortunate enough to survive as a whole – except for a few coins – and the present author could photograph two hundred and thirty five coins.

## II. The Coins

These uninscribed crude copies of Kushan coins do not depict full dies, as the flans are smaller than the dies. Still with the help of many coins, these can be classified as follows :

a. Two human figures facing each other on the obverse, with blurred reverse.
b. Standing king on the obverse and Shiva with his bull on the reverse.
c. Standing king on the obverse and fire-altar on the reverse.
d. Standing king on the obverse and an uncertain reverse type.
e. Crude representation of a king on the obverse and an uncertain reverse type.
f. Standing bull on the obverse and an uncertain reverse type.
g. Uncertain objects on obverse and reverse.

## III. The Technique

The coins were struck by dies. In the process, it seems that long bars were made first, then cut into pieces and subsequently struck with the dies. Both ends of these bars were roundish (cf. coin no. 13). The coins were cut at the left and right sides by a chisel, but are unaltered on top and bottom sides, indicating the width of the oblong bars.

## IV. Catalogue

| Sr. No. | Weight g | Size mm |
|---|---|---|
| (a) Two human figures facing each other with blurred reverse. | | |
| 1. | 1.2 | 8.5 x 9 |
| (b) Obv. : Standing king; Rev. : Shiva with his bull. | | |
| 2. | 1.7 | 10 x 12 |
| 3. | 2.2 | 8.5 x 9 |
| 4. | 1.5 | 8 x 11 |
| 5. | 2.1 | 9 x 10 |
| 6. | 1.9 | 9 x 10.5 |
| 7. | 1.2 | 8 x 9 |
| 8. | 2.8 | 9 x 11 |
| 9. | 1.6 | 9 x 10 Not from the hoard but from Junagadh. |
| (c) Obv. : Standing king; Rev. : Fire-altar. | | |
| 10. | 2.5 | 10 x 12 |
| 11. | 1.7 | 8 x 11 |
| (d) Obv. : Standing king; Rev. : Uncertain. | | |
| 12. | 1.9 | 10 x 10.5 |
| 13. | 1.8 | 9 x 13 |
| 14. | 2.4 | 9 x 10 |
| 15. | 2.1 | 9 x 10 |
| 16. | 3 | 9 x 10 |

* Bombay.

| Sr. No. | Weight g | Size mm | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17. | 1 | 8 x 11 | |
| 18. | 2.3 | 9 | |
| 19. | 1.8 | 8 x 9 | |
| 20. | 1.1 | 8x 9 | |
| 21. | 1.1 | 8 x 10 | |
| 22. | 1.5 | 6.5 x 10 | |
| 23. | 1.4 | 7 x 10 | |
| 24. | 1 | 7 x 9 | |
| 25. | 2 | 8 x 10 | |
| 26. | 1.9 | 8 x 11 | |
| 27. | 1.3 | 8 x 10 | |
| 28. | 1.4 | 6 x 10 | |
| 29. | 2.3 | 8 x 11 | |
| (e) Obv. : Crude representation of king; Rev. : Uncertain. | | | |
| 30. | 1.5 | 9 | |
| 31. | 1.3 | 7 x 10 | |
| 32. | 2.8 | 11 x 7 | |
| 33. | 1.4 | 7 x 9 | |
| 34. | 1.4 | 7 x 8 | |
| 35. | 1.8 | 8 x 10 | |
| 36. | 1.6 | 7 x 10 | |
| 37. | 2 | 8 x 9 | |
| 38. | 1.3 | 8 x 10 | |
| 39. | 1.6 | 7 x 9 | |
| 40. | 1.1 | 7 x 9 | |
| 41. | 1.5 | 7 x 10 | |
| 42. | 1.3 | 8 x 9 | |
| 43. | 1.3 | 6 x 7 | |
| 44. | 1.2 | 6 x 8 | |
| 45. | 1.2 | 7 | |
| 46. | 1 | 8 x 9 | |
| 47. | 1.7 | 7 x 10 | |
| 48. | 1.7 | 8 x 10 | |
| 49. | 2 | 10 x 11 | |
| 50. | 1.2 | 8 x 9 | |
| (f) Obv. : Standing bull; Rev. : Uncertain. | | | |
| 51. | 1.3 | 8 x 9 | Bull to the right. |
| 52. | 2.4 | 7 x 11 | Bull to the eft. |
| 53. | 1.5 | 7 x 9 | Bull to the left. |
| (g) Uncertain objects on obv. and rev. | | | |
| 54. | 1.2 | 6.5 x 11 | |
| 55. | 1.2 | 7 x 9 | |
| 56. | 1.1 | 7 x 9 | |
| 57. | 1.9 | 8 | |
| 58. | 1.6 | 6 x 8 | |
| 59. | 1.2 | 6 x 11 | |
| 60. | 1.5 | 6 x 8 | |
| 61. | 1.4 | 6 x 8 | |
| 62. | 1.5 | 7 x 10 | |
| 63. | 1.4 | 6 x 8 | |
| 64. | 2 | 8 | |
| 65. | 1.1 | 7 | |
| 66. | 1.4 | 6 x 10 | |
| 67. | 1.2 | [illegible] | |
| 68. | 1.3 | 6 x 8 | |
| 69. | 1.1 | 6 x 8 | |
| 70. | 1.1 | 6 x 10 | |
| 71. | 1.5 | 7 | |
| 72. | 1.1 | 8 | |
| 73. | 0.9 | 7 x 8 | |
| 74. | 1.1 | 7 x 8 | |
| 75. | 1.3 | 7 x 9 | |
| 76. | 1.1 | 7 x 8 | |

| Sr. No. | Weight g | Size mm |
|---|---|---|
| 77. | 1 | 7 x 9 |
| 78. | 1.5 | 6 x 9 |
| 79. | 1.2 | 8 x 9 |
| 80. | 1.2 | 6 x 8 |
| 81. | 2.1 | 10 x 11 |
| 82. | 1 | 7 x 9 |
| 83. | 1.5 | 7 x 9 |
| 84. | 1.4 | 7 x 8 |
| 85. | 2.4 | 11 |
| 86. | 1.5 | 7 x 9 |
| 87. | 1.3 | 8 x 9 |
| 88. | 1.6 | 7 x 8 |
| 89. | 1.4 | 7 x 10 |
| 90. | 0.9 | 6 x 9 |
| 91. | 1.8 | 10 |
| 92. | 1.5 | 7 x 10 |
| 93. | 1.6 | 7 x 9 |
| 94. | 1.5 | 7 x 8 |
| 95. | 1.4 | 8 x 9 |
| 96. | 2 | 8 x 10 |
| 97. | 1.6 | 7 x 9 |
| 98. | 1.4 | 9 |
| 99. | 1.1 | 6 x 7 |
| 100. | 1.6 | 8 x 9 |
| 101. | 1.4 | 7 x 9 |
| 102. | 1.3 | 7 x 9 |
| 103. | 1.7 | 8 |
| 104. | 1.5 | 8 x 10 |
| 105. | 0.9 | 8 |
| 106. | 1.7 | 7 x 10 |
| 107. | 2 | 7 x 10 |
| 108. | 1.5 | 6 x 9 |
| 109. | 1.1 | 5 x 9 |
| 110. | 1.1 | 8 x 9 |
| 111. | 1.9 | 9 x 10 |
| 112. | 1.3 | 7 x 10 |
| 113. | 1.1 | 7 |
| 114. | 1.1 | 6 x 8 |
| 115. | 1.1 | 6 x 9 |
| 116. | 1.3 | 8 |
| 117. | 2.2 | 8 x 9 |
| 118. | 2 | 9 x 10 |
| 119. | 1.1 | 6 x 10 |
| 120. | 1 | 6 x 9 |
| 121. | 1.4 | 7 x 8 |
| 122. | 1.15 | 7 x 8 |
| 123. | 1.3 | 8 x 9 |
| 124. | 1.9 | 7 x 11 |
| 125. | 1.5 | 8 x 10 |
| 126. | 1.9 | 7 x 10 |
| 127. | 1.2 | 8 x 10 |
| 128. | 1.3 | 7 x 8 |
| 129. | 1.5 | 7 x 10 |
| 130. | 1.2 | 6 x 11 |
| 131. | 2.3 | 9 x 10 |
| 132. | 1.1 | 6 x 7 |
| 133. | 1.4 | 8 x 10 |
| 134. | 1.2 | 6 x 9 |
| 135. | 1.4 | 8 x 10 |
| 136. | 1.3 | 7 x 9 |
| 137. | 2.4 | 10 |
| 138. | 1.5 | 5 x 10 |
| 139. | 1.4 | 8 x 9 |
| 140. | 2.1 | 10 x 11 |
| 141. | 1.9 | 10 x 11 |
| 142. | 2.3 | 7 x 9 |
| 143. | 1.3 | 7 x 8 |

| Sr. No. | Weight g | Size mm | Sr. No. | Weight g | Size mm |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 144. | 1.8 | 8 x 9 | 191. | 1.7 | 5 x 10 |
| 145. | 1.2 | 6 x 10 | 192. | 1.1 | 7 x 8 |
| 146. | 1.4 | 6 x 9 | 193. | 1.1 | 7 x 10 |
| 147. | 1.3 | 6 x 8 | 194. | 2.6 | 8 x 11 |
| 148. | 1.4 | 7 x 10 | 195. | 1 | 8 x 9 |
| 149. | 1.4 | 7 x 8 | Corroded coins | | |
| 150. | 1.5 | 7 x 10 | 196. | 1.1 | 8 x 9 |
| 151. | 1.7 | 7 x 11 | 197. | 1.6 | 5 x 9 |
| 152. | 1.3 | 6 x 9 | 198. | 1 | 7 x 8 |
| 153. | 1.8 | 9 x 10 | 199. | 1.2 | 7 x 8 |
| 154. | 1.5 | 7 x 9 | 200. | 1.4 | 6 x 9 |
| 155. | 1.8 | 7 x 10 | 201. | 2.6 | 10 |
| 156. | 1.9 | 9 | 202. | 2.2 | 9 |
| 157. | 1.9 | 9 x 10 | 203. | 1.2 | 8 x 10 |
| 158. | 2 | 8 x 10 | 204. | 2.1 | 8 x 9 |
| 159. | 2 | 7 x 8 | 205. | 1.5 | 6 x 9 |
| 160. | 1.9 | 9 | 206. | 1.4 | 7 x 8 |
| 161. | 1.3 | 7 x 9 | 207. | 1.2 | 8 x 10 |
| 162. | 2 | 10 x 11 | 208. | 1.4 | 6 x 10 |
| 163. | 1.8 | 8 x 9 | 209. | 1.5 | 7 x 10 |
| 164. | 2.6 | 9 x 10 | 210. | 1.3 | 8 x 9 |
| 165. | 1.7 | 8 x 10 | 211. | 1.6 | 10 x 11 |
| 166. | 2 | 7 x 11 | 212. | 1.8 | 8 x 9 |
| 167. | 1.3 | 9 x 10 | 213. | 1.5 | 6 x 9 |
| 168. | 1.8 | 11 | 214. | 1.7 | 9 x 10 |
| 169. | 2.1 | 8 x 9 | 215. | 1.7 | 9 x 10 |
| 170. | 1.4 | 6 x 8 | 216. | 1.3 | 8 x 9 |
| 171. | 1.1 | 6 x 9 | 217. | 2.7 | 9 x 11 |
| 172. | 1.3 | 8 x 10 | 218. | 1.5 | 9 x 10 |
| 173. | 1.2 | 6 x 7 | 219. | 2.1 | 9 x 11 |
| 174. | 1.4 | 7 x 9 | 220. | 1.4 | 8 x 9 |
| 175. | 1.8 | 6 x 9 | 221. | 1.9 | 8 x 11 |
| 176. | 1.1 | 9 x 10 | 222. | 1.3 | 8 x 9 |
| 177. | 1.7 | 8 x 9 | 223. | 1.6 | 9 x 10 |
| 178. | 2.15 | 6 x 11 | 224. | 2 | 9 x 11 |
| 179. | 1.8 | 8 x 9 | 225. | 1.1 | 6 x 9 |
| 180. | 1.2 | 9 x 10 | 226. | 2.6 | 10 x 12 |
| 181. | 2.5 | 10 x 11 | 227. | 1.5 | 7 x 10 |
| 182. | 1.7 | 7 | 228. | 2.1 | 9 x 12 |
| 183. | 2.5 | 9 x 11 | 229. | 2.3 | 9 x 10 |
| 184. | 1.4 | 10 x 12 | 230. | 1.6 | 8 x 10 |
| 185. | 1.3 | 7 x 8 | 231. | 1.4 | 7 x 9 |
| 186. | 1.4 | 6 x 9 | 232. | 1.6 | 7 x 8 |
| 187. | 1.6 | 6 x 10 | 233. | 1.7 | 7 x 10 |
| 188. | 1.1 | 8 x 9 | 234. | 1.7 | 7 x 10 |
| 189. | 3.2 | 10 | 235. | 1.9 | 10 |
| 190. | 1 | 9 x 10 | | | |

Western Kshatrapa : Mahākshatrapa Bhartrdāman. Silver plated copper, dated S 214.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 236. | 1.8 | 14 |

Other Finds :

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a. Similar coins are occasionally found from the neighbouring province of Saurashtra (coin no. 9 in the catalogue).
b. Around 1970, a hoard of twenty-eight coins was reported in the *Taxila Region* of Pakistan. It contained two Kushano-Sasanian copper coins of Hormizd I. The rest of the twenty-six coins were of the Kushan type : a standing king on the obverse with Shiva and his bull on the reverse. These are abscribed to *c*. A.D. 275[1].
c. A hoard of sixty-nine copper Kushano-Sasanian coins of Hormizd I, Hormizd II and Piruz II, was reported from Pakistan in 1980. The hoard is dated *c*. A.D. 325[2].

1 *Coin Hoards*, vol. VI, 1981, no. 299.

2 *Ibidem*, no. 301.

d. Another hoard of five hundred and sixty-three coins was reported from Pakistan in 1980. It had Kushano-Sasanian coins of Hormizd I, Hormizd II, Piruz II, Shapur II; Ardokhsho and Shiva and bull type coins of the later Kushans; wheel type Gandharan coins and a coin of Azes II. The hoard was dated to *c*. A.D. 350[3].

e. One hundred and forty-six coins dating *c*. A.D. 360 were reported in a hoard from Und (Ohind) in Pakistan sometime around 1940. It contained coins of Hormizd I, Shapur II; Ardokhsho and Shiva type coins of the later Kushans with a few illegible coins[4].

f. Six coins were reported from a hoard, in 1980, found in the Peshawar area of Pakistan. It contained coins of Piruz I and Vasudeva II, the Kushan. These were dated *c*. A.D. 260[5].

g. Around 1980, a hoard consisting of more than seven hundred and fifty coins was reported from the Rawalpindi area in Pakistan. The coins, dating *c*. A.D. 290, were of Hormizd II, and the Shiva and his bull type[6].

h. From the Indian Punjab ten copper coins were reported in 1980, of which four coins imitating Kushano-Sasanian type were known. The remainder of the coins were of the Kushans and showed five different types :
   1. Standing king; Shiva and bull.
   2. Standing king; lines (traces of Shiva and bull).
   3. Standing king; standing male figure holding a bow.
   4. Standing king; blank.
   5. Standing king; Ardokhsho types.

   These date from *c*. A.D. 360[7].

i. In 1968, either from N.W. India or from Pakistan, a small hoard of sixteen copper coins was reported. It had four coins of Hormizd I, one of Piruz II, one of Shapur II; seven coins of standing king, Shiva and bull type, and three other unidentified coins. The hoard is dated *c*. A.D. 360[8].

j. Sometime around 1967, a hoard of more than seven copper coins was reported from Pakistan. It consisted of one coin of Hormizd I, three coins of Shapur II and three coins of standing king, Ardokhsho type. These date from *c*. A.D. 360[9].

k. Two hundred and fifty copper coins were reported from N.W. India in 1980. They included coins of Hormizd I, Shapur II, and many Kushan varieties dated to *c*. A.D. 380[10].

*V. Date*

The presence of the silver plated coin of Mahākshatrapa Bhartrdāman with the Śaka year 214 (coin no. 236), helps dating the hoard. It shows that the hoard was buried after A.D. 292. Further, the metal and the worn-out condition of this coin suggest that it must have been buried sometime after the reign of Bhartrdāman. Morever, the fire-altar on coins nos. 10 and 11 suggests that the issuing family of these coins was well aware of such fire-altar coins of the Sasanians. Further, a study of the coin-finds from this area reveals that no Kshatrapa coins later than Yashodāman II (A.D. 315-332) are known from this district. Cribb rightly says *the Siva type copper in hoard (d) shows that the series continued to run parallel in weight to the Kushano-Sasanian series down to the mid fourth century. The types of these issues have become almost unrecognisable. The king on the obverse has lost all his attributes and only the upper halfs of his arms are shown, curved out like wings. Siva and his bull on the reverse are no longer recognisable, only a*

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3 *Ibidem*, no. 303.
4 *Ibidem*, no. 304.
5 *Ibidem*, vol. VII, 1985, no. 447.
6 *Ibidem*, no. 452.
7 *Ibidem*, no. 454.
8 *Ibidem*, no. 455.
9 *Ibidem*, no. 456.
10 *Ibidem*, no. 457.

*part of the design was on the coin... The coins based on Vasudeva I' Siva type... therefore show a gradual decline in weight and quality which follows the decline in weight and fabric of the contemporary Kushano-Sasanian coins. By c. A.D. 360, the Siva type had reached a low point and probably then ceased to be issued* [11]. Thus, the present coins can be considered as the products of second-half of the fourth century A.D.

*VI. Political Background*

Coin-finds from the Kachchh district reveal that stray Indo-Scythian coins are the earliest finds from the province. Among the Western Kshatrapas, copper coins of Aghudaka Iyana, the first Kshatrȃpa, are chiefly known from this area. A few Kushan coins are also reported, now in the Bhuj Museum. It seems that the Kshatrapas lost their sway over the province sometime in the second quarter of the fourth century A.D. Coins of Yashodāman II are the latest coins represented in the published hoards and no coins of any of the successors of Yashodāman II are reported from this district. Moreover, the gap of fifteen years from Śaka 255 to 269 is a mystery in the Western Kshatrapa history. Further, the three successors of Bhartrdāman, viz., Vishvasena[12], Rudrasimha II and Yashodāman II are not holding the higher title of Mahākshatrapa. It is clear that from the reign of Vishvasena onwards the empire of the Kshatrapas started disintegrating and in the second quarter of the fourth century A.D., Kachchh – the most western province – was lost to the family who was ruling Sind and the neighbouring areas, now in Pakistan.




11 J. CRIBB, *Ibidem*, vol. VI, 1981, p. 104.

12 A silver coin with the Mahākshatrapa title has been reported.


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Pl. VIII A Hoard of Late Kushan Coppers from Bhuj (India)




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# Vishnukundi-type Coins from Maharashtra

Shouri J. MANGALAM*

The Vishnukundi family was one of the important dynasties that flourished in coastal Andhra Pradesh during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., until they were exterminated by the Chalukyas in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Their coins are profusely known from their central surrounding regions. Typologically, they form a homogeneous class in so far as the reverse motif has a pot or a vase (*kalasa*) flanked by lamp-stands within radiating strokes. They established a matrimonial alliance with their western contemporaries, the Vakatakas in Maharashtra[1]. While on the one hand the coins of the Vishnukundis are well known and the same type of coins obtained from Maharashtra are attributed to the Vishnukundis on account of their political achievement in this region, on the other hand, no definitely attributable coins of the Vakatakas have been traced. Hence this period was considered to be a numismatically dark age. However, among the recent numismatic discoveries of South India, the Vishnukundi-type coins from Maharashtra[2], particularly from the Vidarbha region, are probably the most interesting ones in so far as they reveal new types and varieties which are surprisingly not yet found in the central region of the Vishnukundis in Andhra Pradesh. More and more discoveries from Maharashtra are being reported offering still more interesting types. Some of these are artistically of superior workmanship compared to the known Vishnukundi coins, and some of them bear a short legend. A few selected pieces[3] are presented here and an attempt is made to attribute them to the later Vakatakas and their immediate successors in Maharashtra up to *c*. 550 A.D. Since they have symbols within the radiating strokes on the reverse, an established character of the Vishnukundi coins, the nomenclature used here is that of the Vishnukundi-type coins. All these coins bear new types and are brought to the attention of numismatists for the first time.

## *I. Description*

1. *Round Rimmed Pot Type*
   Copper; circular; ø : 1.8 cm; Thickness : 3 mm; Weight : 7.00 g
   Obv. : Fully round decorated pot with a narrow neck and prominent rim apparently resting on a stand, small round pellet-like objects coming out of the pot and shown all around the pot, within a dotted circle.
   Rev. : The usual type of pot found on the Vishnukundi coins, surmounted by two horizontal bar-like objects having pellets at both ends (similar to those round objects on the obverse coming out of the pot), surmounted again by one more pellet, within a linear circle and radiating strokes.
2. *Horse Rider and Lotus Type*
   Copper; circular; ø : 1.6 cm; Thickness : 2.5 mm; Weight : 4.275 g
   Obv. : Caparisoned horse to the right mounted by a bearded rider wearing trousers, coat, ear-rings and a cap; the rider's head is flanked by sun and moon symbols; left foreleg of the horse is raised; fylfot (*swastika*) between the forelegs; all within a linear and dotted border.
   Rev. : A well executed lotus blossom viewed from the side, within a linear border and radiating strokes.

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1 The Vishnukundi king Madhavavarman II married a Vakataka princess, and his son from this marriage, Vikramendravarman I, is consequently described as having adorned by his birth the twin families of the Vishnukundis and the Vakatakas. *EpigIndica*, IV, 196; XIII, 113.

2 S.B. DEO and M.K. DHAVALIKAR, *Paunar Excavation*, Nagpur, 1968; V.V. MIRASHI, *The Find of a Vishnukundin Coin near Nagpur*, in *JNSI*, 33, 1, 1971, p. 126 ff.; ID., *A Unique Coin of the Vishnukundis*, in *Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume*, 1982, p. 303 ff; P.R.K. PRASAD, *A New Variety of Vishnukundin Coins from Vidarbha*, in *JNSI*, 33, 1, 1971, p. 80 ff; Ajay Mitra SHASTRI, *Two New Varieties of Vishnukundin Coins from Vidarbha*, in *JNSI*, 28, 1966, p. 164 ff; ID., *Early History of the Deccan - Problems and Perspectives*, Delhi, 1987, p. 132 ff, 137, footnote no. 27.

3 The coins presented here are now in the possession of private coin collectors in Maharashtra.

3. *Lion and Pot with Flame Type*
   Alloy of Copper, lead, zinc and tin; circular; ø : 2 cm; Thickness : 3.5 mm; Weight : 7.20 g
   Obv. : Lion standing to the right; the left foreleg paw is raised, wide opened mouth, tail curled upward, crescent above, linear and dotted borders.
   Rev : A round pot resting on a column with an arched base, a dot within the arch. The pot is surmounted by a flame with rays emanating sideways, flanked by the two usual lamp-stands, within a linear border and radiating rays.
4. *Lion and Conch Shell Type*
   Copper; circular; ø : 1.9 cm; Thickness : 3 mm; Weight : 6.40 g
   Obv. : Lion with wide opened mouth to the right; sun and moon above; a sword-like symbol (elephant goad?) in front of the animal; linear and dotted borders.
   Rev. : Well shaped conch shell with floral ornamentation within a linear circle and radiating strokes.
5. *Bull and Wheel Type with Legend*
   Copper; circular; ø : 1.8 cm; Thickness : 3.25 mm; Weight : 6.05 g
   Obv. : Bull standing to the right; *ŚRI* written horizontally above the bull; within linear and dotted borders.
   Rev. : Wheel viewed from the axles wich are flanked by two round objects (sun?); four crescents with a pellet-like sun symbol inside the curve on four corners; within linear circle and radiating strokes.
6. *Bull and Pot Type with Legend*
   Copper; circular; ø : 2 cm; Thickness : 2 mm; Weight : 4.60 g
   Obv. : Bull standing to the right; sun and moon symbols above the back of the animal; horizontal legend above : *ŚRI HARIRĀJA* in Brahmi script.
   Rev. : An artistically executed round pot with two parallel lines going round its belly, narrow neck, broad brim; round objects coming out it, a crescent-like bent bar with round objects at its extremities below the pot; within a linear border and radiating strokes.

## *II. Interpretation*

On coin no. 1, the obverse motif gives the coin its uniqueness. The fully round pot, kept on a stand, round objects coming out of it as if overflowing, might be a depiction of a *pūrṇa-kumbha*, signifying prosperity in the region of the issuer and thus due importance is assigned to it by depicting it on the obverse. A similar symbol of a pot, with the difference of foliages and flowers in it, occurs on some of the early coins such as the vase type copper coins of Chandra Gupta II, the uninscribed rectangular cast copper coin preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, etc.[4] Taking into account the chronological and geographical proximity of the Guptas with the Vakatakas in Maharashtra, the idea of depicting *pūrṇa-kumbha* might have been influenced by the contemporary Gupta coins.

The horse is a well known device of some of the South Indian coins. The earliest occurrence may be the Sangam period Malayaman coins from South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu, dated to the Ist century B.C.-Ist century A.D.[5] In the Deccan, besides elephant, bull and lion, the depiction of a horse finds a place in the Satavahana coinage[6]. In the North, the depiction of a horse occurs on the Indo-Greek coins. Going a step further, the king riding a horse is noticed on the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian coins and later on the Gupta coins[7]. It is, however, for the first time that a horse-rider is found on the coins of the Deccan or South India (Pl. X, 2). It betrays superb workmanship and advanced stage of artistic execution with many minute details. Considering the artistic merit of the earlier coins of the Deccan, the present one is a class par excellence. This coin is understood to have come from Paunar, the erstwhile capital of the Vakatakas. Presuming

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4 V.A. SMITH, *Coins of Ancient India - Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1972 (Reprint), vol. I, pl. XVII, 4; XXII, 19.

5 K. KRISHNAMURTHY, *Sangam Period Malayaman Coins*, in *JNSI*, 49, 1987, pl. III, 7-10; IV, 1.

6 Ajay Mitra SHASTRI, *Coinage of the Satavahasas and Coins from Excavations*, Nagpur, 1972, p. 16 ff, 33; I.K. SARMA, *Coinage of the Satavahana Empire*, Delhi, 1980, p. 68.

7 P. GARDNER, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, London, 1886; R.B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, 1914; A.K. SRIVASTAVA, *Catalogue of Indo-Greek Coins*, Lucknow, 1969; ID., *Catalogue of Saka-Pahlava Coins*, Lucknow, 1972; A.S. ALTEKAR, *Catalogue of the Gupta Empire*, Varanasi, 1957.





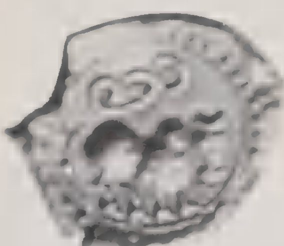


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that this is not a migrated coin, the question may rise whether it had any prototype or contemporary types for influence or inspiration either in the region or elsewhere. Taking the contemporary political link between the Imperial Guptas and the Vakatakas into account, it stands to reason to suggest that the present coin might have received the influence from the horseman type coins of the Guptas. The full blossom lotus flower viewed from side in sharp focus within radiating strokes on the reverse of coin no. 2 has no parallel in Indian numismatic art.

Unlike the usual well known pot-like or the so-called flower-vase (*kalaśa*) on the Vishnukundi coins from the coastal Andhra Pradesh, the coin no. 3 presented here depicts flames gushing out of the pot. In the manner it is depicted, flanked by lamp-stands, it might be interpreted as a fire-pot or a fire-altar from which the Vishnukundis and some other ruling families claim to have emerged[8], exhibiting thus their family genesis. However, the present coin is obtained not from the Vishnukundi central region, but from Maharashtra. It may be either a Vishnukundi coin issued from Maharashtra during their political expansion or the Vakataka minters themselves might have introduced some innovation.

The type of coin depicting a conch shell on the reverse within radiating strokes (Pl. X, 4) occurs also on the Vishnukundi coin from Andhra Pradesh[9], though artistically inferior and not as numerous as found in Maharashtra. Similarly, the depiction of the wheel (Pl. X, 5) in an identical manner, i.e. with the axle visible on either side of the wheel, is also noticed on the Vishnukundi coins from Andhra Pradesh[10]. In this case, all the coins are similar to the present type (Pl. X, 5) both on the obverse and on the reverse. The legend in Brahmi script *ŚRI* horizontally placed just above the bull has been wrongly deciphered as *VI* or *VIKA* or *VIKARAMA* in order to ascribe the coin to the Vishnukundi king Vikramendravarman[11]. The occurence of lotus flower, conch shell and wheel (Pl. X, 2, 4 and 5) shown in a sanctified manner, i.e. ornamented, flanked by two lamp-stands and radiating strokes, cannot be taken in any other sense than that of religious symbols of utmost reverence, representing the deity whose attributes they are. While the deity in question is Vishnu, the Vaishnavite character of the Vishnukundis of Andhra Pradesh is not quite prominent, even though inference can be drawn in this line as well[12]. The coins presented here coming from different parts of Maharashtra and found also at Paunar, the capital of the Vakatakas, depicting Vaishnavite symbols on their reverse, might reveal the sectarian religious leaning of the Vakatakas who were politically and matrimonially related to the Imperial Guptas who were professedly Vaishnavites.

*III. Attribution*

Typologically these coins belong to that class of coins generally attributed to the Vishnukundis of Andhra Pradesh on account of the resemblance of symbols on the reverse. The present author would classify these coins at present as Vishnukundi-type coins from Maharashtra. The matrimonial alliance between the Vishnukundis and the Vakatakas, and the subsequent political gain of the former over a major part of the Vakataka territory for a few decades might have caused the introduction of the typical Vishnukundi reverse device of the coins into this region.

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8 K.A. Nilakantha SASTRY, *History of South India*, Oxford, 1966, 3rd ed., p. 121; D.C. GANGULI, *The History of the Paramara Dynasty*, University of Dacca, 1933, p. 1; S.J. MANGALAM, *Kalasa Symbol on Vishnukundi Coins - A Reinterpretation*, in *JNSI*, 51, 1989, p. 79 ff.

9 M. Rama RAO, *Vishnukundin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, 1963, pl. II-b, 44, 49 etc. The symbol is not identified here as a conch shell, but as a vase. It, however, resembles a conch shell.

10 Abdul Waheed KHAN, *A Monograph on Yeleswaram Excavations*, Hyderabad, 1963, pl. XXVI.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 55-57.

12 S.J. MANGALAM, *op. cit.* Here the author has argued in favour of the fire-pot/pit origin of the Vishnukundis and their adherence to Vaishnavism.

The Vakataka period was considered to be a dark phase in Indian numismatics. But recently, Ajay Mitra Shastri has made a startling discovery of a copper coin of the Vakataka king Prithvisena (II ?)[13], setting aside the prevailing opinion that the Vakatakas did not have their own currency as they preferred the circulation of the coins of their contemporaries, particularly the Western Kshatrapas. It is, however, to be admitted that in the zenith of the Vakataka power, even if they issued a few base metal coins, they had to have recourse to some standard currency of international repute to maintain balance of trade and economy. Such a currency in all probability was the silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas which was also profusely found in the Vakataka region.

The coins presented in this paper, all from Maharashtra and particularly from Paunar, betray a marked difference from the coin of Prithvisena referred to above, in terms of typology, metrology, fabric, size and style. These coins are similar to those of the Vishnukundis in several respects. Hence it may be presumed that the Vakatakas, after they came into contact with the Vishnukundis, had adopted the minting techniques and devices of the latter. Thus these coins may tentatively be attributed to the latter Vakatakas, their subordinates and successors in Maharashtra.

Interestingly, the coin no. 6 presented here bears a clear legend reading *ŚRI HARIRĀJA* in Brahmi characters. This coin is reportedly from Prakase in Dhule District of Maharashtra. The author has seen three coins of this type in private collections. The *Mahārāja Sāmrāt* Harishena is the last known member of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vakatakas[14]. In the absence of any evidence of challenge, the issuer of the coin Śri Harirāja might be the same Vakataka king of the Vatsagulma branch. If this ascription is accepted, the similar types of coins, but mostly without legend, sporadically occurring in different parts of Maharashtra, may tentatively be attributed to the Vakatakas of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches.

*IV. Metallurgy, metrology and technique*

Out of the 310 coins belonging to this class of coins reportedly obtained from Paunar, only five have been subjected to chemical analysis. They revealed a hitherto unknown coin alloy of the past and an altogether new technique of minting. The average content of copper is about 74%, iron about 22%, tin about 3.5%, lead about 0.3% and some undetermined materials[15]. The conclusion drawn from this analysis is that by adding much iron and other base metals, the production cost might have been reduced. The present author after handling quite a number of this class of coins has come across only about 50% of them having iron content. Of the six coins presented here, only the first two have iron alloy of approximately the same quantity shown in the chemical analysis and the other four do not have any trace of iron.

A few coins of this class, as observed by the present author for the first time, have a different metallic combination, containing copper, lead, zinc and tin (Pl. X, 3) with the result that the coin apparently has a silvery look.

Metrologically, the Vishnukundi coins vary from about 0.75 g to as much as 9.00 g. The coins of the present class, i.e. the Vishnukundi-type, as noticed so far, have a weight of about 2.00 g and go up to 8.00 g. The coins under study come within this range. However, the exact Indian weight standard followed here is under investigation.

Regarding the technique of minting these coins, it appears, as observed by the author, that the circular coin flans were first produced in bulk by the casting process since on some coins the protruding channel mark of the mould can still be seen. The smiths of

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13 Ajay Mitra SHASTRI, *Unique Coin of Vakataka Prithvishena (II ?)*, in *Indian Coin Society Newsletter*, 4, October 1990.

14 ID., *op. cit.*, p. 64-68.

15 K.T.M. HEDGE, *Analytical Study of Paunar Coins*, in *JNSI*, 37, 1975, p. 180.

this department carefully examined the prescribed metal alloy and standard weight. The ready made coin flans were then transferred to the minting department where, possibly after the verification of the metal and weight, they were heated to a semi-molten stage to imprint the obverse and reverse devices, using the anvil and punch dies simultaneously. This being done manually and quickly the devices often partially go out of the coin flan.

*V. Historical perspectives*

The authors who have studied these coins of Maharashtra have taken them for granted as those of the Vishnukundis, and consequently a political expansion of the Vishnukundis to the Vakataka region was postulated. Apart from very little inscriptional evidence to show the Vishnukundi presence in Maharashtra for a short while[16], there is nothing to show their prolonged control over this region. Since the types of coins profusely coming to light from Maharashtra are not found in the Vishnukundi central region, the present author is inclined to ascribe these coins to the later membres of the Vakatakas and to their subordinates and successors in Maharashtra. The symbols of pot, wheel, conch shell flanked by lamp-stands and radiating strokes found on the reverse seem to be religious devices of Vaishnavite nature common to the Andhra-Maharashtra region, irrespective of the political conditions. As stated earlier, the introduction of these symbols on coins into the Maharashtra region might be due to the Vishnukundi political expansion. Thus the coin reverse devices throw some light on the socio-religious history of this part of the Deccan in the Vth-VIth century A.D.

Although the primary objective of any currency is to be used as a medium of transaction, these base metal coins probably had a subordinate role in foreign or long distance trade where a currency of superior metal would be preferred. Therefore the hypotheses are that either the trade was conducted without involving currency of higher value or the silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas were still in circulation in Maharashtra.

In fine, it may be revealed that the present author is consistently pursuing the study of this particular class of coins with the aim that a clearer picture on the attribution, metrology, metallurgy and economic aspect of them might possibly emerge.

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16 V.V. MIRASHI, *Thakurdiya Plates of Mahapravararaja*, in *EpigIndica*, 22, 1933-1934, p. 15 ff; ID., *Khanapur Plates of Madhavavarman*, in *EpigIndica*, 27, 1947-1948, p. 312.

# Bawan Hoard of Indo-Sasanian Coins

Pratipal BHATIA*

This paper deals with the largest single hoard of about 10 159 Indo-Sasanian silver/billon coins discovered so far. This hoard was found in a village called Bawan in the Hardoi district of Uttar Pradesh (India). It lies in 27°24' N. and 80°1' E. to the south of the road from Hardoi to Sai Ghat, about seven miles to the west of Hardoi[1]. The tradition associates this village with Sri Bawan or Vaman Avtar, an incarnation of the god Vishnu according to Hindu mythology[2]. It is said by the local people that this place, in the past, had fifty-two temples and hence was called Bawan meaning fifty-two[3]. The village is partly situated on a high mound which is supposed to be the traditional site of the Thatheras[4], literally meaning copper-smiths or brass workers. This mound has yielded some interesting fragments of Brahmanical sculptures of superior workmanship[5]. The neighbourhood of Bawan possesses eleven other old mounds or deserted village sites all of which are attributed to the Thatheras[6]. These mounds cover an area of several acres of land and contain the remains of a huge masonry wall and a ruined tank called Ramkund[7].

The Bawan hoard coins are currently located in the State Museum, Lucknow, where they were received on 22.2.1974 under the Treasure Trove Act. Twenty pieces of this hoard were received earlier in the same museum on 21.8.1969. The circumstances of the find of these coins are not known from the museum records. However in the District Gazetteer of Hardoi, it is mentioned that on 6.8.1969 about 40 kg of old coins, probably of the early Muslim period, and made of silver and copper, were found near the Siva temple which stands on the mound[8]. Keeping in view the total weight of the coins reportedly found in 1969 and the total number of coins found in Bawan hoard, it is suggested that the Gazetteer reference may be a reference to the hoard unter study, for no other coins of silver and copper are reported from Bawan around the year 1969. Labelling them as coins of early Muslim period could be an error on the part of the local police authorities to whom the custody of the Treasure Trove coins is given first but who do not have numismatic expertise.

All the coins of the Bawan hoard have a rude Sasanian style bust in profile to right on the obverse and stylized fire-altar flanked by two female attendants on the reverse. These coins bear the proto-Nagari legend *Sri Vi* or *Sri Vigra* in two lines on the obverse in front of the rude Sasanian bust. Those bearing the obverse legend *Sri Vigra* sometimes have the isolated Nagari letters *ma* or *sa* on the reverse in the centre of the fire-altar. Most of the coins of this hoard do not bear complete obverse or reverse devices as the dies used are too large for the flans. Some coins are cut and clipped from the sides resulting into irregular shapes done perhaps for weight adjustment. Some coins are brittle and their edges are badly cracked. In the entire hoard only three coins have a crescent-like symbol after the proto-Nagari legend *Sri Vigra*. In about a half per cent of the total number of coins, a second letter *pa* or *pra* appears after *Sri Vi* on the obverse. No other coins of any

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1 A.S. BAGHEL ed., *Hardoi*, Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Lucknow, 1988, p. 258.

2 *Ibidem*.

3 *Ibidem*.

4 H.R. NEVILL, *Hardoi : A Gazetteer*, Nainital, 1904, p. 172.

5 A. FUHRER, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1891, p. 277.

6 H. R. NEVILL, *op. cit.*

7 *Ibidem*.

8 A.S. BAGHEL, *op. cit.*

other series are found mixed in this hoard. Of 10 159 coins of the Bawan hoard examined by us, 1 801 were found to be worn and indistinct specimens but they all belong to this series exclusively. These worn and indistinct coins were weighed in lots of 25 each. The remainder of the coins were weighed individually piece by piece.

On the basis of style, palaeography and legends, the coins of this hoard are divided into three series. A detailed examination of these coins has revealed a large number of hitherto unknown and unpublished varieties in those series. Based on minutiae each of these series is further divided into a number of classes, groups, types etc. This hoard has some very fine specimens and also some very worn ones in different series on which nothing can be seen except the worn flan itself. This provides a clue to the chronology of these issues. These coins show variations in size, weight and thickness of fabric. Some coins are large and thin circular pieces of fine texture; others are slightly smaller in size and are of medium thickness. A large number of coins are small, thick, dumpy pieces. They provide another clue to the chronology.

### *Series 1*

To this series belong the coins which have on the obverse a rude Sasanian style bust with a large head dress in profile to the right with a Nagari legend comprising two *aksharas* inscribed in two lines reading *Sri Vi* in front of the bust. The style of the lettering specially that of *Sri*, as has been shown earlier[9], is found in the 8th century inscriptions of Rajasthan[10]. It is therefore concluded that the coins of this series were inspired by the Indo-Sasanian coins which were circulating in Rajasthan and then travelled towards modern Uttar Pradesh[11]. However this form of lettering got fossilized and continued to the very end of this series. The reverse of the coins of this series has a highly stylized fire-altar flanked by two female attendants. In the earlier coins, the obverse/reverse devices are drawn with care and are artistic but in later coins they get fossilized and are indicated by dots and lines of which only a part is visible on the coins. On the basis of this stylistic development the coins of Series 1 are divided into the following classes and groups :

*Class 1(a) (i)*

These are fine pieces with devices drawn neatly in thin lines. Some of these coins have beaded border which is seen only partly. Most of the specimens of this class are badly worn and look like smooth blank discs showing thereby that they were heavily circulated issues and the earliest ones of the entire lot (Pl. XI, 15-16).

Obv. : Sasanian bust to the right. Earrings, collar or neck decoration and head dress or crown are seen clearly. In front the Nagari legend *Sri Vi* in small sized letters is neatly inscribed in two lines.

Rev. : Stylized fire-altar flanked by two female attendants, beaded border around (Pl. XI, 1-3).

*Class 1 (a) (ii)*

These coins are slightly thicker and smaller in size :

Obv. : Similar but the letter Sri is larger and the second letter Vi is smaller.

Rev. : Similar (Pl. XI, 4).

*Class 1 (b)*

These coins are medium thick and slightly smaller in size. Devices are drawn in slightly thicker lines and dots. The dies used are larger than the flans. Sometimes a beaded border is seen around. Coins of this class are numerous.

Obv. : Sasanian bust to the right with a Nagari legend in front of which the lower letter *Vi* is seen only partly, the rest is off flan.

Rev. : Fire-altar flanked by two female attendants (Pl. XI, 5-9).

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9 P. BHATIA, in *JNSI*, 50, 1988, p. 101.

10 G.H. OJHA, *The Palaeography of India*, Oodeypoone, 1894, pl. XX.

11 P. BHATIA, *The Śrī Vigra(ha), Śrī Vi and Śrī madādivarāha Coin Series : Hoard Evidence from Ahichchhatra*, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics, London, September 1986*, Wetteren, 1989, p. 477.

*Class I (c) (i)*

Obv. : Similar, slightly smaller and thicker fabric, part of *Sri* and upper part of Sasanian bust off flan.

Rev. : Fire-altar is neat and tightly drawn (Pl. XI, 10).

*Class I (c) (ii)*

Obv. : Similar but part of both the letters partly off flan.

Rev. : Similar but lower part off flan (Pl. XI, 11).

*Class I (d)*

The coins become smaller.

Obv. : Sasanian bust is visible only partly and the Nagari legend *Sri Vi* becomes prominent.

Rev. : Similar (Pl. XI, 12).

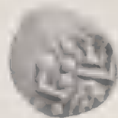
*Class I (e)*

Obv. : Similar but the upper part of the Sasanian bust and the Nagari letter *Sri* off flan, only *Vi* is visible. Beaded border below.

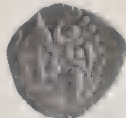
Rev. : Very neat fire-altar with two female attendants clearly drawn. Beaded border below (Pl. XI, 14).





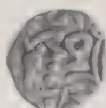



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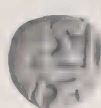








I 7 I 8 I 9 I 10 I 11 I 12

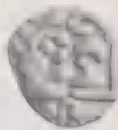








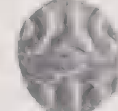



I 13 I 14 I 15 I 16 II 1 II 2





*Class 2 (a)*

These are large sized, thick, coarse, heavy and crude coins. The obverse/reverse devices are drawn in thick lines and dots in high relief. The Nagari legend in front is in squarish box type letters of large size. The reverse fire-altar is also in thick lines and dots. Though large sized yet none of the coins carry complete devices. One will have to put a number of coins together to get an idea of the complete design. The dies must have been very large as compared to the flans used.

Obv. : Rude Sasanian bust which is indicated by thick dots and lines with a large sized *Sri* in front and a small part of *Vi* below.

Rev. : Part of the fire-altar in thick lines and dots (Pl. XI, 17-18).

*Class 2 (b)*

These coins are slightly smaller in size.

Obv. : Very rude bust only part of which is on the flan. Nagari legend *Sri Vi* in front. Large sized *Vi* very clearly visible. Upper part of bust and of letter *Sri* off flan.

Rev. : Similar. Only the middle portion of the fire-altar device is visible, rest is off flan (Pl. XII, 19-22).

*Class 2 (c)*

Obv. : Part of Sasanian bust and Nagari letter *Sri* off flan but the lower letter *Vi* in large size is clearly visible.

Rev. : Part of the fire-altar device (Pl. XII, 23).

*Class 2 (d)*

These are small dumpy pieces.

Obv. : Sasanian bust and Nagari letter *Sri* off flan. Only a large sized Nagari letter *Vi* is clearly visible.

Rev. : Middle portion of the fire-altar device (Pl. XII, 24-25).

*Class 2 (e)*

From now on the emphasis is on the Nagari letter *Sri* which sometimes covers the entire obverse.

Obv. : Larger flan, rude Sasanian bust partly off flan with *Sri* without *matra* in front.

Rev. : Similar (Pl. XII, 26).

*Class 2 (f)*

Obv. : Rude Sasanian bust to the right with Nagari legend in front. Upper part of bust and *matra* of *Sri* off flan. Below a little corner of *Vi* visible.

Rev. : Similar (Pl. XII, 27-28).

*Class 2 (g)*

Obv. : Part of a rude Sasanian bust and in front a large sized Nagari *Sri* surmounted by part of the head dress of the bust.

Rev. : Part of fire-altar (Pl. XII, 29).

*Class 2 (h)*

Obv. : Bust indicated by thick dots with a large sized *Sri* in front.

Rev. : Similar (Pl. XII, 30).

*Class 2 (i)*

Obv. : Traces of a bust indicated by three thick dots with *matra* of *Sri* off flan.

Rev. : Part of fire-altar (Pl. XII, 31-32).

*Class 2 (j)*

Thick, small, dumpy pieces of irregular shape, squarish, triangular, oval, round, etc. They are cut on sides perhaps for weight adjustment.

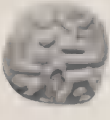
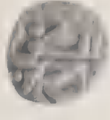
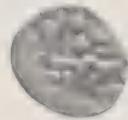
Obv. : Sasanian bust indicated by dots or traces thereof and *Sri* in front with *matra* off flan.

Rev. : Part of fire-altar (Pl. XII, 33-36).

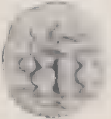
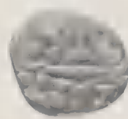
*Class 2 (k)*

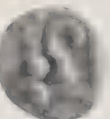
Obv. : Part of a bust or three thick dots with a squiggle in front, which is a part of *Sri*.

Rev. : Similar (Pl. XII, 37-40).

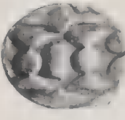
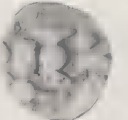
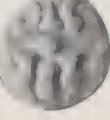
      

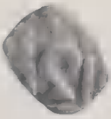
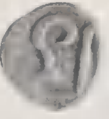
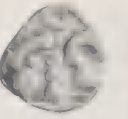
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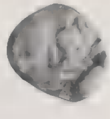
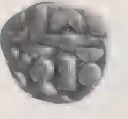
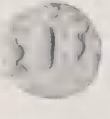
      

II 10 II 11 II 12 II 13 II 14 II 15 II 16

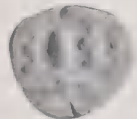
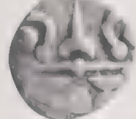
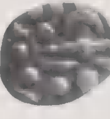
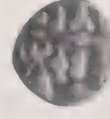
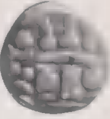
      

III 1 III 2 III 3 III 4 III 5 III 6 III 7

III 8 III 9 III 10 III 11 III 12 III 13

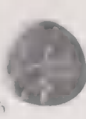
     

III 14

III 15

III 16

*Class 2 (l)*

Obv. : All traces or remnants of the Sasanian bust disappear, only a squiggle which is part of the Nagari *Sri* is visible.

Rev. : Part of fire-altar device (Pl. XII, 41).

*Class 3*

These coins are of different sizes, weights and types. They have only a Sasanian bust either full or in part or mere dots and lines indicative of the bust. Some are large, others are of medium size and thickness and still others are small and dumpy. Some of the specimens are fine but others are crude and coarse. They however fall in line with the coins of Class 1-2.

Obv. : Sasanian bust.

Rev. : Part of a fire-altar with female attendants (Pl. XII, 42-48).

*Class 4*

To this class belong coins of different sizes, weights, etc., but they still belong to one Class because they all have on the obverse a second letter after *Sri Vi* in the second line. This letter is sometimes partly and sometimes completely. It reads like *pa* or *pra,* the exact significance of which is a mystery. In the Bawan hoard, only 20 such pieces are found. In terms of style of obverse/reverse devices, palaeography, size, fabric, etc., they fall in line with Class 1-2 of Series 1 and hence are treated here.

Obv. : Part of a Sasanian bust to the right with a Nagari legend in two lines reading *Sri pa* in front. Beaded border seen partly sometimes.

Rev. : Part of a stylized fire-altar flanked by female attendants. Sometimes a beaded border around is seen partly (Pl. XIII, 49-62).

***Series 2***

The coins of this series are fairly well known to scholars. They have a rude, funny looking Sasanian bust to the right and in front have two lines Nagari legend which reads *Sri Vigra*. The letter *Sri* of this series is different from the *Sri* of coins of Series 1[12]. On the basis of type development and stylistic differences the coins of this series are divided into the following classes and groups :

*Class 1 (a)*

These are thin, broad, fine pieces.

Obv. : Rude Sasanian bust to right with two lines Nagari legend *Sri Vigra* in front. Beaded border around seen only partly.

Rev. : Fire-altar flanked by two female attendants with the Nagari letter *ma* in the centre. Beaded border around seen below only partly (Pl. XIII, 63-64).

*Class 1 (b)*

These coins are medium thick and slightly smaller in size. The obverse/reverse devices are partly off flan.

Obv. : Part of Sasanian bust and part of the Nagari legend in front. Lower part of the legend off flan.

Rev. : Part of a fire-altar with *ma* in the centre (Pl. XIII, 65-66).

*Class 1 (c)*

These are small, thick, dumpy pieces.

Obv. : Lower part of the bust and part of the second line of the legend reading *Sri Vig* (ra) visible. The remainder is off flan.

Rev. : Traces or a part of a fire-altar with the letter *ma* in the centre (Pl. XIII, 67).

*Class 1 (d)*

Small and dumpy pieces which are rather crude.

Obv. : Large sized letter *Sri* in flowing style with beaded border to right covering the entire obverse. The remainder is off flan.

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12 *Ibidem*



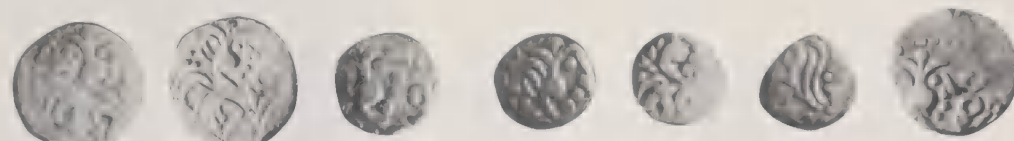
IV 1 IV 2 IV 3 IV 4 IV 5 IV 6 IV 7





IV 8 IV 9 IV 10 IV 11 IV 12 IV 13 IV 14





V 1 V 2 V 3 V 4 V 5 V 6 V 7





V 8 V 9 V 10 V 11 V 12 V 13 V 14





VI 1 VI 2 VI 3

Rev. : Part of a fire-altar with female attendant to the right and a large sized letter *ma* in the centre (Pl. XIII, 68).

*Class 2 (a)*

Broad thin, fine pieces.

Obv. : Sasanian style bust to the right with large head dress or crown. In front a two line Nagari legend *Sri Vigra*, sometimes partly off flan. Beaded border around sometimes seen partly.

Rev. : Beautifully drawn altar with female attendants and the Nagari letter *sa* in the centre. The treatment of the fire-altar, the legs of the female attendants, which are elongated here, and the positioning of the letter *sa* are different from the coins of Class 1 (Pl. XIII, 69-70).

*Class 2 (b)*

Medium thick and slightly smaller pieces of rude execution. They are numerous.

Obv. : Rude Sasanian bust to the right with the Nagari letter *Sri* in front. Only the upper part of the second line of the legend is visible. The remainder is off flan.

Rev. : Part of fire-altar in thick lines and dots with female attendant to the left. A large sized Nagari letter *sa* in the centre (Pl. XIII, 71).

*Class 2 (c)*

Thick, small, dumpy pieces.

Obv. : Part of a Sasanian bust with part of the Nagari letter *Sri* in front. The remainder is off flan.

Rev. : Part of a fire-altar in thick dots and lines with female attendant to the left. A large sized Nagari letter *sa* in the centre Pl. XIII, 72).

*Class 2 (d)*

Small, thick, dumpy pieces.

Obv. : Large sized Nagari letter *Sri* covering the entire obverse.

Rev. : Traces of a fire-altar in the form of some dots. Below part of a large size Nagari letter *sa* (Pl. XIII, 73).

*Class 3*

Very rude specimens.

Obv. : Large sized Nagari letter *Sri* covering the entire obverse with faint traces of the bust.

Rev. : Part of a fire-altar with attendants in thick lines and dots. No letter on the reverse is to be seen (Pl. XIII, 74).

*Class 4 (a)*

Medium thick as coins of Class 1 (b) of this Series.

Obv. : Part of Sasanian bust with disproportionately large headdress. Very well drawn Nagari letter *Sri* in front with beaded border to the right. In the second line of the legend below, there is a part of Nagari letter *ga* and after that a sign which looks like a crescent.

Rev. : Beautifully depicted fire-altar device with female attendants and the Nagari letter *ma* in the centre (Pl. XIII, 75).

*Class 4 (b)*

Obv. : Similar but the Nagari legend *Sri Vigra* in two lines is clearly visible. After *Vigra* in the second line, there is crescent-like symbol.

Rev. : Fire-altar as in Class 2 (a) but in thicker lines and dots. Letter *Sa* in the centre (Pl. XIII, 76).

***Series 3***

The coins of this series are of irregular shapes, different sizes and poorly struck in a very indifferent manner. Their edges are cracked as the coins are brittle. They have the obverse/reverse devices of Series 2 but the bust becomes barbarous. These coins are heavier.

*Class 1*

Obv. : Rude and funny looking Sasanian style bust to the right with large sized Nagari legend in two lines reading *Sri Vigra*.

Rev. : Fire-altar with female attendants. It has the Nagari letter *ma* in the centre which is prominent (Pl. XIII, 77-79, XIV, 80).

*Class 2*

Obv. : Crude Sasanian bust or traces thereof to the right with a two lines Nagari legend *Sri Vigra* or traces thereof.

Rev. : Part of a fire-altar flanked by two female attendants and the Nagari letter *sa* in the centre (Pl. XIV, 81-84).

*Class 3*

Obv. : Traces of the Nagari legend *Sri Vigra* and faint traces of the Sasanian bust to the right.

Rev. : Part of a fire-altar and female attendants but no Nagari letter in the centre (Pl. XIV, 85-86).

*Class 4*

Obv. : Part or traces of the Sasanian bust to the right and a large sized Nagari letter *Sri* in flowing style.

Rev. : Part or traces of a fire-altar flanked by two female attendants (Pl. XIV, 87-90).




*Conclusions*

These coins are an enigma for historians and provide a challenge to the numismatists. They do have legends, but the legends do not reveal the names of the authors of these coins. The isolated letters on the reverse of Series 2 and 3 also do not give us any clue. The metrology of these coins also poses a problem. For instance, the coins of Series 3 look very debased and degraded but follow the type of Series 2. However, they are of heavier weight as compared to coins of Series 2. Our only hope is now that the metallurgical analyses for this may tell us if there is any debasement of pure metal content in correspondence with the metrology of the coins.

It has been shown earlier that the coins of these series circulated in U.P. and neighbouring areas where they have been found in large numbers and in big hoards during the post-Vardhana-Maukhari-later Gupta period and prior to the issuance of Bull/Horseman coins of the Tomaras of Delhi and the seated Goddess type coins of the Gahadavalas of Kanauj[13]. So far no report has been received from any other part of northern India about the finds of coins of any of these three series in recent years.

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13 *Ibidem.*

It is concluded that coins of Series 1, Class 1 (a)-(i) were the earliest issues and the most circulated coins. These were followed by Class 2 which may have had a longer life as revealed by the typological development in this particular class. The last in this series were the coins which have only a squiggle on the obverse which is part of the letter *Sri*. Series 2 and 3 may have been co-current with Class 2 of Series 1. The coins of Series 2 and 3 ended with the coins which have only one letter *Sri* covering the entire obverse.

The coins of these three series circulated in the areas which were ruled over by the Pratiharas during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. The minting of these coins may have ceased with the appearance of Adivaraha coins in the middle of the 9th century but their circulation continued thereafter as they were not called back from circulation. They are found mixed with Adivaraha coins in hoards found during excavations at Ahichchhatra[14], but in these hoards the coins of Series 1, Class 1 (a)-(i) are missing. Most of the Vigra coins found are of Series 1, Class 2 and of Series 2, Class 1 (b) and Series 2, Class 2 (b) and (c). It means that the later coins of these series are found mixed with fresh looking Adivaraha coins. In another unpublished hoard of coins found in Jhansi which are lying uncleaned in the State Museum, Lucknow, the coins of these series are found mixed with Adivaraha and Vinayakapala coins of 9th and 10th centuries. In this particular hoard coins of *Sri Vi* and *Sri Vigraha* are badly worn and corroded. The issuance of these coins may have come to an end earlier but they remained in circulation until the time of Vinayakapala. In other words, the Indo-Sasanian type of coins represented in Bawan hoard may have circulated until the very end of the Pratihara rule in early medieval north India.

14 *Ibidem*

# Mughal Mint Towns and Mughal Territories

Prashant P. KULKARNI*

The names of the mint towns on Mughal coins, beyond doubt, tell us about the expansion and contraction of Mughal territories. The new mint towns discovered during the last decade have given us a great volume of informations.

For example, Trichonopoly or Trichanapalli has been recently published[1]. Taking the mint map to southernmost Mughal territories, this place is located at 10°48' N, 78°41' E on the bank of the Cauvery river. The rupee bearing this mint name and the name of Aurangzeb is illustrated here (Pl. XV). It has been mentioned in *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha* and *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha* by Bhimsen, the only writer on Deccan activities, but his views were sometimes doubted by the scholars. The discovery of the coin now eliminates that doubt and places Aurangzeb's territories beyond the Suba of Bijapur.

With the help of a variety of styles and legends found on the Mughal coins, the (unreadable) mints can be differentiated by their territories. This can be done in the following manner.

*1. Imperial mint towns*

These are places like Delhi, Agra, Lahore and Burhanpur and others having the finest die-cutters as well as mint-masters who produced utmost perfect coinages. Such coins depict true nastaliq calligraphy.

*2. Victory mint towns*

These towns are as Trichanapally of Aurangzeb, Ghora Ghat of Shah Jahan and Anhirwala Pattan of Akbar. The coins show almost imperial script but the mints are short lived and are opened only to mark the khutba and the Sikka : the Islamic way of declaring kingship.

*3. Provincial mint towns*

These are related to particular provinces and they show the influence of local calligraphy. Such examples are Bangala of Akbar, Malwa and Gujarat Mahmudis of the same ruler; Orissa of Jahangir, Berar of Jahangir and Karnataka of Aurangzeb.

*4. Local mint towns*

These are small towns which struck coinage only during the financial necessities. Soon afterwards they ceased to exist, i.e. stopped striking money. Such mints are Jalesar, Phonda, Punamali, Sambhar, Ranthambhor and many others.

When the mint names of such towns are truncated on the coins, problems arise. Many scholars try to make out a name from illegible letters and decipher the mint required to them. Ramachandranagar (*RADN*) and Narhar[2] are good examples. These readings could be more certain if the calligraphy or legends on those coins were matched with territorial calligraphy. The mint-master had traditional die-cutters. It seems that the art of engraving dies passed from father to son from generation to generation. At the same time, the art spread to nearby villages to new craftsmen whenever a new mint opened. This fact

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* Indian Coins Society, Nagpur.

1 *ONS Newsletter*, 128.

2 D. HANDA, *JNSI*, 50, 1988.

is evident from the coins of various areas. For example, the money of Lahore, Qandhar and Kabul looks very similar during the time from Akbar to Shah Jahan. The same is the case of South Indian mints during Aurangzeb's time. During even later periods, the rupees of Shah Jahanbad, Mustafabad, Muzaffargarh, Gokulgarh, all look alike (see Pl. XV).

An example is cited and illustrated in this paper of a rupee of Daulatabad (Pl. XV) which appears similar to that of Delhi. The style of writing on this coin and the presence of the epithet *Dar al Khilafat* or the seat of capital, matches so much to that of Delhi that one ought to believe that Daulatabad must be not very far from Delhi, if not one of its suburbs. This is certainly different from the Daulatabad of the Deccan. The lily and other marks on the coins and the placement of the mint name at the top confirms this attribution.

Another example of a late coin is published[3]. It is a rupee of Jambusar mint. Unknown untill now, it can be situated in a part of the Western Gujarat. This coin is so similar to the Baroda rupees that it is at once attribued to the Gujarat area. Looking to the map of Gujarat of those days, it becomes easy to locate this place and confirm the attribution. The calligraphy or the style of legends thus helps us in attributing particular mint towns. this aspect must be considered by scholars of Muslim Indian Numismatics.

Some novelties depicting territorial similarities are illustrated on the plate XV.




Plate XV

*1. Mohur, Akbar, Anhirwala pattan, 984; 2. Mohur, Akbar, Sitapur, Ilahi 47; 3. Rupee, Shah Jahan, Ghora Ghat, 1037/1; 4. Rupee, Aurangzeb, Trichanapally, 1106/39; 5. Mohur, Farrukhsyar, Khambayat, RY 8; 6. Mohur, Farrukhsyar, Saadnagar, RY 5; 7. Mohur, Farrukhsyar, Torgal, RY 5; 8. Rupee, Farrukhsyar, Anandapur, RY 4; 9. Mohur, Jahandar Shah, Torgal, RY Ahd; 10. Mohur, Jahandar Shah, Parenda, 1125/1; 11. Mohur, Jahandar Shah, Elichpur, RY ahd; 12. Rupee, Jahandar Shah, Haiderabad, 1124/Ahd; 13. Rupee, Shah Alam II, Dautalabad, RY 43; 14. Rupee, Shah Alam II, Dar al Khilafat Dautalabad, RY 38; 15. Rupee, Shah Alam II, Rampur, RY 44; 16. Rupee, Shah Alam II, Muzaffargarh, RY 45.*

3 *ICS Newsletter*, 10.



5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

# Panjabi and Braj Bhasha Literature of Panjab and the Coins under Ranjit Singh

Raijasbir SINGH*

The coins belonging to the reign of Ranjit Singh of Panjab have been studied on the basis of available coins, their illustrations and the catalogues. The evidences found in the contemporary regional literature were not looked into. This paper attempts to discuss the literary evidences of the period. Although a major portion of the literature deals with the Sikh Gurus and the Sikh movement, it also contains evidences on coinage, legends and types of coins, coins of various denominations and their weight.

The coinage[1] suggests that the Sikh sovereignty replaced the Mughal one. Rattan Singh Bhangu asserts that the Sikh Sirdar Subegh Singh received permission from the Nawab of Lahore to issue coins in his own name[2]. Although no other source confirms it, one may safely assume that the idea came up in the period of Bhangu's *Guru Panth Prakash*. At that time Muslim population was approximately 70% and the Sikh were 6%[3]. In order to rule over the major part of the population, its approval in a symbolic form was almost a necessity. The Sikh coins could be seen as a measure of legitimation.

The coins bear legends. According to Rattan Singh Bhangu, Subegh Singh, a Sikh, inscribed his name on the coins[4]. According to Santokh Singh, Painda Khan, a Sikh of Guru Hargobind, the 6th Guru, was so sturdy that he used to deface the legend from the coins by rubbing it with his hand[5]. To destroy the legend suggests that the Mughal sovereignty came to an end and the Sikh Sirdars started establishing their own rule.

Metaphorically, it is stated that leather-coins were in circulation[6], suggesting the arbitrariness of the Sikh sovereignty and depicting also its prosperity.

The circulation of *Nanak Shahi*, *Zaman Shahi* and other types of the coins is not mentioned in the regional literature. In the Ahluwalia state of Kapurthala, the rupee of East India Company was in vogue and was recognized by the state[7]. The *Jahangiri* rupee was used as an ornament[8]; the *Chaukhutia* rupee was also in circulation[9]; the *Shahjahani* rupee was prevalent[10]. The prevalence of the coins of the prior period suggests that the buried coins were dug out and were used in the transactions[11]. Only the weight and the purity of the metal of the coins was taken into consideration.

The coins of various denominations i.e. *ashrafi, ardh ashrafi, rupiya, adheli, anna, pa-anna, taka, paisa, 1/4 paisa, adhela, kaori, damri,* etc. were prevalent. *Mahar* or *ashrafi* was called *butki, hem taka, taka kancham, dinar, ashrafimudrika*. The rupee was

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1 K.K. SINGH, *Gurbilas Patshahi* 10, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1968, p. 220, 282.

2 B.R. SINGH, *Sri Guru Panth Prakash*, SGPC, Amritsar, 1984, p. 381.

3 J.S. GREWAL, *The Reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh : Structure of Power, Economy and Society*, Panjab University, Patiala, 1981, p. 27.

4 B.R. SINGH, *loc. cit.*

5 S. SINGH, *Sri Guru Partap Suraj Granth*, Bhasha Vibhag Panjab, Patiala, vol. 3, 1974, p. 160.

6 SOHAN, *Gurbilas Patshahi 6*, Bhasha Vibhag Panjab, Patiala, 1970, p. 378.

7 R.S. RAO, *Fateh Singh Partap prabhakar*, published. by the ed. Joginder KAUR, Patiala, 1980, p. 487, 491, 520.

8 *Prem sumarag Granth*, ed. Randhir SINGH, New Book Co., Jullundur, 1953, p. 30, 50.

9 *Malva Ratan Sakhi Pothi*, ed. Dr. Bhai Vir SINGH, Khalsa Samachar, Amritsar, 1968, p. 76.

10 S. SINGH, *Sri Gur Partap Suraj Granth*, vol. 7, 1976, p. 298.

11 SOHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

known as *dirham, damra, dam, rajatpan, rajatmohar, rajat mudrika and karkhika*. The copper coin was called *tamarpan*. The internal relationship of the denominations of the coins is not known but the *mohar* was worth 21 rupees[12].

Rupees could be changed into smaller denominations. According to Sukhwasi Ram, the *rupiyas* were changed into *takas* for the purpose of *sirvarna*[13] (a ritual of sacrificing over one's head). Santokh Singh gave similar evidence[14].

*Taka* was used also as a term of revenue[15]. At some places, *rupiya, paisa* and *dam* expressed terms of revenue[16]. Other texts mention *rupiyas* of *nazrana*, *rupiyas* of salary, *rupiyas* of *rok* and *mizmani* (hospitality)[17], *paisas* of the collection of donation, *patshahi* paisa, *takas* of punishment, *takas* of the march and the encampment of the army[18]. Herein *taka, paisa, rupiya, dam* were synonyms.

*Rupiya, paisa, mohar*[19] were also used as synonyms to express wealth in a general sense. *Damra* and *dam*[20] were also used in a similar sense. In the writings of the saints, smaller denominations like *paisa, kaudi*[21] were used in order to suggest the uselessness of wealth in the domain of religious peruit.

At places no word substituted *rupiya* or *mohar* :

*Panch lakh ki kimat hoi*[22]

Sometimes the general terms for wealth were used as the denominations :

*Mata Ganga Ramo take wart darb hazar,*
*Dhan panch sahas gin lin sath*[23].

*Maila Nanakshahi rupiya* was prevalent. It was not considered of equal value with the *chitta* one. Even saints and fakirs did not accept them as offering[24]. *Kala rupiya* was also debarred from the transactions. The saints hesitated to accept it[25]. The state of Kapurthala gave instructions not to give *rupiya* of discount in charity[26]. *Khota rupiya* was also in existence[27] but it was debarred.

The coins were tested by the state or other people. Goldsmiths were consulted for that purpose. The coins were tested with the help of the touch-stone[28]. For transactions the coins were weighed and tested[29]. In this way, the weight and the purity of the metal

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12 S. SINGH, *Sri Guru Partap Suraj Granth*, vol. 2, 1974, p. 315.
13 S. RAM, *Guru Manak Bans Prakash*, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1986, p. 86.
14 S. SINGH, *Nanak Prakash*, Bhasha Vibhag, Panjabi, Patiala, vol. 1, n. d., p. 302.
15 S. RAM, *op. cit.*, p. 119; V. S. BAL, *Gurkirat Prakash*, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1986, p. 61; K.K. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 83; SOHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
16 R.S. RAO, *op. cit.*, p. 58; K.K. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 160, V.S. BAL, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
17 R.S. RAO, *op. cit.*, p. 218, 103, 313, 103, 470.
18 R.S. BHANGU, *op. cit.*, p. 149, 158, 403, 409.
19 V.S. BAL, *op. cit.*, p. 241; S. SINGH, *Nanak Prakash*, vol. 2, 1972, p. 310.
20 V.S. BAL, *Singh Sagar*, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1986, p. 38; K.K. SINGH, *op. cit.*, p. 22; W.S. SADHU, *Siharfian*, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1988, p. 9, 48.
21 *Ibidem*, p. 9, 48.
22 SOHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 337-338.
23 *Ibidem*, p. 220; S. SINGH, *Sri Guru Partap Suraij Granth*, vol. 2, 1974, p. 399.
24 S. RAM, *Gurbilas Baba Sahib Singh Bedi*, Panjabi University, Patiala, 1988, p. 567.
25 *Ibidem*.
26 R.S. RAO, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
27 S. RAM, *op. cit.*, p. 567.
28 S. SINGH, *Nanak Prakash*, vol. 2, p. 420; R.S. RAO, *op. cit.*, p. 324.
29 S. RAM, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

were given special consideration. The coins were used as a measure of weight[30]. Only the *paisa* denomination was used for this purpose.

Hence, in the period of Ranjit Singh, the literature of Panjabi and Braj Bhasha contains some useful information on the coinage, effacing and inscribing the legend as well as the prevalence of the coins of various denominations, the weight and the purity of the metal of the coins, their use as revenue terms and the problem of debased and debarred coins.

30 *Prem Sumarg Granth*, 125; SOHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

# Monnaies orientales

## 2. Monnaies islamiques

# Rare Fatemid Coins in the Collection of the Museum of Islamic Art (Cairo)

El Mahdi SEHAM*

The Museum is proud of having a big collection of Fatimid coins including more than 1,420 pieces which I have just arranged in a catalogue. They constitute surely one of the first collections located in one single place. Most of them are golden dinars struck in 18 mint places, such as Mahdiya, Mansouria, Barqa, Trabulus, Misr (Egypt), Alexandria, Cairo, Filastine Damascus, Tabaria, Halab, Itrabulus, Sur (Tyre), Sicily, Zabid, Asqalan, Qayrawan and Sijilmasa.

The most productive throughout the period was Egypt. The earliest dinar in the collection is dated 305 H. and the latest bears the date 566 H. All of them lack fixed legal weights, the average weight lays between 4 and 4.52 g. Few coins weigh about 3.60 g. In addition, some weigh more than 4.50 g. Many words were used on the Fatimid dinars to indicate the high degree of fineness such as *'Al* (high quality), *Ghaya* (refined), *Hurr* (pure), *Adl* (adjusted).

*Investigation on the standard of fineness*

Some examples, struck in *Misr* (Egypt) and Alexandria, have been analyzed by means of specific gravity. This gave similar results as to those carried out by Dr Ehrenkreutz. It shows the superiority of Alexandrian issues over those issued in Misr (Egypt).

On the other hand, these analyses illustrate some fluctuations in the standard of fineness in the time preceding the monetary reforms carried by some caliphes as mentioned by the historians. We can illustrate this by some examples : Ibn Muyassar mentioned that Al Afdal Ibn Badr El Gamali tried to purify the dinar in 490 H. (1096 A.D.), but I noticed that dinars of mustaali were debased, between 93 % and 97 % and that two only are 100 %.

An investigation has been carried on 42 dinars of Al Amir Bi Ahkam Allah. The result indicated their debasement. One of them was 100 % and two 99 % but the whole group lay between 90 % to 97 % and most of them are dated from the year 495 to 513. Higher degrees of fineness are indicated on the examples dated from 513 to 515. Then they fluctuated in the years after 515. Those facts point out the fiscal administration, economy and crisis in Egypt during the Fatimid period.

Rare expressions are seen such as *Al Ezza Li Allah* (glory for God) and *Bism Allah Al Malik Al Haq Al Moubin* (in the name of God, the true allowed king) which were recorded on the coins struck in Mansouria in the time of Al Muizz.

Also, on the quarters struck in Sicily in the time of Aziz Nizar, a new inscription was recorded «Daa Al Iman Nizar Li Towhied Al Illah Al Ghaffar».

Those expressions and the others already known, reflect the rise and spread of the shiite heresy in North Africa and in Egypt. On the other hand, the texts recorded on Fatimid coins were numerous at the beginning, then became stable after they occupied Egypt.

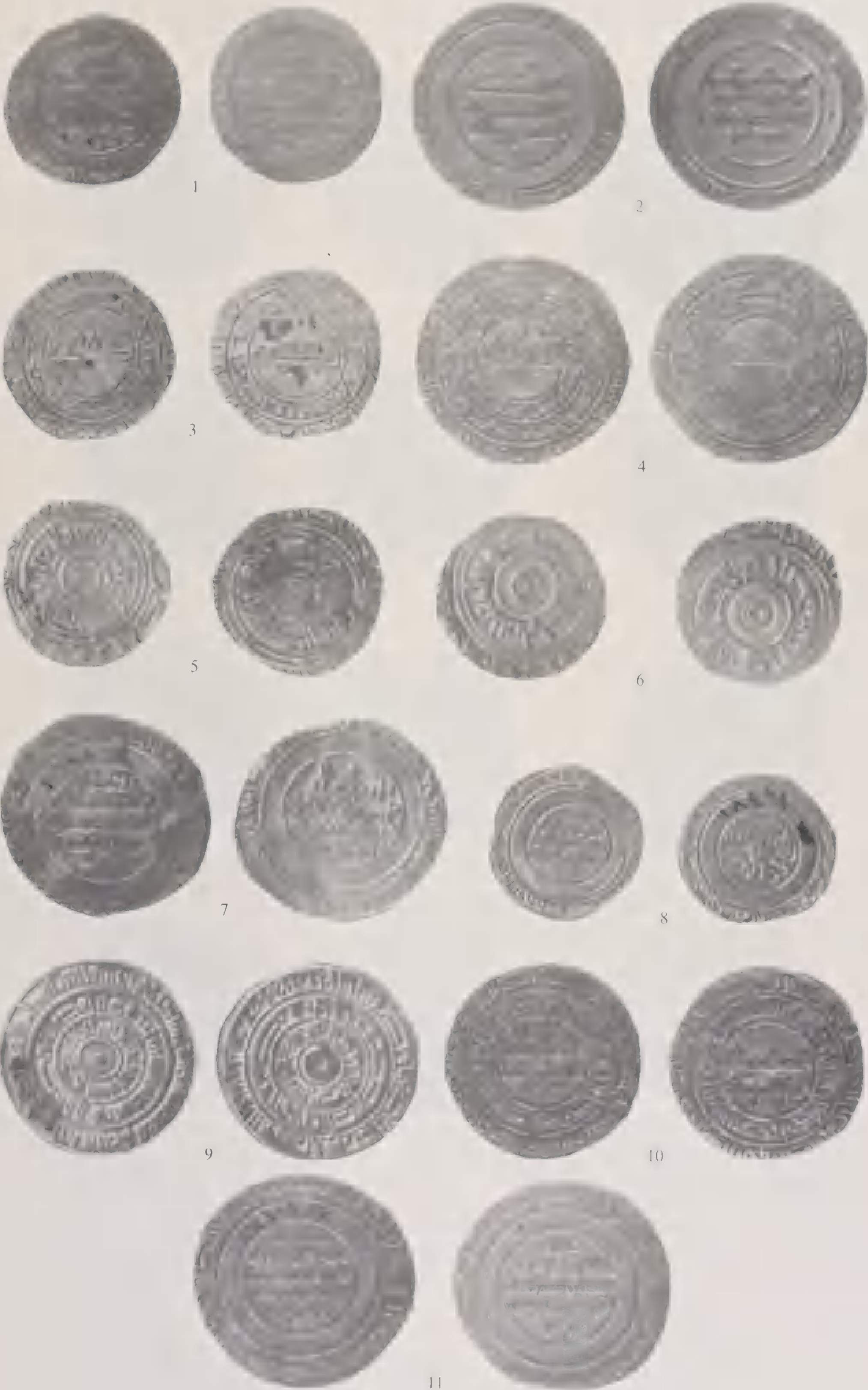
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* Chief Curator of Numismatic Department in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo.

We can illustrate some rare pieces in the collection such as :
1. Mahdiya : 305, 321, 327, 337, 412, 414 H (after al Hakim's death).
2. Mansouria : 342, 343, 372, 429, 457 H.
3. Barqa : quarter dinar of the time of Al Aziz 3 x 2 H.
4. Itrabulus : 368, 406 H.
5. Misr (Egypt) : 432 (quarter), 523, 544, 528, 563, 559 H.
6. Sur : 401, 415, 509, 516 H.
7. Damascus : 404, 424, 429 H.
8. Alexandria : 463.
9. Al Kahira (Cairo) : 518, 559.
10. Asqalan : 503.

## CATALOGUE (Plates XVI-XVII)

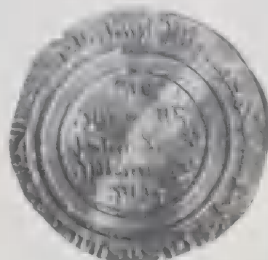
1. A.B. Dinar in the name of Imam Al Kaim Bi Allah struck in Mahdiya in 327 H.
Inv. no. 18367 ø : 19 mm W : 4.15 g
2. A.B. Dinar in the name of Imam Al Mansour Ismael struck in Mahdiya in 337 H.
Inv. no. 21107 ø : 21.5 mm W : 4.16 g
3. A.B. Quarter dinar in the name of Imam Maad Abu Tamin Al Muiz struck in Mansouria in 342 H.
Inv. no. 4501,I ø : 145 mm W : 0.94 g (??)
4. A.B. Dinar in the name of Imam Maad Abu Tamim Al Muiz struck in Mansouria in 343 H.
Inv. no. 18380 ø : 22 mm W : 4.12 g
5. A.B. Quarter dinar in the name of Imam Al Aziz struck in Sicily in 371 (with abnormal text : DAA AL IMAM NIZAR LI TAWHID AL ILAH AL GHAFFAR)
Inv. no. 4505 ø : 13 mm W : 1.02 g
6. A.B. A rare quarter dinar in the name of Imam Al Aziz struck in Barqa in ?? I H (must be 371 H.)
Inv. no. 2456,I ø : 14 mm W : 1 g
7. A.B. Dinar in the name of Imam Abu Tamim Al Mustansir struck in Damascus in 429 H.
Inv. no. 19459 ø : 215 mm W : 3.84 g
8. A.B. The first quarter dinar struck in Misr (Egypt) in 432 H. in the name of Imam Al Mustansir
Inv. no. 18461,4 ø : 16 mm W : 1.2 g
9. A.B. Dinar struck in Misr (Egypt) in 440 H. in the name of Imam Al Mustansir (new type of three margins struck in that date)
Inv. no. 19211 ø : 20 mm W : 4.18 g
10. A.B. Dinar struck in Mahdiya in 457 H. (Shahr Shabaan) in the name of Imam Al Mustansir (a new type of epigraphy)
Inv. no. 1786 ø : 20 mm W : 4.25 g
11. A.B. The first dinar struck in Alexandria in 463 H. in the name of Imam Al Mustansir. The correct date for Miles's dinar is not sure. Miles (Fatimid coins no. 259)
Inv. no. 17101/2 ø : 215 mm W : 4.057 g
12. A.B. The oldest known dinar struck in the name of Imam Ahmed Al Mustaaly Bi Allah in Misr (Egypt) in 489 H. (the same type as his father's dinars)
Inv. no. 18510 ø : 23.5 mm W : 4.15 g
13. A.B. The oldest dinar struck in Muiziya Al Kahira (Cairo) in 518 H. in the name of Imam Al Mansour Al Amir Bi Ahkam Allah
Inv. no. 23582/20 ø : 205 mm W : 4.16 g
14. A.B. Dinar in the name of Imam Abd Al Magid Al Hafiz struck in Misr (Egypt) in 528 H. (in that date there was a revolutionary movement against Al Hafiz by his son Al Hassan who struck the dinar bearing his name)
Inv. no. 18463 ø : 20 mm W : 4.40 g
15. A.B. A rare dinar in the name of Imam Ismail Abu Al Mansour Al Zafer struck in Misr in 544 H.
Inv. no. 23552 ø : 21 mm W : 4.35 g
16. A.B. The only dinar known in the name of Imam Essa Al Faiz, struck in Alexandria in 552 H.
Inv. no. 23592 ø : 20 mm W : 4.07 g
17. A.B. A rare dinar in the name of the last Fatimid khalif Abu Abd Allah Al Adid, struck in Muiziya Al Kahira in 559 H.
Inv. no. 28990 ø : 20 mm W : 3.43 g.







12 13 14









15 16 17





# The Standard of Fineness of Some Umayyad Dinārs

Sāri ṢALIḤ*

In the summer of 1987, I took advantage of the permission of Dr. 'Adnān al-Ḥadīdī, the former director general of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, to examine a set of six Umayyad dinars, two of which are of the same types. These coins, which found their way to the numismatic collection of the Irbid Museum in Jordan, have been discovered by Mr. H. Ta'ani, curator of the Museum. The dinars were found in the occupation area on the site of the old Muslim city of Ṭabaqat Faḥl (classical Pella) in the northern Jordan valley (Fig. 1). The site was subject in March 1983 to a regular excavation by an Australian expedition. The dinars are, almost without exception, in extremely fine condition and maintaining the standard weight set by 'Abd al-Malik as early as A.H. 79/A.D. 698/699. The dinars were found inside a purse which could imply that they were accidentally lost[1].

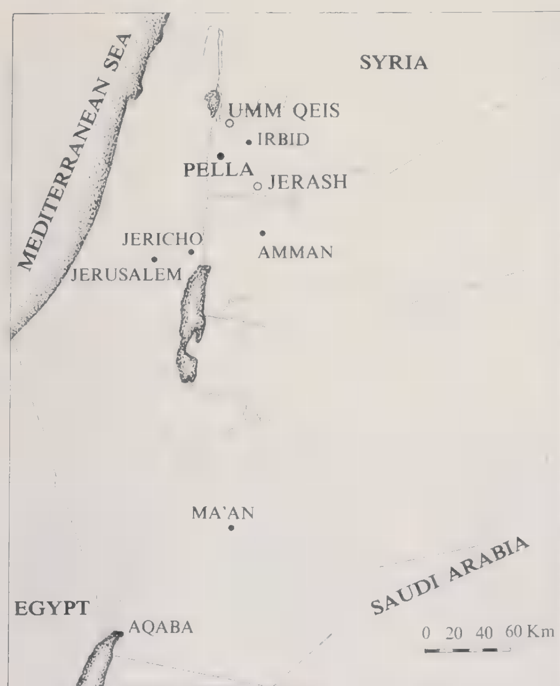



*Fig. 1. The Jordan Valley.*

The dinars are shown on the plate in chronological order. The obverse has been deemed here to be the side of the dinar where the *shahadah* is engraved irrespective of the position of the mint/date formula. The marginal legend in Kufic script legend, starting from the top, is the circular one running counter-clockwise on both sides the obverse and reverse. The central legend in Kufic script is the horizontal one placed at the centre field of the reader. All dates are in Muslim hijrah years. The weight, measured on an electronic balance, is listed in grams to the nearest centigram. The diameter of each specimen is taken across its widest point.

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* Yarmouk University, Irbid, Jordan.

1 For more data about finds and hoards, consult Ph. GRIERSON, *Numismatics*, London, Oxford, New York, 1975, p. 124-138.

*Description*

**1**. Obv.

Center : لا الــه الا
الله وحــده
لا شريك لــه

Margin : محمدرسول الله ارسلــه
بالهدى ودين الحـــق
ليظهره على الدين كلــه

Rv.

Center : الله احد الله
الصمد لم يلـد
ولم يولـــــد

Margin : بسم الله ضرب هـــذا
الدينر سنـــــة
احـدى وتسعيـــن

Weight : 4.20 g; ø : 2.80 cm.

**2**. Obv. : as above.

Rv. : as above, except the date of the mint which is here : سنة اربع وتسعين

Weight : 4.20 g; ø : 2.90 cm.

**3**. Obv. : as above.

Rv. : as above, except the date of mint which is here : سنة عشـــرة ومئـة

Weight : 4.30 g; ø : 2.80 cm.

**4**. Obv. : as above.

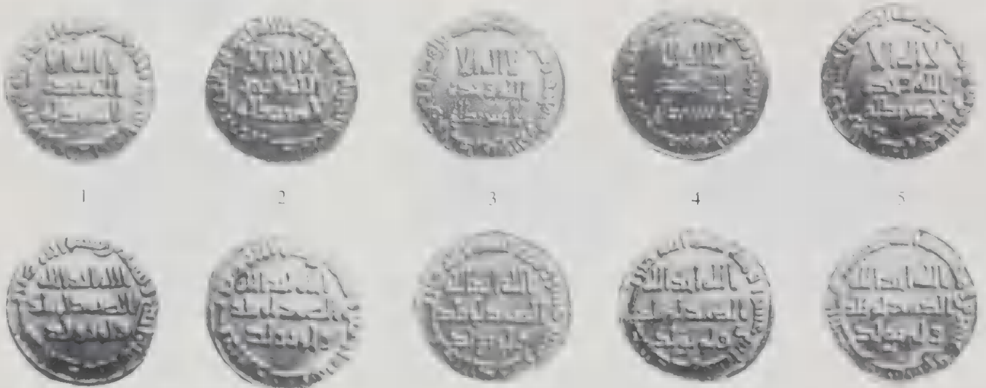
Rv. : as above, except the date of mint which is here : سنة اثني عشرة ومئـة

Weight : 4.30 g; ø : 2.90 cm.

**5**. Obv. : as above.

Rv. : as above, except the date of mint which is here : سنة ثنين وعشرين ومئة

Weight : 4.30 g; ø : 2.90 cm.



The first two dinars belong to caliph al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik A.H. (86-96/A.D. 705-715). The dinars no. 3, 4 and 5 belong to caliph Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik A.H. (105-125/A.D. 724-743).

In order to determine quantitatively the constituents of the dinars alloy, I have been able to examine the standard of fineness of the dinars under discussion by means of the neutron activation method of analysis. The analysis was performed in the laboratory of Chemistry Department at the University of Michigan/Ann Arbor/USA on streaks I obtained from each single dinar[2]. Each streak was numbered as of its corresponding dinar. To maintain accuracy as much as possible two samples were taken from each dinar[3]. The experimental results of the streak analysis is presented on the following table :

| | ± 2.0 | ± 3.0 | ± 0.5 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sample | % Gold | % Silver | % Copper |
| 1A | 98.9 | 0.9 | 0.2 |
| 1B | 88.5 | 11.4 | 0.1 |
| 2A | 99.8 | 0 | 0.2 |
| 2B | 97.8 | 1.4 | 0.8 |
| 3A | 92.6 | 5.3 | 2.1 |
| 3B | 98.9 | 0 | 1.1 |
| 4A | 93.5 | 6.4 | 0.2 |
| 4B | 98.3 | 1.6 | 0.1 |
| 5A | 99.1 | 0 | 0.9 |
| 5B | 99.8 | 0 | 0.2 |

The ± sign indicates approximate uncertainties. For example, for coin 1A the results are:

% gold = 98.9 ± 2.0
% silver = 0.9 ± 3.0
% copper = 0.2 ± 0.5

In doing the analysis, it was assumed that % gold + % silver + % copper = 100 % i.e. that no other metal was present. This should be a good assumption since there usually is less than 1 % other metal.

On the bases of the examination it appears that the standard of fineness of the coins ranges from a superb standard of 99.8 % to 92.6 %. However, sample 1B displays less than 90 % purity. The most striking point about the metal composition of the coins is that the major part of them maintains an apparent standard of 99 per cent. This implies that the minters being under a single system of administration certainly used the same refining process as well as a uniform gold alloy for all specimens. The conspicuous consistency of the standard of fineness suggests that there was high control over minting procedures of the Damascus mint. Since it was then the only mint in Syria producing dinars. Moreover, in his article, Ehrenkreutz published a table with the gold content of early Umayyad dinars including those struck under al-Walid Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, who directly succeeded his father to the throne and inherited the stable situation prevailing the Umayyad regime which then reached the zenith of its history, and under Hisham Ibn 'Abd al-Malik based on specific gravity measurements. It showed, in brief, a high and

2 The author wishes to express his gratitude to Prof. A. Gordus who carried out the analysis. Without his enthusiastic help, this paper would not have been undertaken.

3 The streak analysis procedure involves first cleaning a section of the coin with fine grained emery paper. The purpose of the cleaning is to remove the corrosion and oxidation from the surface of the coin since this layer generally has a composition quite different from that of the interior of the coin. The coin to be examined is rubbed with a small piece of quartz tubing producing a streak. The approximate weight of the metal transferred from the coin to the quartz is 0.0001 g. This streak of the metal is then analysed.

remarkable stability in the standard of fineness and maintained an excellent level of fineness of 96-98 %.

One of Hisham's measures was a great centralization of coin production. Under this new policy, the minting of gold dinars as well as silver mints became restricted[4].

The dinars under investigation, as far as the standard of fineness is concerned, are, to a far extent, in agreement and corroborate the results of Ehrenkreutz[5] who indicated that the standard of fineness of Umayyad dinars continued to maintain a superb quality until the fall of the Umayyads in A.H. 132/A.D. 750[6].

4 A. EHRENKREUTZ, *Money*, in B. SPULER (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1.6. Abt. I. Leiden, 1977, p. 94.

5 ID., *Studies in the Monetary History of the Near East in the Middle Ages, the Standard of Fineness of some Types of Dinars*, in *JESHO*, 1, vol. 2, 1959, p. 136.

6 ID., *Money*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1.6. Abt. I, Leiden, 1977, p. 95.

# Analyses of Some 11th Century Islamic Dirhams

Mike COWELL*

## *Introduction*

It is clear from a visual examination of the coins that the Islamic silver dirham declined in standard during the 10th and 11th centuries. The existing data indicate this to be the case over much of the Islamic world, from mints in Spain through to Central Asia[1]. It is of some interest to monitor the progress of this debasement and compare the standards in operation at different mints throughout this period. However, although extensive data exist on silver fineness for some areas, Spain for example[2], the data are scanty or lacking from some regions in the critical period when the debasement commences. The primary purpose of these analyses is to fill some of these gaps and the results presented here represent only the initial stages of this exercise. It should be noted therefore that the intention at this stage is not to examine the reasons for the debasement of the dirham but to make available additional data for further study.

Since some of the material selected included coins from the Hindu Kush region (see below) the opportunity was also taken to extend a previous study of mints in that region. Lowick[3] and Cowell and Lowick[4] found that the silver minted in the Hindu Kush, and derived from the local mines, had a distinctive composition characterised by very low gold contents and often moderate to high bismuth contents. The coins analysed here continue the investigation of their composition into the late 11th century.

## *Coins selected for analysis*

All coins analysed are in the British Museum collections and are mostly single denomination dirhams. However, also included were seven double dirhams from Ma'din and Andarabah. The following mints were represented :

| Mint | Region | No. | Dates (A.H.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| al-Andalus | Spain | 11 | 390-427 |
| Ma'din | Hindu Kush, Afghanistan | 3 | 387 |
| Balkh | Central Asia, Afghanistan | 6 | 391-430 |
| Bukhara | Central Asia, Uzbekistan | 5 | 393-429 |
| Andarabah | Hindu Kush, Afghanistan | 9 | 387-*c.* 420 |
| Mosul | Iraq | 3 | 391-393 |
| Shiraz | Iran | 6 | 400-433 |
| Mayafariqin | Syria | 6 | 385-399 |

The original intention was to analyse a series of coins spanning the period *c.* 390-430 A.H. at short regular intervals. However, this was not possible for two main

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I am grateful to Venetia Porter, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for selecting coins for analysis and to Professor Tom Noonan for initially suggesting the project.

1 Published data of dirham analyses compiled and tabulated by T. Noonan and G. Mellinger.

2 J.M. PEIXOTO CABRAL and J.I. SAENZ DIEZ, *The Silver Contents of Some Dirhams of the Revolutionary Period of the Spanish Umayyad Caliphate*, in M. GOMES MARQUES and M. CRUSAFONT i SABATER (eds.), *Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area*, 2, Avilés, 1986, p. 197-206.

3 N.M. LOWICK, *An Early 10th Century Hoard from Isfahan*, in *NC*, 15, 1975, p. 110-154.

4 M.R. COWELL and N.M. LOWICK, *Silver from the Panjhir Mines*, in W.A. ODDY (ed.), *Metallurgy in Numismatics* II, London, 1988, p. 65-74.

reasons. Several mints did not issue coins continuously over the whole period and the Museum's collection is not completely comprehensive. The numbers of coins available is therefore restricted. The mints selected are primarily representative of the Near East ranging from Mayafariqin in the west to the Hindu Kush in the east.

As noted above, there are already considerable data available for the fineness of the dirham in Spain over the period in question. The al-Andalus mint coins analysed here, which duplicate in date those already published, were included for comparison with the existing data.

*Analytical technique*

The silver-copper alloy of the Islamic dirham is not a particular problem for chemical analysis. However, the dimensions of the coins coupled with the likelihood of surface corrosion on the baser issues does present difficulties both for non-destructive techniques and those requiring a small sample. The majority of coins are very thin (approximately 0.5 mm) and an examination of polished sections of the edge using scanning electron microscopy (SEM) indicates that corrosion penetration may often be 0.1 mm. Because of preferential loss of copper from the surface of the coins and apparent enhancement of silver (surface enrichment), the use of a wholly non-destructive method of analysis such as X-ray fluorescence (XRF) would yield misleading results unless the surface could be prepared to remove unrepresentative material.

The main requirement was for accurate major and minor metal analysis particularly for silver and copper but extending to any component exceeding 1%. Lead often exceeds 1% in these coins. It was also necessary to quantify some metals (bismuth, gold and zinc), which are normally present only in trace amounts, for comparison with the previous analyses of Hindu Kush silver. Slightly reduced accuracy could be tolerated for these elements.

A combination of energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (EDX) analysis in a scanning electron microscope (SEM) and atomic absorption spectrophotometry (AAS) was used. Most of the coins were analysed using the EDX-SEM for major and minor metals and AAS for trace metals but a few were analysed using only EDX-SEM. The combined results are shown in table I which also shows the data obtained by Cowell & Lowick[5] on earlier coins from the same mints.

For EDX-SEM a polished section was prepared on the edge of each coin and visibly uncorroded areas, usually near the centre of the section, were analysed. At least two areas (typically 50 microns across) were analysed on each section and the results averaged. The Jeol 840SM microscope used is fitted with a Link Analytical 860 energy dispersive spectrometer. The precision of the EDX-SEM analyses is approximately ±1-5% for the major components above 10% (silver and copper) and ±10-50% for minor components down to 1% (lead, tin and arsenic).

For AAS analysis, samples were carefully removed from the edge of the coin with a scalpel. The first scrapings were discarded so that surface corrosion was excluded as much as possible. The samples, weighing 1-3 mg, were dissolved and analysed using standard procedures, as described by Hughes *et al.*[6] for silver alloys. The dissolution procedure used (concentrated nitric acid followed by excess hydrochloric acid) retains all elements in a single solution which simplifies the measurements. The precision of the AAS analyses for the minor and trace components quantified (bismuth, gold and zinc) is approximately ±10-50% depending on the element concentration.

5 *Ibidem.*

6 M.J. HUGHES, M.R. COWELL and P.T. CRADDOCK, *Atomic Absorption Techniques in Archaeology*, in *Archaeometry*, 18, 1976, p. 19-37.

TABLE I. ATOMIC ABSORPTION AND SEM-EDX ANALYSES[7]

| | Reg / Cat no. | Year | Ag | Cu | Au | Bi | Pb | Zn | Sn | As |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Dirhams** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Andalucia | BMC 114 | 390 | 71.0 | 25.6 | 0.56 | 0.64 | 2.00 | 0.20 | | |
| | BMC 117 | 392 | 71.4 | 25.8 | | | | | | |
| | BMC add. 135 | 394 | 69.8 | 27.5 | 0.31 | 0.35 | 2.02 | 0.03 | | |
| | BMC add. 136, 122 | 396 | 70.2 | 26.9 | | | | | | |
| | BMC add. 136, 124 | 398 | 73.0 | 24.4 | | | | | | |
| | BMC add. 138 | 400 | 71.6 | 26.9 | 0.45 | 0.29 | 0.60 | 0.14 | | |
| | BMC 132 | 404 | 68.1 | 28.3 | | | | | | |
| | 1900, 10-1,3 | 407 | 73.9 | 22.0 | 0.95 | 0.32 | 2.36 | 0.45 | | |
| | BMC 136 | 410 | 30.4 | 66.0 | | | | | | 2.20 |
| | 1890, 10-5.36 | 416 | 70.5 | 26.4 | 0.53 | 0.27 | 1.91 | 0.39 | | |
| | 1890, 10-5.41 | 427 | 62.6 | 35.2 | 0.27 | 0.34 | 1.45 | 0.15 | | |
| Balkh | * | 292 | 98.8 | 0.4 | 0.02 | 0.68 | 0.11 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 297 | 79.2 | 19.5 | 0.40 | 0.11 | 0.78 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 303 | 95.4 | 3.6 | 0.11 | 0.33 | 0.44 | 0.03 | | |
| | * | 312 | 97.3 | 1.6 | 0.09 | 0.39 | 0.56 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 320 | 94.7 | 2.5 | 0.09 | 1.30 | 1.40 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 337 | 97.1 | 2.6 | 0.08 | 0.21 | 0.08 | <0.01 | | |
| | 1982, 12-23.8 | 391 | 57.9 | 36.7 | 0.15 | 0.46 | 4.81 | 0.05 | | |
| | 1976, 7-2.12 | 392 | 68.7 | 25.9 | 0.11 | 0.61 | 4.56 | 0.11 | | |
| | BMC 524 | 425 | 71.9 | 25.1 | 0.10 | 0.61 | 2.29 | 0.07 | | |
| | BMC 524d | 428 | 70.9 | 27.2 | 0.11 | 0.42 | 1.38 | 0.05 | | |
| | 1961, 9-1.10 | 429 | 71.8 | 22.5 | 0.12 | 0.63 | 4.90 | 0.06 | | |
| | BMC 525 | 430 | 68.8 | 29.2 | 0.21 | 0.39 | 1.29 | 0.14 | | |
| Shiraz | 1929, 1-18.109 | 400 | 90.3 | 7.7 | | | | | | |
| | 1949.8-3.332 | 404 | 92.0 | 6.1 | 0.26 | 0.19 | 1.32 | 0.05 | | |
| | BMC 687 | 405 | 92.3 | 6.4 | 0.23 | 0.12 | 0.93 | 0.03 | | |
| | 1969, 5-12.12 | 408 | 90.4 | 6.7 | | | | | | |
| | 1920, 12-1.64 | 430 | 18.1 | 80.1 | 0.13 | 0.24 | 0.80 | 0.16 | 0.50 | |
| | 1984, 6-3.1 | 433 | 92.7 | 4.6 | 0.46 | 0.12 | 2.07 | 0.06 | | |
| Mosul | BMC 49 | 391 | 92.0 | 5.3 | 0.26 | 0.27 | 2.12 | 0.08 | | |
| | 1979, 4-4.60 | 392 | 92.3 | 3.4 | 0.28 | 0.23 | 2.69 | 0.10 | 0.96 | |
| | 1979, 4-4-4.61 | 393 | 93.9 | 4.7 | | | | | | |
| Bukhara | BMC 432 | 393 | 93.9 | 4.7 | 0.18 | 0.32 | 0.88 | 0.02 | | |
| | BMC add. 197.447k | 406/416 | 88.1 | 8.7 | 0.10 | 0.51 | 2.53 | 0.02 | | |
| | BMC add. 194.441n | 414 | 43.3 | 53.3 | 0.05 | 0.69 | 2.62 | 0.04 | | |
| | BMC add. 194.44 | 414 | 50.9 | 44.4 | 0.05 | 0.73 | 3.55 | 0.43 | | |
| | 1905, 10-12.145 | 429 | 68.8 | 28.4 | 0.12 | 0.61 | 2.00 | 0.20 | | |
| Mayafariqin | 1979.4-4.65 | 385 | 93.4 | 3.3 | | | | | | |
| | 1979.4-4.71 | 389 | 92.3 | 4.7 | 0.29 | 0.26 | 2.43 | 0.08 | | |
| | 1979,4-4.72 | 390 | 93.1 | 4.2 | 0.26 | 0.19 | 2.21 | 0.04 | | |
| | 1979, 4-4.73 | 391 | 93.2 | 4.4 | | | | | | |
| | 1979, 4-4.77 | 392? | 92.9 | 5.2 | 0.27 | 0.21 | 1.33 | 0.09 | | |
| | 1979, 5-2.16 | 399 | 81.7 | 16.8 | 0.28 | 0.22 | 1.01 | 0.06 | | |
| Andarabah | * | 272 | 97.2 | 0.2 | 0.01 | 1.30 | 1.20 | 0.02 | | |
| | * | 276 | 98.3 | 1.0 | 0.13 | 0.10 | 0.44 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 290 | 96.2 | 0.1 | 0.03 | 2.60 | 0.96 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 299 | 97.6 | 0.1 | 0.01 | 2.00 | 0.29 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 304 | 99.0 | 0.1 | 0.01 | 0.73 | 0.10 | 0.02 | | |
| | * | 304 | 98.2 | 0.7 | 0.01 | 0.96 | 0.09 | | | |
| | * | 318 | 93.2 | 0.1 | 2.20 | 3.70 | 0.74 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 360 | 82.5 | 16.2 | 0.05 | 0.20 | 1.06 | <0.01 | | |
| | * | 362 | 98.2 | 1.4 | 0.04 | 0.32 | 0.03 | <0.01 | | |
| | 1981, 6-19.7 | 387 | 65.0 | 33.5 | 0.17 | 0.40 | 0.86 | 0.07 | | |
| | 1897, 5-1.3 | 387 | 67.2 | 31.2 | 0.04 | 0.27 | 1.18 | 0.04 | | |
| | India Office 1358 | 388 | 71.0 | 24.7 | 0.08 | 2.24 | 2.05 | 0.05 | | |

7 * analyses from Cowell and Lowick, 1988.
Precisions : EDX-SEM. About 1-5% for major components (Ag, Cu) and 10-50% others. AAS About 10-50% for Bi, Au, Zn.

| | Reg / Cat no. | Year | Ag | Cu | Au | Bi | Pb | Zn | Sn | As |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Double dirhams** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Andarabah | 1970, 8-19.1 | c. 387 | 78.3 | 20.7 | 0.03 | 0.54 | 0.41 | 0.04 | | |
| | OR 2390 | c. 387 | 80.7 | 18.2 | 0.03 | 0.51 | 0.49 | 0.04 | | |
| | OR 2391 | c. 387 | 79.7 | 19.0 | | | | | | |
| | 1977, 6-4.4 | 388-420 | 65.1 | 33.1 | 0.06 | 0.60 | 1.08 | 0.10 | | |
| | 1977, 6-4.3 | 388-420 | 56.5 | 42.5 | 0.03 | 0.57 | 0.33 | 0.04 | | |
| | 1946, 7-5.23 | 388-420 | 57.0 | 42.3 | | | | | | |
| Ma'din | 1977, 6-4.9 | c. 387 | 67.5 | 31.3 | 0.04 | 0.65 | 0.42 | 0.09 | | |
| | 1969, 2-5.4 | c. 387 | 68.6 | 30.4 | 0.02 | 0.38 | 0.67 | 0.02 | | |
| | 1969, 2-5.5 | c. 387 | 68.5 | 30.1 | | | | | | |

*Comparisons with published data*

Comparison with existing data is important if results from other sources using different techniques are to be combined or considered together. Extensive analyses exist for dirhams from Spain measured by energy dispersive XRF[8]. Some of these data for the silver content of coins from the al-Andalus mint are compared with those obtained here for the same mint over a similar period.

| | al-Andalus mint % Silver mean ± s.d. | No. of coins |
|---|---|---|
| Peixoto *et al.* | 71.7 ± 2.9 | 11 |
| Data in table I | 71.1 ± 3.1 | 10[9] |

There is no significant difference between the two sets of data which indicates that Peixoto's data may be used in conjunction with analyses quoted here.

*Fineness Trends*

The data in Table I are arranged chronologically by mint over the period 272-340 A.H. from which it is apparent that there is a general downward trend in the silver content, or fineness. It should be noted, however, that since most of the mints did not issue a continuous series of coins over the whole of the period, there are gaps in the sequence. Several Near Eastern mints ceased operations in about 360 A.H. and did not re-open until about 390 A.H. The earliest issues from the Near East are consistently of good silver with a fineness of approximately 92% or more but from the end of the 10th century (about 375 A.H.), or when certain mints re-opened, some differences in standard are apparent.

1. Some mints (Balkh and Anadarabah) immediately issued coins at a lower fineness, without any apparent progressive debasement when they re-opened in about 390 A.H. In Spain, al-Andalus, which was operating earlier, issued debased coins from about 360 A.H.

2. One Near Eastern mint, Bukhara, initially issued coins to the earlier high standard but by about 400 A.H. the issues were debased.

3. Three mints (Mosul, Mayafariqin and Shiraz) continued to issue coins to the high standard after 390 A.H. Shiraz continued to do this until 433 A.H. Mayafariqin may have begun to debase in 399 A.H., on the evidence of one coin. Unfortunately, later issues from Mosul or Mayafariqin were not available for analysis.

8 M.J. HUGHES, M.R. COWELL and P.T. CRADDOCK, *Atomic Absorption Techniques in Archaeology*, in *Archaeometry*, 18, 1976, p. 19-37.

9 *BMC* 136 omitted as an outlier.

Although the numbers of analyses are limited, it is apparent that not all mints debased their issues simultaneously and some retained a high standard into the mid 11th century. As far as the Near Eastern mints are concerned, those to the west may have maintained the higher standard longer.

Once the dirham became debased, its fineness was rather erratic, particularly at some mints, but it is generally in the range 60-70% silver. For the Near East, only in the case of Balkh are there sufficient analyses to justify calculating a mean (68%). This is similar to the fineness of coins from Spain, where the extensive data enable a reliable estimate to be made, and suggest a commonality of standard across a wide area.

At the other Near Eastern mints, Bukhara for example, the contemporary standard may have been lower but there are insufficient data here to be certain of this. The debased double dirhams, from Andarabah, seem to have been issued to a slightly higher standard (*c.* 80% silver) than both the contemporary normal dirhams from the same mint and also the double dirhams from Ma'din.

*Hindu Kush silver*

As noted above, previous analyses have shown that certain dirhams minted in part of the Hindu-Kush region at Panjhir, Ma'din (mine of Panjhir) and Andarabah, during the mid 10th century have distinctive compositions. They are characterised by exceptionally low gold contents (usually less than 0.05%) and often high bismuth contents (occasionally up to 2%). Both of these metals are carried through from the ore (argentiferous galena) to silver metal with little loss through processing[10]. The coined silver was presumably representative of that mined locally from the extensive galena deposits in the Panjhir valley[11].

Fig. 1 compares the gold and bismuth contents of coins from this current study with the typical range found for 10th century Hindu Kush silver. As expected, the later coins from Andarabah and Ma'din are consistent with Hindu Kush silver. Balkh, on the edge of the region, is mostly within the same range showing that Hindu Kush silver was probably the major source for the mint, the slightly higher gold content for some coins may be due to admixture with other sources. A similar pattern was shown for the earlier coins from Balkh. The mint at Bukhara also seems to have been making use of Hindu Kush silver even though it is situated some distance from the region.

Those mints which are remote from the Hindu Kush (Shiraz, Mayafariqin, Mosul and al-Andalus) have quite different compositions with higher gold and, usually, lower bismuth than the Hindu Kush silver. It would seem that silver from the Hindu Kush did not form an important contribution to the supplies to these mints.

*Conclusions*

These, albeit limited, analyses indicate that whilst the debasement of the dirham was widespread the progress of that debasement at individual mints was not uniform. Certain mints continued to issue coins to a high standard (about 92-95%) some time after others had adopted a lower one of about 65-70%. There is nevertheless some consistency in this lower standard both in Spain and the Near East.

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10 H. McKERRELL and R.B.K. STEVENSON, *Some Analyses of Anglo-Saxon and Associated Oriental Coinage*, in E.T. HALL and D.M. METCALF (eds.), *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, London, 1972, p. 195-210.

11 J.W. ALLAN, *Persian Metal Technology 700-1300 A.D.*, Oxford, 1975.

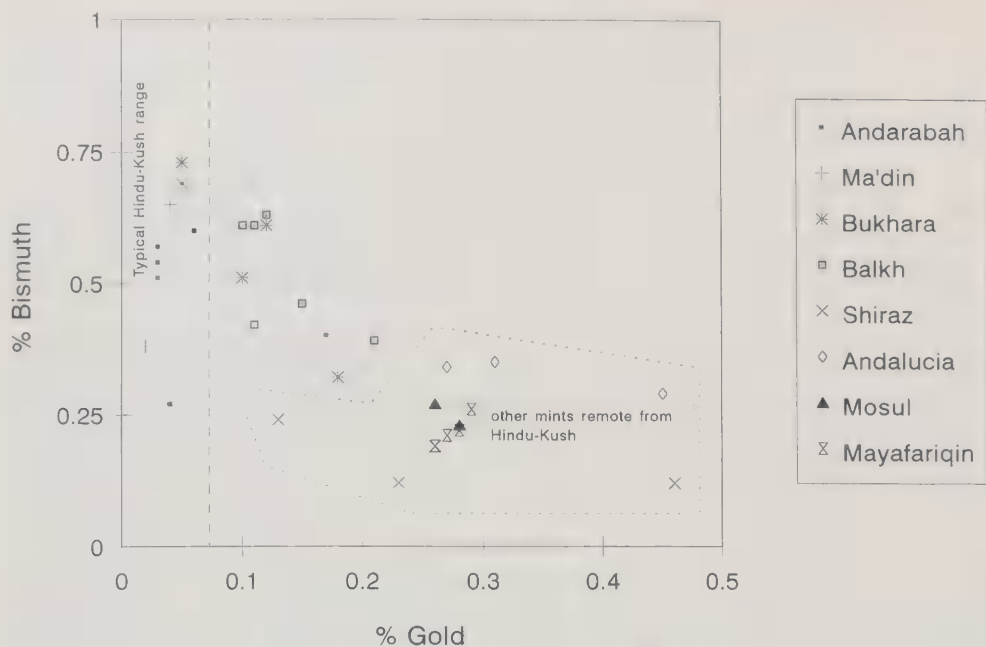



*Fig. 1. Gold and bismuth contents compared with Hindu Kush silver.*

# Symbols on the Coins of the Seljuks of Rum'

Michael R. BROOME*

Islamic coins are well known for their reliance on inscriptions to produce a coherent and acceptable design. With the notable exception of the figured bronzes of the 11th and 12th centuries, and the «sun-and-lion» dirhams of the Seljuks of Rum, coins generally bear just inscriptions, often of some length, crammed into the small space available on a dirham or dinar.

Occasionally, the lettering is ornamented or floriated but on some series, other, separate elements of the design appear, such as annulets, pellets or what are conventionally described as «arabesques». With the rise to power of dynasties from Central Asia, a new type of feature begins to appear. This is a symbol associated with a particular tribe or ruler and sometimes called a «tamgha». For example, many of the gold coins of Tughril Bek, the first of the Great Seljuk dynasty, show a small bow and a mace above the inscription.

The Seljuks were one of the Turkmen tribes from the steppes of Southern Russia who migrated into Khurasan, replacing first the Ghaznavids and then the Buyids. One group rebelled against the Great Seljuk ruler and were diverted into Byzantine Anatolia where, *c*. A.H. 550/A.D. 1155, they finally established themselves as a Sultanate known as the Seljuks of Rum, becoming the most powerful of the Turkmen dynasties there.

Ever since the reform of the coinage by Abd al-Malik, Islamic dirhams had relied primarily on the legend to constitute the design. Originally, the clever use of circles and annulets enabled clear and visually satisfying arrangements to be composed. Twenty years later, the script had become more prominent but the annulets had shrunk and no longer made up an important part of the design. For the next 500 years, virtually all dirhams, apart from the few Fatimid bulls-eye pieces, followed this pattern until Salih al-Din the Ayyubid, introduced his new Syrian «square-in-circle» coins *c*. A.H. 573. Still, however, the script constituted the main component of the design.

By contrast, the coins of the Seljuks of Rum display a wide variety of additional elements. As Stanley Lane Poole put it in volume 3 of the *British Museum Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, they are «ornamented with many varieties of arabesque tracery». The early dirhams from Kayseri (Fig. 6, 1) provide a good example from the coins of Kay Qubadh I and it can be seen that this «tracery» is not just filling the space between the words but is an intrinsic component of the design. Sometimes it is clear that the words have been arranged to provide space for this new element of the design as in Kay Khusraw II's early coins of Sivas (Fig. 6, 2a, 2b). This implies that a deliberate and controlled component has been introduced into the message conveyed by the coins. A more appropriate description of these various elements would therefore be «symbols».

A recent study of the whole range of the Seljuk coinage has shown that, although there are a large number of different symbols, most of them derive from a few fairly simple basic designs. These first appear early on in the series and are later elaborated in different ways. Five of these basic symbols are illustrated in figure 1 and these are referred to in this paper as the star, the tee, the knot, the branch and the «trifoil».

Over the span of the Seljuk coinage, the design of each symbol was extended or modified. Figure 2 shows some of the variations on the star. Two designs based on the «tee» are shown in figure 3. The first was used throughout the whole series whereas the second example, more complex, was confined to isolated short periods. The «knot», later

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used as a «darulshifa» or good luck sign, was elaborated in a similar fashion to the «tee» but is often found associated with other symbols that derive from two «knots», one superimposed on the other, but inverted, as in figure 4. The use of one basic symbol does not always preclude the addition of another to the same die, particularly on coins struck after the Mongol conquest of the sultanate (Fig. 6, 3).

In addition to these symbols, Seljuk dirhams often include diacritical dots near certain letters; for example, over the «qaf» in Qubadh or the «zar» in Mu'azzam. There are also, on occasion, individual pellets in odd places which may indicate particular dies. But sometimes, an inverted triangle of three pellets appears for no apparent reason. Although not confined to this series, this symbol occurs frequently on Seljuk coins but with no obvious correlation with mint, date or ruler. As it seems to be of a different character to all the others, it is referred to here as the «special» symbol.

There is also a parallel series of smaller signs which may have something to do with the mint organisation. They are shown here in figure 5 and could be considered as mint symbols.



*Fig. 1. Basic symbols.*



*Fig. 2. Star symbols.*

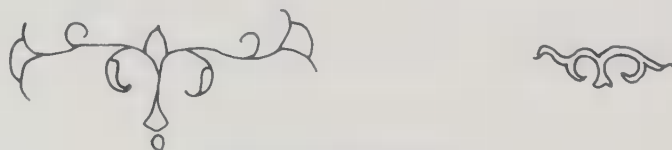


*Fig. 3. «Tee» symbols.*

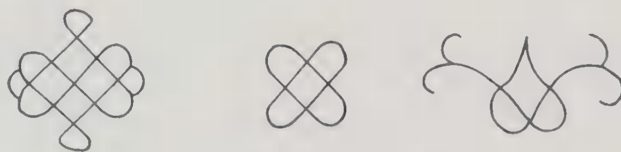


*Fig. 4. «Knot» symbols.*

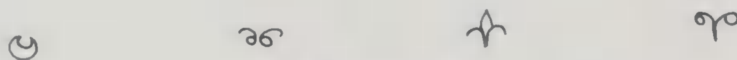


*Fig. 5. Mint symbols.*

The symbol found most often on Seljuk coins is the star. It was used by every ruler, by virtually every mint and on gold, silver and copper coins (Fig. 6, 4a, 4b). It is normally in a prominent position on the coin and it must be assumed that the star was seen as the prime mark of the dynasty of the Seljuks of Rum.

The earliest example had 12 rays, soon to be replaced by two stars, each of 8 rays which later degenerate to 6. Two 8-rayed stars appear on the gold and silver coins of Qilij Arslan II whose designated successor used three of them. It is interesting to note that the coins issued by Qilij Arslan's other sons, as Maliks, bear at most a single 6-rayed star as if not daring to usurp the full insignia of the Sultanate. There is no space here to discuss the various guises in which the star appears but each seems to be carefully engraved and the timing of their appearance can sometimes be related to external events.

The «tee», the «branch» and the «trifoil» all first appear on coins of Suleyman II, the earliest being a «tee» that was placed below the horse on Suleyman's large coppers minted, probably at Tokat, with his title as Malik (Fig. 6, 5). When Suleyman seized the sultanate in A.H. 593 he struck silver «horseman» coins at Konya with an ornamented «tee» below the horse but at Aqsara and Kayseri respectively a «trifoil» and a «branch» (Fig. 6, 6) were used on the earliest coins; later coins from both mints show the «tee» as used at Konya. This may indicate that local emirs at these places needed to be formally recognised at the beginning of Suleyman's reign but that he soon gained enough support to impose his own symbol. The «trifoil» is also found on coppers struck *c.* 608 by Kay Qubadh I as Malik (Fig. 6, 7) presumably in Tokat, bus does not reappear until the Ilkhanid period, a hundred years later (Fig. 6, 8). The «tee» remained intermittently in use for much of the remainder of the Seljuk period and must stand for an important sector of power in Anatolia.




*Fig. 6. 1. Kay Qubadh I. Dirham of Kayseri, 616. Obv. with «arabesque tracery»; 2a. Kay Khusraw II. Dirham of Sivas, 636. Obv.; no symbol; 2b. Kay Khusraw II. Dirham of Sivas, 640. Obv.; two stars over «Allah»; 3. Qilij Arslan IV. Dirham of Sivas, 664. Rv.; a «Tee» and a «Knot»; 4a. Kay Khusraw II (second reign). AE nm., nd. Obv.; three 8 pointed stars; 4b. Kay Khusraw III. Dirham of Kastamonu, 665. Obv.; three 6 pointed stars; 5. Malik Suleyman. AE nm., nd. Obv.; «Tee» below and 6 pointed star above rider; 6. Suleyman II. AR; M. Kayseri, 597. Obv.; «Branch» below and 5 pointed star above; 7. Malik Kay Qubadh. AE nm., nd. Obv.; «Trifoil» below and 6 pointed star above; 8. Ilkhanid Abu Sa'id. Dirham of Kashan, 717. Obv.; «Trifoil», double «knot» and a 6 pointed star; 9. Kay Qubadh I. Dirham of Konya, 616. Rv.; double branch and 6 pointed star; 10 a. Qilij Arslan IV. AR of Sivas, 657. Obv.; «Knot» and two 6 pelleted stars; 10b. Qilij Arslan IV. AR of Sivas, 657. Rv.; double «Knot»; 11. Kay Qubadh I and Mansur Artuq. AR of Dunaysir, 625. Rv. ?; «special» symbol over Kay Qubadh.*

Although the «branch» was used only briefly in Suleyman's reign, it reappeared in double form on Kay Qubadh I's early coins (Fig. 6, 9) but was quickly replaced by either a «tee» or stars. It is not found on later coins and perhaps represented a faction that lost power as Kay Qubadh consolidated his hold on the sultanate.

Kay Qubadh also made use of the «knot» on his Malik silver coins from Tokat in A.H. 608. In 630 it reappeared again and then was used at intervals throughout the whole Seljuk series (Fig. 6, 10a, 10b). This symbol is not specific to the Seljuks of Rum. It seems to originate in the east and can be seen on Georgian coins and in the Saltuqid Ulu Cami or Great Mosque at Erzurum. The earliest example traced so far is on a gold dinar of 459 in the name of the Great Seljuk Alp Arslan and it was extensively employed by the Ilkhanids, the Mamluks and the Ottomans. Its current interpretation in Turkey as a «good luck» symbol may stem from the preeminence of the powers it represented in Seljuk times. However it is not clear that it was intended to be more than a decorative design on the coins of the later dynasties.

The final symbol to be considered is the inverted triangle of dots. This has a long history but on Seljuk coins it is found on only a small proportion of the coins and never in a place where it could be confused with a diacritical mark. It often appears on only one of a series of nominally identical dies and in some cases this die is more carefully engraved than the others, and may have the date written out in full instead of using «divani» characters. In contrast to the other symbols, the special symbol is often squeezed into a corner rather than forming an integral part of the design and seems likely to have been added after the die engraver had finished, possibly to authorise the use of that particular design. In contrast, the coins of Kay Qubadh I often give it a prominent position on the die, just above his name, and it even appears here on the coins from Dunaysir minted jointly with the Artuqid, al-Mansur (Fig. 6, 11).

In conclusion, it is suggested that the stars and «arabesque traceries» found on the coins of the Seljuks of Rum are deliberate and important parts of the design and that they were intended to convey specific messages to the user. A possible interpretation of this message is that the star, in all its forms, probably stood for the Seljuk dynasty while the «tee», the «knot», the «branch» and the «trifoil» were used to acknowledge the claims to power of one or other of the tribal groups of emirs who represented the underlying long-term interests of the Turkmens. The «special» symbol seems to have a different function and may well show official approval of a new die design.

# Aghmat, atelier monétaire idrisside

À la mémoire de D. Eustache

Mohamed LAALLAOUI*

Aussi lapidaire soit-il, le titre, *Aghmat, atelier monétaire idrisside*, ne laisse d'intriguer tant il est solidement établi au double plan de l'histoire et de la numismatique que, sans les Almoravides, qui ont en fait un siège de gouvernement et une forteresse militaire, Aghmat n'apparaîtrait pas sur la scène politique marocaine. Elle serait restée une cité anonyme au même titre que les autres cités du piémont de l'Atlas à jamais disparues faute d'avoir connu un destin national.

Sur le passé d'Aghmat avant l'avènement des Almoravides – dynastie sanhajienne qui a régné sur le Maghreb et l'Andalousie du milieu du XIe siècle à la première moitié du XIIe siècle – nous savons en effet fort peu de choses. Au rapport formel du géographe El-Bekri, écrivant juste avant l'apparition du mouvement sanhajien surgi du désert, Aghmat était la capitale d'une principauté berbère aux mains des Maghrawa, très florissante, en contact direct, par delà la chaîne de l'Atlas, avec Sijilmassa, port du désert et terminus de l'or africain. Les Almoravides ne s'y sont d'ailleurs pas trompés. Après Sijilmassa, ils ont investi Aghmat (449 H/1056). C'est là qu'ils ont installé leur résidence avant de pousser plus loin leurs conquêtes vers le Nord. En 460 H/1068 leur chef Abû Bakr ibn Umar y épouse la veuve de l'émir local, la fameuse Zaynab en-Nafzâwîya. Contraint de retourner au Sahara pour mettre fin à des luttes intestines entre tribus sanhajiennes, il confie le pouvoir à son cousin et lieutenant Youssef ibn Tachfîn. Il lui cède, de surcroît, Zaynab préalablement divorcée selon la loi musulmane. Celle-ci épousera Youssef. Belle, intelligente, cultivée et quelque peu magicienne, Zaynab, la princesse d'Aghmat, s'attachera avec l'habileté qui lui était coutumière, à faire de son nouveau mari – le quatrième – le maître incontesté d'un grand empire.

Mais Aghmat n'est pas seulement un lieu d'intrigues politiques et d'une histoire de sérail à l'image des «Mille et une nuits», où Zaynab serait Chahrazad. Elle est aussi un univers carcéral. Aujourd'hui encore, Aghmat confond dans ses ruines à peine visibles la grisaille brumeuse de l'Atlas et le tombeau du célèbre maître de Séville, el-Mu'tamid ibn Abbâd, un roi poète qui avait fait de sa captivité, véritable descente aux enfers, une poésie salvatrice de l'oubli et de la mort. Il ne fut pas le seul souverain andalou détrôné et jeté à Aghmat par Youssef ibn Tachfîn; il y eut aussi le Ziride de Grenade Abd Allah ibn Buluggîn.

Fait singulier encore et témoignage historique ultime de la cité maghrawienne, celle-ci fut la dernière étape dans les pérégrinations de l'Almohade el-Mahdi ibn Tûmart avant sa «levée» contre les Almoravides.

Après cette évocation contemplatrice d'Aghmat du haut des cimes de l'Atlas, évocation dont nous avons voulu faire un pèlerinage sur les lieux plutôt qu'un récit événementiel dénudé de toute charge émotionnelle, faisons le point sur son passé monétaire avant de pousser plus loin notre enquête sur le terrain de la numismatique.

Dans un article paru dans la revue marocaine *Hepéris Tamuda* il y a plus de vingt ans, Daniel Eustache dont nous saluons ici la mémoire, présentant les ateliers monétaires, écrivait[1] : *nous connaissons aujourd'hui (fin janvier 1971) 52 ateliers monétaires marocains de noms différents, localisés dans 46 lieux distincts. Il nous a paru utile de les présenter aux numismates et aux historiens dans une liste très simple où ne figurent que*

* Bank al-Maghrib, Rabat.

1 D. EUSTACHE, *Les ateliers monétaires du Maroc*, dans *Hepéris Tamuda*, 11, 1970, p. 95-102.

*quelques renseignements essentiels.* Et d'ajouter à propos d'Aghmat : *Aghmat, toponyme berbère, située à 28 km N.E. de Marrakech à l'emplacement actuel des ruines de Jemaa Rhemat, a servi comme atelier monétaire pour la première fois sous les Almoravides.*

Le même auteur dans un travail laissé en friche, a démontré qu'Aghmat, loin d'être supplantée par Marrakech, a frappé durant tout le règne des Almoravides des dinars de très bonne facture, précisément de 486 H/1039 – soit six ans après le règne de Youssef ibn Tachfîn – à 541 H/1147 date à laquelle disparaissait de la scène politique le dernier dynaste almoravide.

Telles sont les frappes, les seules, d'Aghmat connues à ce jour. Mais par un heureux hasard, il y a de cela presque trois ans, un collectionneur me présentait un dirham en argent superbe, d'origine idrissite, frappé à Aghmat en l'an 198 de l'Hégire, dont voici la description :

Au droit, dans le champ :

Il n'y a de divinité لا الـــه الا
que Dieu seul الله و حده
Il n'a point d'associé لا شريک له
على

En légende circulaire :

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بأغمات
سنة ثمان و تسعين و مائة

Au nom de Dieu, ce dirham a été frappé à Aghmat en l'an 198 H.

Au revers dans le champ :

ادريس Idris
محمد Muhamed
رسول envoyé
اللـــه 'Ali de Dieu
بخ على بخ Bakh.Ali.Bakh

En légende circulaire :

محمد رسول الله أرسله بالهدى
ودين الحق ليظهره علـــى
رفيد ولو كه المشركون

(on commentera cette formulation dénaturée de la mission prophétique)

Poids du dirham : 2,25 g, ø : 21 mm, collection privée.

L'on sait que l'élément permanent qui caractérise le dirham idrissite est le nom de 'Ali écrit sous la forme graphique على L'expression Bakh ( بخ ) répétée deux fois indique que ce dirham est de bon aloi. Figure aussi dans le champ du revers en haut le nom d'Idrîs, caractéristique essentielle du monnayage d'Idrîs II.

Reste cependant à s'interroger sur l'altération manifestement irrévérencieuse de la mission prophétique développée au revers de ce dirham. L'énoncé exact de cette légende, tel qu'il figure habituellement sur les monnaies idrissites, est connu : *Muhammed est l'Envoyé de Dieu. Il l'a envoyé avec la Bonne Direction et la Religion de Vérité pour la faire prévaloir sur la Religion en entier, en dépit de l'aversion des associateurs* (Coran, IX, Vt 33).

On remarquera, en comparaison de ce texte, que la modification figurant sur cette monnaie porte sur les éléments essentiels de la rissala prophétique. D'une part, en lieu et place de la locution «sur la Religion en entier», il est fait référence à un personnage du nom de Rafîd vraisemblablement. D'autre part, la phrase adversative «en dépit de l'aversion des associateurs» a été volontairement tronquée pour en dénaturer le sens.

Faut-il alors récuser ce dirham, qui serait issu d'une émission circonstancielle sans signification politique particulière? Nous aurions hésité à lever le doute si l'auteur du *Corpus des dirhams idrissites*, Daniel Eustache, n'avait pris soin d'attirer notre attention sur ces légendes frondeuses, nombreuses dans la numismatique idrissite. Il en attribue la

paternité aux monnayeurs, sans doute de confession juive, ou franchement hostiles aux Idrissides.

À considérer ses caractéristiques externes, ce dirham est assurément idrissite, mais, par delà sa valeur intrinsèque qui intéresse principalement le collectionneur, de quel message peut-il être historiquement porteur? Dans le cas précis qui nous occupe ici, ce document apporte un élément de réponse, pour ne pas dire la réponse, à un problème historique majeur, celui des possessions idrissites sur lequel il y eut de la part des historiens un consensus arbitraire.

À la mort d'Idrîs II en 213 H/828, son fils aîné Muhammed, sur le conseil de sa grand-mère Kanza, partagea le territoire conquis par son père entre ses frères, lui-même ne devant conserver, avec le titre d'imâm, que l'administration de Fès, la capitale.

Ce partage dont nous ignorons les motivations politiques profondes n'a pas manqué de susciter l'intérêt des historiens, dans la mesure où il est le seul à donner des indications sur l'extension géographique de l'État idrissite. Il est cependant diversement rapporté par les sources, dont les plus essentielles sont celle d'El-Bekri et celle d'Ibn Khaldûn, apparemment divergentes car l'une est restrictive, l'autre extensive. L'historiographie européenne retient volontiers la thèse d'El-Bekri, sans doute plus ancienne, mais plus brève et sobre de détails, ignorant délibérement la seconde, soupçonnée *d'avoir cherché à étendre dans toute la mesure du possible le domaine des Idrissides aux dimensions du Maroc*[2].

On laissera de côté cette répartition territoriale et les possessions dévolues à chaque prince pour nous intéresser à la partie méridionale du Maroc, celle-la même que reçut en apanage 'Abd Allah, l'un des fils d'Idrîs II.

D'après El-Bekri, 'Abd Allah eut la ville de Lamta (près de l'actuelle Goulimine) et les provinces qui en dépendaient, cependant qu'Ibn Khaldûn lui attribue Aghmat, le pays du Neffis, les Masmoudas, Bilâd Lamta et le Sûs extrême.

Commentant ce partage, D. Eustache, partisan de la thèse d'El-Bekri, écrit à propos des territoires de 'Abd Allah : *Ibn Abî Zar' – l'auteur de Rawd el-Qirtâs – ajoute Aghmat, les pays du Neffis, les Masmoudas et le Sûs. On ne parlera beaucoup de la première que sous les Almoravides. Il y a extension chronologique dans le Qirtâs. Ibn Khaldûn reprend ibn Abî Zar'* [3].

En excluant Aghmat des territoires idrissites, notre auteur s'est rangé à l'avis des historiens, faute sans doute de preuves tangibles. Avis qu'il nous faut aujourd'hui rejeter au regard de notre trouvaille numismatique, document irréfutable qui conforte, en même temps, la thèse d'Ibn Khaldûn dont les références sont puisées à bonne source.

Même à défaut d'une telle trouvaille, rien ne nous permet de récuser le témoignage d'Ibn Khaldûn. Une lecture tant soit peu attentive d'El-Bekri aurait dû suffire à nous persuader du contraire.

*Tout autour d'Aghmat*, écrit-il, *s'étendaient des jardins et des forêts de dattiers. Ce canton est très grand; il est occupé par des tribus masmoudiennes, qui demeurent dans des bourgs fermés (Ksours). Une grande abondance règne dans ce pays et tout y est à bon marché. On y porte de la ville de Neffis de grosses pommes, dont on peut acheter pour un demi-dirham de quoi charger un mulet*[4]. Ce n'est pas le pouvoir d'achat du dirham qui nous intéresse ici, encore que la notation soit intéressante, mais la relation de

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2 H. TERRASSE, *Histoire du Maroc, des origines à l'établissement du protectorat français*, I, Casablanca, 1949, p. 123.

3 D. EUSTACHE, *Corpus des dirhams idrissides et contemporains*, Rabat, 1970-1971, p. 23 n. 9.

4 EL-BEKRI, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trad. de Slane, Alger, 1913, p. 292.

contiguité entre Aghmat et Neffis. Les deux villes ne sont pas très éloignées l'une de l'autre.

Neffis, dont nous avons perdu toute trace, est en amont de l'Oued Neffis au Sud-Ouest de l'emplacement actuel de Marrakech, à une journée de marche d'Aghmat, laquelle est située plus à l'est, nous précise l'auteur. Le même El-Bekri, évoquant les conquêtes idrissites dans cette partie méridionale du Maroc, écrit à propos de Neffis : *Au mois de Moharram 197 H. (septembre-octobre 812 ap. J.-C.), il (Idrîs II) fit une expédition contre la ville de Neffis; ensuite il attaqua les Nefza et la ville de Tlemcen. En l'an 199, il rentra dans sa capitale*[5].

Comme on peut aisément le remarquer, les conquêtes d'Idrîs II, longeant le Haut-Atlas à partir du Neffis à l'Ouest et s'orientant à l'Est vers la trouée de Taza pour atteindre Tlemcen, devaient nécessairement englober la ville d'Aghmat.

De ce fait, les thèses d'El-Bekri et d'Ibn Khaldûn, loin de s'opposer, concordent. Et il n'est donc pas étonnant de trouver un dirham idrissite frappé à Aghmat à cette même date.

Force est bien de constater, au terme de ces pages, que les certitudes sur l'histoire du Maroc sont bien rares, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de ses premières dynasties, en l'occurrence les Idrissides, dont l'influence, notamment dans le Sud marocain, n'était pas seulement spirituelle ou limitée à quelques ilôts isolés, mais également politique, couvrant le Maroc dans sa plus grande extension géographique.

Une fois encore, nous nous rendons compte combien, en matière de recherche, s'avèrent nécessaires des investigations pluridisciplinaires fondées sur des éclairages différents, sans quoi, et par bien des aspects, l'histoire du Maroc restera encore longtemps une énigme.

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5 *Ibidem*, p. 240.

# Un atelier monétaire inconnu de la Horde d'or sur le Danube : Sāqčy-Isaccea (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)

Ernest OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU*

Pendant les recherches sur les découvertes des monnaies de la Horde d'Or provenant de la Dobroudja, spécialement de la zone de la ville d'Isaccea (dép. de Tulcea, Roumanie) notre attention a été retenue par un grand nombre des dirhems en argent et dangs en bronze à des légendes arabes ou mongoles en caractères ouïgures. Dans certains cas, les monnaies portent les noms des Khans de la Horde d'Or ou des autres Ǧiučides, comme Nōǧāy et son fils aîné, Čākā. Toutes les pièces portent au revers le tamgha des Ǧiučides de Sarāy ou des Noghaïdes. Par ces éléments, leur appartenance au monnayage de la Horde d'Or ne supporte aucun doute. Ce nom, écrit au revers en arabe ساقچی , ساقچی ou ق pour Sāqčy me semblait être inconnu dans la littérature plus ancienne ou récente consacrée aux ateliers de la Horde d'Or ou orientaux[1].

Plus tard nous avons constaté que les monnaies de ce groupe ont été publiées dés le début du siècle, mais avec des lectures très différentes. En 1910, dans le troisième volume de l'inventaire de la collection de l'Ermitage, le numismate russe A. K. Markov mentionnait l'existence de certains dirhems frappés, selon lui à سامجر Sâmdjur[2]. Cette lecture est facilement explicable à cause du manque de signes diacritiques qui l'ont conduit à confondre les lettres م et ج avec ق et چ, et le ی final avec ر. La confusion de *mim* avec *qaf* est due à la graphie ساقچی au lieu de ساقچی présent sur certains exemplaires. La lecture d'A. K. Markov a aussi été adopté par E. von Zambaur[3]. En 1938, R. Cottevielle-Giraudet publiait une monnaie en argent de la collection du Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale attribuée par lui au Khan Tōqtā (Toqtogu) et à l'atelier de رنجين Rânadjîn[4]. Des dizaines de dirhems de ce type du trésor de M. Kogălniceanu-Uzunbaïr (dép. de Tulcea, Roumanie)[5], étudiés par nous ont permis de

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Nous utilisons les principes de translittérations des caractères arabes recommandés par l'Institut Roumain des Standards sous le code STA S 5309/3-78 (= U 03), identiques aux règles de l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam.

1 Sur les ateliers monétaires orientaux, y compris sur ceux de la Horde d'Or, voir E. VON ZAMBAUR, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, I. *Der Westen und Osten bis zum Indus, mit synoptischen Tabellen*, Wiesbaden, 1968; G.C. MILES, *Additions to Zambaur's Münzprägungen des Islams* (*MNM*, 17), New York, 1971, p. 229-233; M. MITCHINER, *Oriental Coins and their Values*; I, Sanderstead, 1977; G.I. DŽAPARIDŽE, *Novye dobavlenija k robote E. Cambaura «Münzprägungen des Islams»*, dans *EpigrVostok*, 22, 1984, p. 80-83.
Nous avons trouvé les mêmes monnaies dans des trouvailles faites en Moldavie, Valachie (Roumanie), en Bulgarie et en Russie, E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *Documente numismatice privind relaţiile spaţiului est-carpatic cu zona Gurilor Dunării în secolole XIII-XIV* [*Documents numismatiques concernant les relations entre la région est-carpathique avec la zone des Bouches du Danube aux XIIIe-XIVe siècle*], dans *AIIA-Iassy*, 22, 1985, 2, p. 586-588.

2 A.K. MARKOV, *Inventarnyj katalog musul'mankih monet Imperatorskogo Ermitaža*, III, St. Pétersbourg, 1910, p. 1007. A.K. Markov n'a pas lu le nom du Khān, mais il a déchiffré son titre خان لعادل Khān al 'Adil. Les seuls dirhems de l'atelier de Sāqčy avec une telle légende sont ceux de Nōǧāy ou Čākā.

3 E. VON ZAMBAUR, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

4 R. COTTEVIELLE-GIRAUDET, *Un dirhem inédit de la Horde d'Or*, dans *RN*, s. 5, 2, 1938, p. 89-104. Nous sommes extrêmement reconnaissant à Fr. Thierry, conservateur de la section des monnaies orientales du Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, qui a eu la bienveillance de nous signaler l'article.

5 Sur ce trésor, voir O. ILIESCU et G. SIMION, *Le grand trésor des monnaies et lingots des XIIIe et XIVe siècles trouvé en Dobroudja septentrionale. Note préliminaire*, dans *RESEE*, 2, 1966, 1-2, p. 218-228. Les auteurs cités ne font aucune mention des monnaies de Nōǧāy, frappées à Sāqčy.

constater que les monnaies ont été frappées par Nōġāy نوغاى et non Tōqtā توقتا à ضرب ساقچى ce qui est évidemment *A (été) frappée à Sāqčy*.

D'autres pièces provenant de cet atelier ont été publiées en 1964 par O. Iliescu, mais il a pensé qu'il s'agissait peut-être des émissions de Sarāy, bien qu'il reproduisit fidèlement la légende du revers de certaines monnaies comme ساقچ ce qui est clairement Sāqčy et non pas سراى Sarāy[6]. Le même auteur a publié en 1977 quelques dangs anonymes avec la tamgha des Noghaïdes, attribués à Nōġāy, mais sans identifier l'atelier[7]. Nous-même, nous avons fait une faute en cherchant leur place d'origine dans un hypothétique «Sarāy de Crimée ou des Pays des Alans»[8]. D'autres exemplaires, mieux conservés, nous ont permis de déchiffrer plus tard correctement la légende de leur revers ضرب ساقچى frappée à Sāqčy. D'autres monnaies frappées à Sāqčy ont été publiées comme émissions de l'atelier de Qrym par N. M. Fomičev[9] et V. P. Lebedev[10]. Nous avons annoncé, en passant, en 1985, l'existence d'un atelier de la Horde d'Or à Sāqčy[11]. Plus tard, nous avons apporté de nouvelles précisions sur les émissions de cet atelier, spécialement sur les émissions des Noghaïdes[12]. Maintenant seulement, nous présentons une première synthèse sur l'activité de cet atelier.

A. K. Markov et E. von Zambaur n'ont pas essayé d'identifier la place où s'est trouvé l'atelier de «Sâmdjur». R. Cottevielle-Giraudet pensait que la ville de «Rânadjîn» se trouvait quelque part sur le territoire de l'Afghanistan Orientale. Bien que l'auteur ait fait un véritable tour de force en cherchant dans les sources orientales des informations à l'appui de son hypothèse, il ne pouvait expliquer «... l'émission d'un numéraire au nom du souverain de la Horde d'Or dans une localité qui ne lui appartint jamais en propre et qui, bien mieux, devait trois siècles plus tard servir d'atelier monétaire aux empereurs de Delhi...»[13].

La lecture correcte du nom de l'atelier des monnaies comme Sāqčy permet l'identification, relativement facile de la place où se trouvait la ville qui l'abritait. Le nom

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6 O. ILIESCU, *Monede din tezaurul descoperit la Oţeleni (rai. Husi, reg. Iaşi)* [*Les monnaies du trésor découvert à Oteleni, rayon de Husi, rég. de Iassy*], dans *ArhMoldovei*, 3-4, 1964, p. 367-369, n° 12-16.

7 ID., *Monede medievale şi moderne descoperite la Păcuiul lui Soare între anii 1956-1974* [*Monnaies médiévales et modernes découvertes à Păcuiul lui Soare entre 1956-1974*], dans P. DIACONU et S. BARASCHI, *Păcuiul lui Soare*. II. *Aşezarea medievală (secolele XIII-XV)* [*L'établissement médiéval XIIIe-XIVe siècles*], Bucarest, 1977, p. 159, n° 187-188.

8 E. et I. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *Contribuţii la studiul emisiunilor monetare şi al formaţiunilor politice din zona Gurilor Dunării în secolele XIII-XIV* [*Contributions à l'étude des émissions monétaires et des formations politiques de la zone des Bouches du Danube aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles*], dans *SCIVA*, 32, 1981, 1, p. 95, n. 23.

9 N.M. FOMIČEV, *Džucidskie monety iz Azova*, dans *SA*, 1981, 1, p. 229, n° 1 et p. 236, n°199.

10 V.P. LEBEDEV, *Simbolika i jazyk monet Kryma Zolotoordynskogo perioda*, dans *Numizmatičeskie issledovanija po istorii Jugo-Vostočnoj Evropy*, Kišinev, 1990, p. 142, n° 11-13.

11 E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *AIIA-Iassy*, 22, 1985, 2, p. 586-588.

12 ID., *Numismatical Contributions to the History of South-Eastern Europe at the End of the 13th Century*, dans *RRoumaineHist*, 26, 1987, 3, p. 251-254; E. et I. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *Noi descoperiri de monede emise în zona Gurilor Dunării în secolele XIII-XIV* [*Nouvelles découvertes des monnaies frappées dans la zone des Bouches du Danube aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles*], dans *SCN*, 9, 1989, p. 124-126. Nous avons décrit et illustré quelques émissions, spécialement des Noghaïdes en *AIIA-Iassy*, p. 587-588 et n. 14-17 et 19, dans *RRoumaineHist*, p. 247-248 et dans E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU et Gh. MANUCU-ADAMESTEANU, *Monede din secolele XII-XIV descoperite la Nufăru (jud. Tulcea)* [*Monnaies des XIIe-XIVe siècles découvertes à Nufăru (dép. de Tulcea*], dans *Peuce*, 9, 1984 (1988), p. 262, n° 29-31. Le 26 mai 1988, nous avons fait à Tulcea une communication sur les monnaies de la Horde d'Or frappées en Dobroudja pendant les XIIIe-XIVe siècles à l'occasion du Symposium National de Numismatique. Les dernières découvertes ont apporté beaucoup de nouvelles informations sur ce sujet.

13 R. COTTEVIELLE-GIRAUDET, *op. cit.*, p. 93-98, le passage mentionné est à la page 98.




*Fig. 1. Carte de Roumanie.*

de Sāqǧy ou Isāqǧy peut être rencontré dans des sources historiques arabes du XIVe siècle et même plus tardives[14]. Les chroniques et spécialement les documents officiels ottomans des XVe-XIXe siècles contiennent fréquemment la mention du nom de Sāqčy, Sāqǧy ou Isāqčy, très rarement ortographié avec Ṣad. Les sources grecques des XVIe- XVIIIe siècles appelent la ville Σάκτιος ou Ἰσάκτσια. Certains voyageurs et diplomates européens des XVIe-XVIIIe siècles mentionnent l'établissement sous le nom de Saxi, Sakca, Jasakčcye, Saccia, Sakčia, Issaksci ou Isaccia. Dans les documents roumains des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles la ville est nommée Sacci, Saccia ou Saccea[15].

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14 Voir ABOUFELDA, *La géographie*, vol. II, ed. M. REINAUD, Paris, 1848, p. 80 et 316, Ruq ed-din Baïbars et an-Nuwairi, voir W. VON TIESENHAUSEN, *Sbornik materialov otnosjaščihsja k istorii Zolotoj Ordy*, I, St Pétersbourg, 1884, p. 117 et 161. Au XVe siècle, la ville est mentionnée par Paul d'Alep, sous le nom de Sāqčy, voir *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche*, dans *Patr. Orient*, XII, fasc. 1, éd. par V. RADU, Paris, 1930, p. 418-419. Pour la traduction roumaine voir *Călători străini despre Țările române* [*Voyageurs étrangers sur les Pays roumains*], VI, 1e partie, éd. par M.M. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA BULGARU, Bucarest, 1976, p. 283 et 284.

15 Pour les documents regardant Sāqčy (Sāqǧy, Isāqčy ou Isaqǧy), M. GUBOGLU, *Catalogul documentelor turceşti* [*Catalogue des documents turcs*], I, Bucarest, 1960 et ID., II *(1455-1829)*, Bucarest, 1965 (voir l'index). Pour les chroniques ottomanes qui parlent de cette ville voir les volumes *Cronici turceşti privind Tările Române. Extrase-Sec. XV mijlocul sec. XVII* [*Chroniques turques concernant les Pays roumains. Extraits. Les XVe-moitié du XVIIe siècles*], I, éd. par M. GOUBOGLU et M.A. MEHMED, Bucarest, 1966, II, *Sec. XVII-începutul sec. XVIII* [*XVIIe - commencement du XVIIIe siècles*], édité par M. GUBOGLOU, Bucarest, 1974, et III. *Sfîrsitul sec. XVI - începutul sec. XIX* [*La fin du XVIe-début du XIXe siècles*], éd. par Mustafa A. MEHMET, Bucarest, 1980 (passim). Voir aussi la relation des voyageurs publiées dans les volumes de la série *Călători străini despre Țările române*, I-VIII, éd. par M. HOLBAN, M.M. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA BULGARU et P. CERNOVODEANU, Bucarest, 1968-1983 (l'index). Voir aussi les volumes de la série : *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki* [*Documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains recueillies par Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki*], XI, *1517-1612*, éd. par N.

L'identification de la localité mentionnée dans les sources déjà citées ne comporte aucune difficulté, car elles font références à la ville actuelle d'Isaccea, dép. de Tulcea, en Dobroudja, située sur le Danube, à 35 kilomètres à l'ouest de Tulcea, en Roumanie (Fig. 1). Aujourd'hui Isaccea est une petite ville habitée par 4000 habitants environ, dont quelques centaines sont des Musulmans.

On trouve les ruines d'un important établissement gétique et celles de la fortification romaine et byzantine de Noviodunum, base de la flotte romaine et byzantine, gardienne du plus important gué du Bas-Danube. Comme beaucoup d'autres villes de la région, Noviodunum a connu une période de décadence entre les VIIe et IXe siècle. Sans être totalement abandonnée, elle a été réduite à une existence modeste, rurale. Au Xe siècle, même avant les campagnes de conquêtes des terres du nord-est des Balkans (969-971) par les armées de l'empereur Jean I Tzimiskès, les Byzantins font leur apparition dans la zone de l'ancienne fortification de Noviodunum. Ils étaient, sans doute, attirés par les facilités stratégiques offertes pour l'installation d'une station navale, mais aussi par les avantages économiques résultant de sa situation géographique très favorable. Durant la période allant du XIe jusqu'au XIVe siècle, la ville est l'une des plus importantes et des plus prospères de la Dobroudja médiévale, en dépit des attaques et destructions subies de la part des Cumans et Tatars aux XIIe et XIIIe siècle[16]. Nous ignorons le nom porté par la ville du Xe au XIIIe siècle, bien que certains historiens aient considéré à tort, qu'ici il y avait le grand centre économique et culturel de Vicina[17]. Dans le dernier quart du XIIIe siècle, Isaccea a été le siège d'une seigneurie chrétienne, de tradition culturelle byzantine, vassale des Tartars, connue par ses émissions monétaires en argent et en bronze à légende grecque et avec la tamgha des Noghaïdes[18].

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IORGA, Bucarest, 1900, p. 230 (doc. du 15 mai 1591], XIV, 2, *1717-1777*, Bucarest, 1917, p. 1094-1095, 1200-1202 et XIV, 3, *c. 1560-c. 1820*, Bucarest, 1936, doc. CXLV, CLXXXII, CCV, CCIX, CCXV, CCCXVIII. V, p. 226, VI *1700-1750*, Bucarest, 1878, doc. XLVIII, doc. LVII, doc. CV, vol. VII *1750-1818*, Bucarest, 1876, doc. CLVI. Pour les sources roumaines voir : D. CANTEMIR, *Vita Constantini Cantemiri*, éd. par R. ALBALA, Bucarest, 1973, p. 63, 69, 71 et 149 (Isakcze, Saczia, Sakzia ou Sakczia) et ID., *Descriptio antiqui et hodierni status Moldaviae, Descrierea Moldovei*, éd. par Gh. GUTU, N. STOICESCU, V. MIHAILESCU, Bucarest, 1973, p. 69 et 87 (Isakcze) et pseudo-Enache KOGALNICENU, dans *Cronicele României sau letopisetele Moldaviei şi Valahiei* [*Les chroniques de Roumanie ou les annales de la Moldavie et de la Valachie*], éd. par M. KOGALNICENU, III, Bucarest, 1874, p. 199. Voir aussi T. MATEESCU, *Documente privind istoria Dobrogei (1830-1877)* [*Documents regardant l'histoire de la Dobroudja (1830-1877)*], Bucarest, 1975, doc. n° 62, 67, 148, 242 et 243.

16 Sur les découvertes archéologiques et numismatiques gétiques, romaines et de l'époque proto-byzantine de Noviodunum, voir E. POLASCHEK, *s.v. Noviodunum*, dans *RE*, 17, 1937, col. 119-1194 et *TIR*, L, 35, Bucarest, 1969, *s.v. Noviodunum* et I. BARNEA, *s.v. Noviodunum*, dans *Dicţionar de istorie veche a României (Paleolitic - sec. X)* [*Dictionnaire d'histoire ancienne de la Roumanie (Paléolithique - Xe siècle)*], sous la direction de D.M. PIPPIDI, Bucarest, 1976, p. 431-432. Sur les découvertes archéologiques et numismatiques de Isaccea des Xe-XVe siècles voir I. BARNEA, *Dinogetia et Noviodunum, deux villes byzantines du Bas-Danube*, dans *RESEE*, 9, 3, p. 1971, p. 349-352; E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *Moneda Asăneştilor în contextul circulaţiei monetare din zona Gurilor Dunării* [*La monnaie des Anénides dans le contexte de la circulation monétaire de la zone des Bouches du Danube*], dans *Răscoala şi statul Asăneştilor - Culegere de studii* [*L'insurrection et l'État des Asénides. Recueil d'études*], sous la direction de E. STANESCU, Bucarest, 1989, p. 130 et 142-144. Les sources littéraires sont analysées par S. BARASCHI, *Die Donauufersiedlungen aus der Dobrudscha in den schriftlichen Quellen des XI. bis XIV. Jahrhunderts*, dans *Daco-Romania*, 4, 1977-1978, p. 54-56.

17 P.S. NASTUREL, *Aşezarea oraşului Vicina şi t ărmul de apus al Mării Negre în lumina unui portulan grec* [*La position de la ville de Vicina et le littoral occidental de la Mer Noire à la lumière d'un portulan grec*], dans *SCIVA*, 8, 1957, 1-4, p. 295-303. Sur l'identification la plus plausible de Vicina, avec l'établissement de Păcuiul lui Soare, voir P. DIACONU, *Vicina-Păcuiul lui Soare*, dans *Byzantina*, 8, 1976, p. 409-447.

18 E. et I. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *SCIVA*, 32, 1981, p. 89-109; ID., *op. cit.*, dans *SCN*, 9, 1989, p. 121-129; E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *RRoumaineHist*, 26, 1987, p. 245-258. La découverte de monnaies de l'atelier de Săqčy pour les Khans de la Horde d'Or nous oblige de revoir l'ancienne chronologie (1285-1295), que nous avions




*Fig. 2.*

À la fin du XIIIe siècle et au début du XIVe siècle, les monnaies, comme les sources orientales, nomment la ville Sāqčy. La continuité de la vie urbaine et de la civilisation durant toute l'époque nous obligent à penser que le nom de la ville n'a pas changé pendant les Xe-XIIIe siècles et que la localité s'appelle déjà Saktzios ou Isaktsia avant les dernières décades du XIIIe ou le début du XIVe siècle. Abu-l' Fida plaçait Sāqğy parmi les plus importantes villes de l'Europe Orientale et du bassin de la Mer Noire de son temps (Fig. 2). Les détails topographiques très précis sur les alentours de la cité démontrent que Abu-l' Fida devait ses informations aux personnes qui connaissaient bien les réalités locales, probablement aux marchands, missionnaires et diplomates des Pays des Mamelouks qui étaient très actifs dans les territoires de la Horde d'Or. Les historiens arabes mentionnent que la capitale de «l'ulus» de Nōġāy et Čākā et, après la liquidation de leur rébellion, est devenue la résidence de Tükäl Buġā, un des fils du Khan Tōqtā, qui a été désigné l'héritier des possessions des Noghaïdes. La domination mongole se prolonge dans la zone des Bouches du Danube jusqu'aux années '70-'80 du XIVe siècle, quand la Valachie occupe la région, à l'exception de quelques villes contrôlées par les Génois.

Les Turcs s'emparent de la ville de Sāqčy en 819 A.H. (01.01.1416-17.02.1417) après la campagne de Mehmed I contre la Valachie. Les chroniques ottomanes en parlent comme d'une des plus importantes cités de la Dobroudja. Les sources des XVIe-XVIIIe siècles déjà citées font souvent référence à Isāqčy, comme une étape d'une certaine importance dans le commerce danubien et pontique, lieu de passage préféré par l'armée ottomane pendant les expéditions contre la Moldavie et la Pologne, ou le siège des grands entrepôts de l'État, destinés à collecter les fournitures obligatoires en grains, graisse, bois et autres produits stratégiques de la Valachie et de la Moldavie[19]. Quelques-

établie pour les émissions de la seigneurie (despotat) d'Isaccea. Elles peuvent être datées plutôt entre 1271-1285.

19 Voir Meḥmed Nešri et Idris Bitlisi dans *Cronici turceşti*, I, p. 116 et 163 et Musṭafa Ğelalzadeḥ et Kiatip Čelebi qui nous ont laissé les plus complètes descriptions de la ville. Pour l'histoire de Isaccea pendant les XVe-XIXe siècles, voir Al. KUZEV, *Oblucica-Isakča*, dans *Bulgarski*

uns attestent l'importance et la gloire passée de la ville et mentionnent les grandes ruines situées dans son voisinage.

Selon les noms des Khans et les tamghas sur les monnaies, les émissions de la Horde d'Or de Sāqčy peuvent être classées dans deux grands groupes :

1. Les émissions frappées aux noms des Khans légitimes de la Horde d'Or, ou des émissions anonymes avec la tamgha des Ğiučides de Sarāy .
2. Les émissions frappées aux noms des Noghaïdes, une branche de la famille des Ğiučides, qui ont créé un Khanate éphémère, entre le Don, les Carpathes et le Danube, entre 1296-1301[20] ou des émissions anonymes avec la représentation de leur tamgha .

Du premier groupe, nous avons identifié quatre types de dirhems et quatre types de dangs. Ils font l'objet d'une future publication plus détaillée, mais à ce moment nous croyons utile de présenter une liste des émissions connues.

1. Dirhem, type A 1 G (la typologie nous revient) - Tūla Buğā (Tölä Bögä) et Tūdā Māngū (Töda (n) Mönkä), année du chien (1286)[21] (Pl. XVIII, 1 et 1 a).
2. Dirhem, type B 1 G émission anonyme de 686 A.H. (16.02.1287-7.01.1288), du règne de Tūdā Māngū ou Tūla Buğā (Pl. XVIII, 2) (Inédit).
3. Dirhem, type C 1 G Tūla Buğā, sans date (?) ou avec la date illisible (686-689 A.H.) (16.02.1287-04.01-05.12.1290) (Inédit).
4. Dirhem, type D 1 G émission anonyme de 690 A.H. (04.01-25.11.1291), du règne de Tōqtā (Pl. XVIII, 3) (Inédit).
5. Dang, type A 2 G émission anonyme de l'année du lion (1292), du règne de Tōqtā[22] (Pl. XVIII, 4 et 4a).
6. Dang, type B 2 G émission anonyme et sans date, les huitième - neuvième décades du XIIIe ou du début du XIVe siècle, du règne de Tōqtā (Pl. XIX, 5 et 5 a) (Inédit).
7. Dang, type C 2 G émission anonyme de l'année du lion, de la première moitié du XIVe siècle (1304, 1316, 1328 ou 1340 du règne de Tōqtā Ūzbek Khan (Özbäg) ou Ğanibek Khan[23] (Pl. XIX, 6 et 6 a).
8. Dang, type D 2 G Sur les exemplaires accessibles le nom de l'émetteur et la date ne sont pas lisibles. D'après le style, daté très probablement de la fin du XIIIe siècle ou commencement du XIVe siècle, du règne de Tōqtā (Pl. XIX, 7 et 7 a) (Inédit).

Du second groupe, nous avons identifié cinq types de dirhems frappés au nom de Nōğāy, un au nom de son fils aîné, Čākā, et quatre types de dangs anonymes, avec la tamgha des Noghaïdes.

1. Dirhem, classe A (avec la tamgha des Noghaïdes), type A 1 N Nōğāy, 696 A.H. (30.10.1296-28.07.1297)[24] (Pl. XX, 1).
2. Dirhem, classe A, type B 1 N, Nōğāy, 696 A.H.[25] (Pl. XX, 2).

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*srednovekovni gradove i kreposti*, I, *Gradove i kreposti po Dunav i Černo More*, éd. par Al. KUZEV et V. GJUZELEV, Varna, 1981, p. 211-216.

20 Sur les Noghaïdes voir B. SPULER, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502*, Leipzig, 1943, p. 64-79 et E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *RRoumaineHist*, 26, 1987, p. 246-258.

21 Cfr O. ILIESCU, *op. cit.*, dans *ArhMoldovei*, 3-4, 1964, p. 369, n°17, pl. II, 7, mais attribuée à Tōqtā, sans autre précision.

22 E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU et Gh. MANUCU-ADAMEŞTEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *Peuce*, 9, 1984, p. 262-263, n°31, pl. IV, 32. Datée des XIIIe-XIVe siècles.

23 *Ibidem*, p. 262, n°30, pl. IV, 31. Datée des XIIIe-XIVe siècles.

24 Cfr R. COTTEVIELLE-GIRAUDET, *op. cit.*, p. 89-93, attribué à Tōqtā, atelier de Rânadjîn.

25 Illustré par E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *RRoumaineHist*, 26, 1987, 3, p. 248, pl. II, 6.


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1a
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4a

3. Dirhem, classe B (avec la tamgha des Ǧiučides), type A 2 N, Nōġāy, émission de l'année de la poule/1297[26] (Pl. XX, 3).
4. Dirhem, classe B, type B 2 N, Nōġāy, émission de l'année du chien ?/1298?[27] (Pl. XX, 4).
5. Dirhem, classe B, type C 2 N, Nōġāy, émission sans date (vers 1296-1300)[28] (Pl. XX, 5 et 5 a).
6. Dirhem, classe B, type D 2 N, Nōġāy, émission sans date (vers 1296-1300)[29] (Pl. XX, 6 et 6 a).
7. Dirhem, classe A, type A 1 C, Čākā, émission de 696 H. (30.10.1296-20.09.1297)[30] (Pl. XXI, 7 et 7 a).
8. Dang, classe A, type III N, émission anonyme et sans date (vers 1296-1301)[31] (Pl. XXI, 8 et 8 a).
9. Dang, classe A, type III N, émission anonyme et sans date (vers 1296-1301) (Pl. XXI, 9 et 9 a) (Inédit).
10. Dang, classe A, type C III N, émission anonyme et sans date (vers 1296-1301) (Pl. XXI, 10) (Inédit).
11. Dang, classe C (avec les tamghas réunies des Noghaïdes et Ǧiučides ), Type III N, émission anonyme et sans date (vers 1296-1301)[32] (Pl. XXI, 11).

Il faut souligner le fait qu'à côté des émissions datées par les années de l'Hégire, certaines monnaies de l'atelier de Sāqčy sont datées par les années du calendrier cyclique chinois-ouïgure aux animaux, très rarement utilisé dans la numismatique de la Horde d'Or du XIIIe et du début du XIVe siècle[33].

Le commencement de la frappe des émissions de la Horde d'Or dans l'atelier de Sāqčy a eu lieu vraisemblablement vers l'année 1286. Entre 1296 et 1301, l'atelier a été contrôlé par les Noghaïdes, qui ont pris les titres de Khān et Sulṭān, en rejetant l'autorité du Khan suprême de Sarāy, Tōqtā[34]. Après la défaite et la mort de Nōġāy et Čākā (1300-1301), l'autorité des Ǧiučides de Sarāy a été rétablie sur les anciennes possessions des Noghaïdes, y compris sur la ville de Sāqčy. Il est difficile d'établir la fin de l'activité de

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26 O. ILIESCU, *op. cit.*, dans *ArhMoldovei*, 2-3, 1964, p. 368, n°15, pl. II, 5, considéré comme émission de Tūla Buġā de Sarāy (?). Pour leur attribution à Nōġāy et à l'atelier de Sāqčy; cfr E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *AIIA-Iassy*, 22, 1985, 2, p. 587, n. 14-15.

27 O. ILIESCU, *op. cit.*, dans *ArhMoldovei*, 2-3, 1964, p. 368-369, n°16, pl. II, 6, considéré comme émission de Tūla Buġā de Sarāy (?). Pour leur attribution à Nōġāy et à l'atelier de Sāqčy voir la note 26.

28 O. ILIESCU, *op. cit.*, dans *ArhMoldovei*, 2-3, 1964, p. 368, n°13-14, pl. II, 3-4, considéré comme émission de Tūla Buġā de Sarāy (?). Pour leur attribution à Nōġāy et à l'atelier de Sāqčy, voir la note 26.

29 O. ILIESCU, *op. cit.*, dans *ArhMoldovei*, 2-3, 1964, p. 367-368, n°12, pl. II, 2, considéré comme émission de Tūla Buġā de Sarāy (?). Pour leur attribution à Nōġāy et à l'atelier de Sāqčy, voir la note 26.

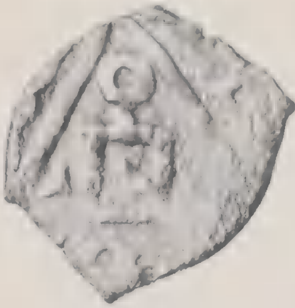
30 Le type a été illustré par E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *RRoumaineHist*, 26, 1987, p. 248, pl. II, 8.

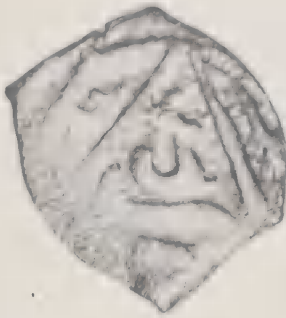
31 Voir O. ILIESCU, *Păcuiul lui Soare*, p. 159, n°187-188, pl. XXVII, 18, 18 attribué à Nōġāy et daté vers 1280-1300.

32 E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *AIIA-Iassy*, 22, 1985, 2, p. 586-587 et illustrée par ID., *op. cit.*, dans *RRoumaineHist*, 26, 1987, p. 248, pl. II, 7.

33 Sur l'usage de ce calendrier dans la numismatique des Mongols, voir W.G. VON TIESENHAUSEN, *Vostočnye monety Lineviča*, dans *ZVORAO*, 4, 1989, p. 289. Pour les émissions de la Horde d'Or du XIIIe siècle nous ne connaissons que les monnaies de Qrym, frappées sous Berke Khān, «dans l'année du buffle» (1265), ou une autre émission de l'«année du serpent» (1281). Voir S.A. JANINA, *O monetah pripisyvaemyh hanu Nogaju*, dans *Materialy sessii, posvjaščennoj itogam 1964 g.*., Baku, 1965, p. 165 et V.P. LEBEDEV, *Mednaja džučidskaja Krymskaja moneta goda zmei*, dans *NE*, 15, 1989, p. 129-131.
Certains types des dangs anonymes et sans date des Ǧiučides et Noghaïdes de Sāqčy peuvent être datés à l'aide d'exemplaires surfrappés sur des émissions plus anciennes du même atelier (voir par exemple pl. II, 5b) et même par des éléments stylistiques qui nous permettent d'identifier les traits spécifiques des graveurs.

34 E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *RRoumaineHist*, 26, 1987, p. 251-256.





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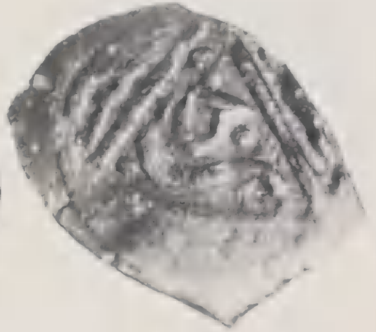


5a



5b







6



6a

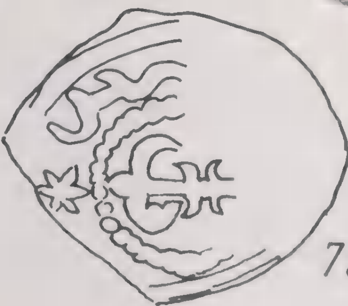


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7a

frappe des monnaies pour les Khans de la Horde d'Or à Sāqčy. Nous croyons que l'atelier a été fermé vers la fin du règne de Ğanibek, peut être vers 752 A.H. (18.02.1351-08.01.1352). Certains renseignements sur la date de la fermeture de l'atelier sont fournis par l'analyse même de la circulation de ces monnaies[35]. Les trouvailles des monnaies de la Horde d'Or de la Dobroudja attestent que dans la zone des Bouches du Danube, entre 1286 et 1351, la majorité écrasante provient de l'atelier de Sāqčy. Un changement majeur s'était passé pendant le règne de Ğanibek Khan (1342-1359) quand les émissions de l'atelier de Sarāy deviennent fréquentes dans les trouvailles de la Dobroudja. En fait cet afflux a eu lieu après 752 A.H. (18.02.1351-08.01.1352), car la plus grande partie des monnaies de Ğanibek trouvés dans notre zone sont des émissions anonymes de cette année. La présence des monnaies de Sarāy dans les découvertes de la Dobroudja reste massive jusqu'en 761 A.H. (23.11.1359-13 10.1360). Selon nous, ce phénomène peut être expliqué par la fermeture de l'atelier local de Sāqčy, dans le contexte de la politique de centralisation monétaire menée par Ūzbek et plus spécialement par Ğanibek. La situation est saisissable dans l'activité de nombreux autres ateliers provinciaux, y compris dans le plus important atelier pontique de la Horde d'Or, Qrym[36].

La découverte de l'existence d'un atelier monétaire de la Horde d'Or à Sāqčy représente une grande surprise, parce que le monnayage des Khans Ğiučides est généralement assez bien connu et depuis des décennies on a identifié peu de nouveaux ateliers. Nous pouvons citer l'atelier de Qirman, probablement situé dans la Bulgarie de Volga[37] et l'identification de la position de la ville de Šeḥr-al Ğedideḥ ou Yanġi Šeḥr à l'emplacement de l'Orheiu Vechi, non loin de Kichinev, en Bessarabie[38]. L'apparition de l'atelier de Sāqčy ajoute une nouvelle page, non seulement à la numismatique de la Horde d'Or, mais aussi à la numismatique médiévale de la Dobroudja et même des Balkans[39]. Les informations offertes par ces émissions monétaires pour l'histoire de la Horde d'Or et de la région du Bas-Danube à la fin du XIIIe et pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle sont d'une extrême importance, parce qu'elles concernent une époque très

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35 Les monnaies frappées dans l'atelier de Sāqčy, spécialement celles en bronze, ont occupé une position dominante dans la circulation de la zone des Bouches du Danube à la fin du XIIIe et dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle. On arrive à une conclusion semblable en analysant la circulation des monnaies en bronze de la Horde d'Or en Dobroudja synthétisée dans ce tableau :

| A. Les émissions de Sāqčy | B. Les autres ateliers |
|---|---|
| 1. émission pour les Khans légitimes | 1. Māngū Timur |
| Type A 2 G : 10 ex. | Qrym : 2 ex. |
| Type B 2 G : 52 ex. | 2. Tōqtā |
| Type D 2 G : 8 ex. | Qrym : 9 ex. |
| 2. Les Noghaïdes | 3. Émissions anonymes |
| Type A III N : 20 ex. | fin XIIIe-début du XIVe siècle |
| Type B III N : 5 ex. | Tūla Buġā et Tōqtā |
| Type C III N : 15 ex. | Qrym : 13 ex. |
| Type D III N : 4 ex. | Atelier incertain : 6 ex. |
| Type E III N : 35 ex. | |
| 3. Émissions pour les Khans légitimes | 4. Ūzbek Hān |
| Type C 2 G : 38 ex. | Qrym : 6 ex.; Sarāy : 2 ex. |
| | 5. Ğanibek Hān-Sarāy : 20 ex. |
| | Qrym : 1 ex. |
| | Atelier incertain : 1 ex. |
| | 6. Newrus ou Khizr-Sarāy : 20 ex. |
| | 7. 'Abd āllah-Šehr-al Ğedideḥ : 5 ex. |

36 V.P. LEBEDEV, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

37 A. FEDOROV-DAVYDOV, *Klady džucidskih monet - Osnovnye periody razvitija denežnogo obraščenija v Zolotoj Orde*, dans *NE*, 1, 1960, p. 102.

38 S.A. JANINA, *Novyj Gorod (Jangi-Šehr = Šehr al-Džedid) - monetnyj dvor Zolotoj Ordy i ego mestopoloženie*, dans *NumSb-GIM*, 5, 1977, 1, p. 193-213.

39 Sur la numismatique médiévale balkanique voir D.M. METCALF, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe, c. 820-1396*, Londres, 1979.




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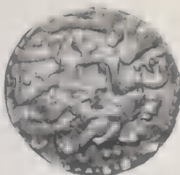


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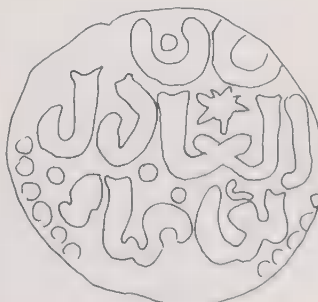
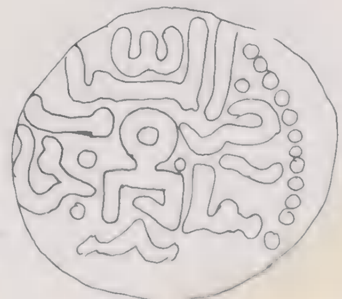

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peu connue des autres sources.

Évidemment, l'existence d'un atelier monétaire de la Horde d'Or à Sāqčy n'est pas à concevoir sans un contrôle politique de cet état dans la Dobroudja. Après la grande invasion de 1241-1242, la frontière de la Horde d'Or s'était fixée sur le cours du Danube, des Portes de Fer à l'Embouchure, et sur les Carpathes. La Bulgarie danubienne a été réduite à la condition d'un état tributaire, mais elle a réussi à garder son autonomie interne. Certains indices montrent que dès les années '40 du XIIIe siècle, la Dobroudja s'était orientée du point de vue politique et ecclésiastique vers l'Empire de Nicée. En 1263 l'empereur Michel VIII y colonise 30.000 familles des Turcs selgjoucides, chassés d'Anatolie par les Mongols. La domination byzantine dans la zone des Bouches du Danube a été profondément affectée par la guerre byzantino-tataro-bulgare, déclenchée en 1265. La paix sera seulement rétablie en 1271, garantie par le mariage de Nōğāy avec une fille naturelle de l'Empereur Michel VIII.

Les relations byzantino-mongoles restent très bonnes, jusqu'à la mort de Michel VIII en 1282, mais nous disposons de quelques renseignements : la situation de la Dobroudja a commencé à changer avec l'ascension rapide de l'influence de Nōğāy dans les régions balkaniques. Le signe le plus éloquent des ces transformations est le commencement des émissions monétaires d'une seigneurie dans la zone de la ville de Sāqčy. Les monnaies anonymes, pour la plupart, ont des légendes en grec, avec des formules religieuses chrétiennes. Elles portent toujours au droit la tamgha des Noghaïdes. Dans les pratiques politiques des Mongols, la représentation de la tamgha du suzerain sur les monnaies était l'une des conditions obligatoires pour les vassales. Ce «condominium» *de facto* byzantino-mongol (plus exactement Noghaïde) sur la zone des Bouches du Danube est très plastiquement illustré par une émission monétaire ayant au droit la tamgha des Noghaïdes et au revers l'aigle bicéfale des Paléologues.

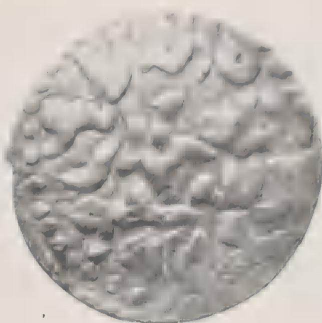
Nous croyons que l'expansion mongole au Sud du Danube et l'annexion de la Dobroudja s'est passée en 1285, quand les sources byzantines parlent d'une grande expédition mongole contre la Bulgarie et l'Empire byzantin. Le commencement des émissions monétaires pour les Khans de la Horde d'Or à Sāqčy en 1286 attestent que la campagne de 1285 n'a pas été un simple raid de pillage. Bien que les sources historiques gardent le silence, il est évident que la Dobroudja a été incorporée à la Horde d'Or[40]. La situation restera inchangée dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle. Les émissions monétaires confirment les informations des chartes maritimes qui placent la bannière avec la tamgha de la Horde d'Or sur le plus important centre commercial de la Dobroudja, à Vicina, entre 1339 et 1370[41].

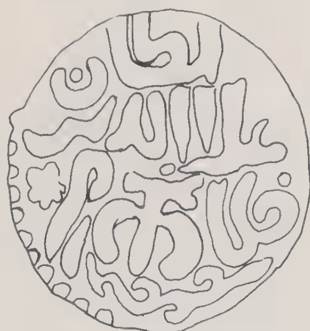
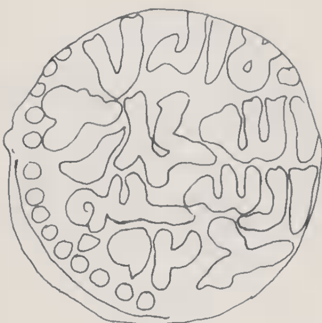
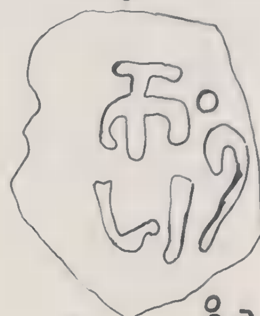
L'ouverture, plus exactement, la continuité de l'activité sous une nouvelle direction politique et administrative, de l'atelier de Sāqčy constitue un indice de l'importance économique de la zone dans la Horde d'Or et du haut degré du développement social de la population locale. On connaît bien le fait que les ateliers monétaires de la Horde d'Or ont été placés dans les zones les plus urbanisées et prospères. La structure des émissions de l'atelier de Sāqčy montre la prédominance des dangs, monnaies par excellence des centres urbains.

Les émissions de l'atelier de Sāqčy offrent des informations inédites sur la vie politique interne de la Horde d'Or dans les dernières décades du XIIIe siècle, une des

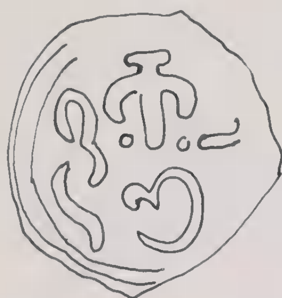
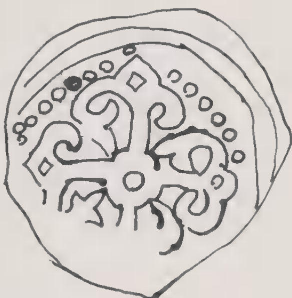
40 E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *RRoumaineHist*. 26, 1987, 3, p. 246-250.

41 Sur la domination mongole sur la zone des Bouches du Danube, voir : G.I. BRATIANU, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă. Contribution à l'histoire de la domination byzantine et tatare et du commerce génois sur le littoral roumain de la Mer Noire*, Bucarest, 1935, p. 62-68 et V. SPINEI, *Aspekte des politischen Verhältnisses des Gebietes zwischen Donau und Schwarzem Meer zur Zeit der Mongolenherrschaft (XIII-XIV Jahrhundert)*, dans *Daco-Romania*, 3, 1975-1976, p. 29-38.

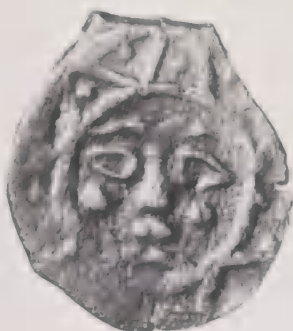


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périodes les plus agitées dans l'histoire de cet état[42]. Non moins importantes sont les données sur l'histoire de la zone des Bouches du Danube et des Balkans à la fin du XIIIe et durant la première moitié du XIVe siècle. La succession des émissions de l'atelier de Sāqčy est un des plus éloquents indices de l'évolution des rapports entre l'Empire byzantin et la Horde d'Or pour le contrôle d'une région à juste titre considérée par l'historien G. Brătianu comme «une plaque tournante» du grand commerce international de l'époque.

42 Voir B. SPULER, *op. cit.*, p. 68-70 et E. OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU, *op. cit.*, dans *RRoumaineHist*, 26, 1987, 3, p. 251-255.

# Imitations et contrefaçons des aspres ottomans en Roumanie (fin du XVe-début du XVIe siècle)

Eugen NICOLAE*

Des documents publiés il y a longtemps – une lettre du prince Radu le Grand de Valachie (1496-1508) adressée à la ville de Braşov (Kronstadt)[1] et une ordonnance du 29 juillet 1505 du roi de Hongrie[2] – attestaient la présence massive de faux aspres ottomans en Roumanie. Dans sa lettre (qui n'est pas datée), le voïvode de Valachie sollicitait la libération d'un représentant de son oncle, arrêté pour avoir introduit dans la ville des aspres faux, en promettant d'arrêter lui-même les faussaires. L'intervention se basait sur les bonnes relations entre le voïvode et les membres du conseil (qu'il nomme *nos honnêtes frères et bons amis*) et fait penser que Radu le Grand était impliqué dans cette affaire. Dans l'autre document cité, on apprend que le roi de Hongrie avait décidé de faire retirer les aspres ottomans des marchés hongrois et transylvains, et de les faire remplacer par les deniers du royaume. On interdisait désormais l'introduction des aspres en Transylvanie car une bonne partie de ces monnaies, qui venaient de Valachie et de Moldavie, étaient des contrefaçons. Comme pour les villes saxones de Braşov (Kronstadt) et de Sibiu (Hermannstadt) les relations commerciales avec la Valachie et la Moldavie étaient vitales, elles s'opposèrent à cette mesure et continuèrent d'utiliser les aspres dans leurs transactions externes. L'effet de l'ordonnance du 29 juillet 1505 fut éphémère et les monnaies ottomanes continuèrent de pénétrer en Transylvanie et en Hongrie, ce qui détermina le roi et la Diète de Hongrie à renouveler l'interdiction, respectivement en 1523[3] et 1525[4].

Ces informations ont été confirmées et complétées par des investigations récentes. Il faut noter d'abord un grand trésor (inédit) conservé dans les collections du Musée de Braşov[5], qui provient probablement du Nord-Est de la Valachie ou du Sud-Ouest de la Moldavie, régions où se déroula en 1507 une confrontation militaire entre les princes Radu le Grand et Bogdan III. Le trésor comprend 414 aspres et se compose comme suit : Murad II (1 exemplaire); Mehmed II (21 exemplaires); Bayezid II (388 exemplaires et 4 imitations)[6]. Les imitations sont des répliques des émissions de Bayezid II de l'atelier de Novar, dont la production domine la structure de ce trésor et des autres trésors de Roumanie[7]. Elles sont en argent et ont un poids réduit par rapport aux prototypes. La frappe est de bonne qualité mais les légendes sont «barbarisées» et partiellement rétrogrades. Deux exemplaires ont été réalisés avec le même coin de revers.

Les imitations du trésor du Musée de Braşov suggèrent l'existence d'un centre (ou de plusieurs centres) de production d'aspres aux types de Bayezid II au Nord du Danube. Nous considérons que les documents cités ne se rapportent pas à ce genre de monnaies, mais à des pièces fourrées. Ces dernières ont été refusées, en principe, à la thésaurisation et, pour vérifier si elles existent, on a analysé quelques lots monétaires conservés à

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1 Gr.G. TOCILESCU, *534 documente istorice slavo-române din Ţara Românească şi Moldova, privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul, 1346-1603*, Bucarest, 1931, p. 191-192, n° 200.

2 E. HURMUZAKI, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, XV/1, Bucarest, 1891, p. 171.

3 *Ibidem*, II/5, Bucarest, 1892, p. 446 n° 312.

4 *Ibidem*, p. 507, n° 355.

5 Le trésor sera prochainement publié par Luana Popa et E. Nicolae.

6 Les imitations ont été présentées par E. Nicolae au IIIe Symposium National de Numismatique, Arad, 24-25 mai 1986 (voir G. HOCHSTRASSER, *Numismatik-Symposien in Timişoara und Arad*, dans *GN*, 21, sept. 1986, 115, p. 285).

7 E. NICOLAE, *Un lot de monede otomane din secole XIV-XV în colecţia Cabinetului numismatic al Institutului de arheologie din Bucuresti*, dans *SCN*, 9, 1989, p. 134.

l'Institut d'Archéologie de Bucarest, provenant de découvertes isolées. Très importantes s'avèrent les monnaies trouvées au cours des fouilles des années 1951-1953 de Suceava, l'ancienne capitale de la Moldavie[8]. Sur le plateau à proximité de la forteresse, on a alors découvert 7 aspres de Murad II jusqu'à Bayezid II. La structure de ce petit lot est surprenante : trois aspres de Bayezid II frappés à Novar, une imitation des aspres de Murad II (atelier de Serez, 834 A.H. = 1430/1431) et trois contrefaçons. Les contrefaçons sont aux types de Mehmed II (premier règne, atelier d'Ayasluk ?, 848 A.H. = 1444-1445; un exemplaire) et de Bayezid II (Édirne et atelier non précisé; deux exemplaires). Un autre aspre fourré de Murad II (Serez) provenant de Suceava, analogue à l'imitation mentionnée plus haut, se trouve dans la collection Alexandre Saint-Georges[9]. Les légendes de ces pièces sont très dégradées et quelquefois rétrogrades. Il paraît que déjà au milieu du XVe siècle, on frappait des contrefaçons des aspres ottomans en Moldavie (et il semble que l'atelier était installé à Suceava). On peut maintenant supposer une connexion entre la présence des contrefaçons et la lettre adressée à la ville de Braşov (Kronstadt) par Jean-Corvin Huniade le 24 octobre 1452. Il annonçait qu'il avait décidé de faire frapper une nouvelle monnaie, et que les gens de Braşov devraient interdire dorénavant l'introduction dans la ville d'aspres turcs, de ducats de Valachie et d'autres monnaies anciennes[10].

Dans un lot de l'ancien fonds des collections de l'Institut d'Archéologie de Bucarest, provenant de Moldavie, on observe aussi des imitations et des contrefaçons[11]. Cet échantillon inclut 6 aspres de Bayezid II, 2 imitations aux types de Bayezid II (Kostantaniye et Novar), une contrefaçon aux types de Murad II (atelier non précisé; 834 A.H.), 8 contrefaçons aux types de Bayezid II, de la même famille que celles de Suceava (Novar, 3 exemplaires; Édirne, 2 exemplaires; atelier non précisé, 3 exemplaires), et un aspre fourré de Bayezid II de Kostantaniye, dont l'aspect soigné et la légende très correcte nous déterminent à le considérer comme un produit de l'atelier de la capitale ottomane. Une des contrefaçons aux types de Bayezid II (atelier d'Édirne) est frappée avec les mêmes coins qu'une des pièces découvertes à Suceava. En ce qui concerne la coexistence des émissions ottomanes avec les imitations et les contrefaçons sur le marché local, il faudra analyser la situation spécifique de la Moldavie et de la Valachie. Nous nous résumons à rappeler qu'en Moldavie on a constaté, pour la période 1400-1457, un système d'émissions monétaires parallèles. Les types monétaires moldaves de cette époque sont frappés tant en argent qu'en billon et en cuivre[12].

Les imitations et les contrefaçons des aspres, dont l'existence vient d'être prouvée, ouvrent un nouveau et important chapitre de la numismatique ottomane. Elles appartiennent aussi à la numismatique roumaine car, selon notre opinion, elles ont été frappées dans les ateliers des voïvodes de Valachie et de Moldavie. Évidemment, pour avoir un tableau plus complet et plus suggestif de ces émissions, il faudrait publier le matériel se trouvant dans les collections de Roumanie. Pour le moment, on peut retenir qu'à l'époque de Bayezid II, la zone roumaine de circulation de l'aspre ottoman était caractérisée par la présence significative des imitations et des contrefaçons. Cela représente un aspect de la manière dont la Moldavie, la Valachie et les villes saxones de Transylvanie se sont adaptées aux transformations politiques et économiques qu'a subi le Sud-Est de l'Europe à la fin du XVe et au début du XVIe siècle.

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8 Sur les fouilles de Suceava de 1951-1953, voir les rapports publiés dans *SCIVA*, 5, 1954, 1-2, p. 257-324.

9 Institut d'Archéologie de Bucarest, inv. n° 235/9440.

10 E. HURMUZAKI, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, II/2, Bucarest, 1892, p. 15-16, n° 11.

11 Institut d'Archéologie, inv. n° 1156.

12 Oct. ILIESCU, *Emisiunile monetare ale Moldovei în timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare*, dans *Cultura moldovenească în timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare*, Bucarest, 1964, p. 189.

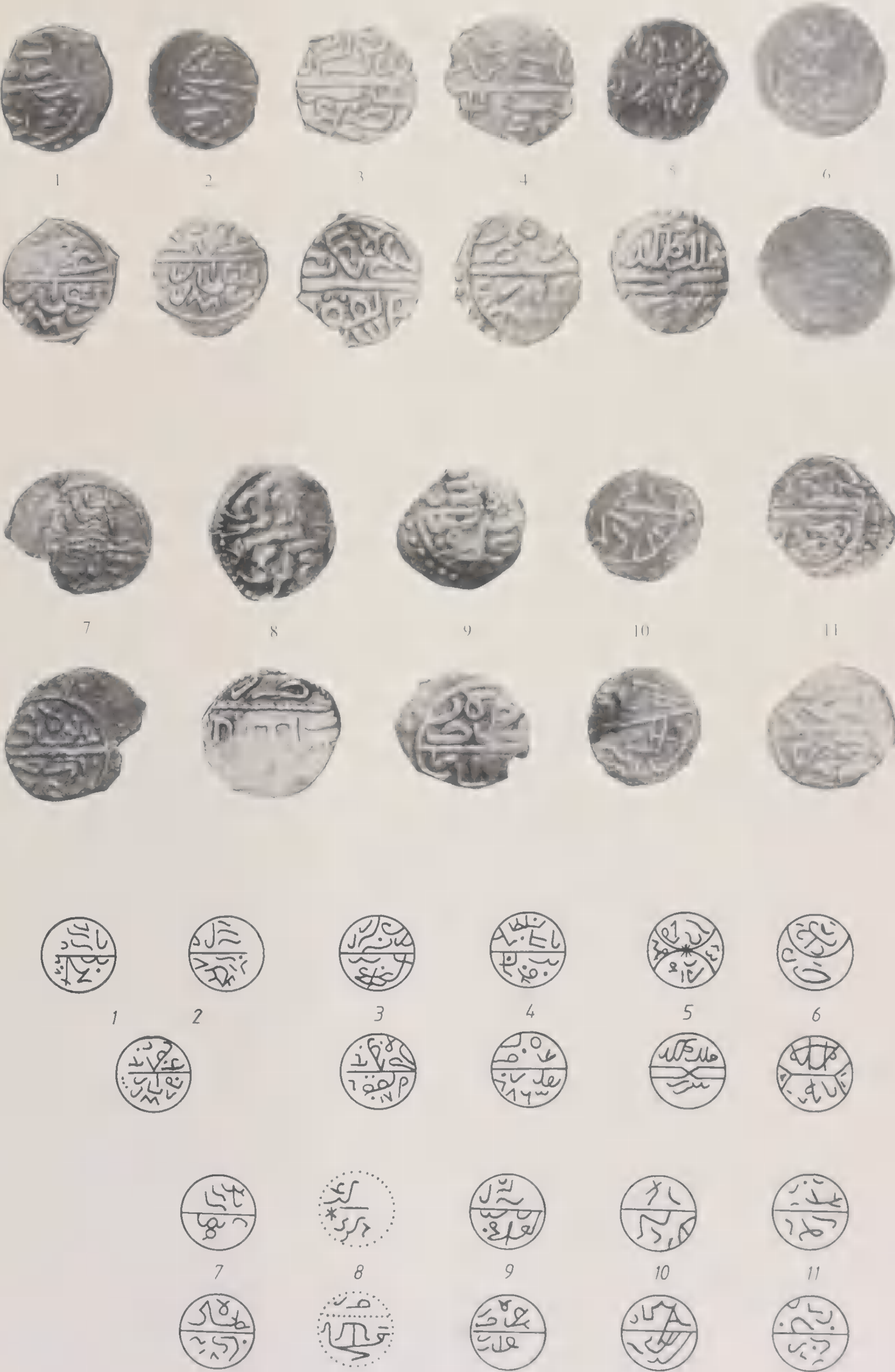


*Fig. 1-2 (photos et dessins). Imitations (1-5; 8-9) et contrefaçons (6-7; 10-11) des aspres ottomans de Murad II (5 Serez), Mehmed II (6 Ayaslık ?) et Bayezid II (1-4 et 9-10 Novar; 7 et 11 Édirne; 8 Kostantaniye ?). Trésor du Musée de Braşov (1-4); fouilles de Suceava (5-7); lot «Moldavie» (8-11).*

# Monnaies orientales

## 3. Monnaies de Chine

# Studies on the Alloy Composition of Past Dynasties Copper Coins in China

DAI ZHI-QIANG and ZHOU WEI-RONG*

The obvious difference of ancient Chinese coins from those in the west lies in the fact that copper coins were the main currency in circulation. They had their own styles of minting. Before the 11th century B.C., the earliest bronze coins appeared in the Yin-Shang period, known for its bronze culture. Since then, copper coins were in circulation up to the first half of the 20th century. The main features of such coinage also had their influence on many countries and regions in East Asia and Southeast Asia, and they took the shape of the oriental currency culture. Therefore, an analysis and study of the alloy composition of the copper coins in the different dynasties in China constitute an important item of the study of ancient Chinese coins and also an important subject of the study of oriental currencies. On the basis of the analytical data available at present, this article makes preliminary studies on the alloy composition of the copper coins in the past dynasties in China and their evolution in the hope that some traces of the track and some enlightenment will be found.

## *1. Alloy composition of copper coins of past Chinese dynasties*

The coins in the early period of China were almost all bronze coins down to the reign of Emperor Jiajing of the Ming Dynasty (1522-1566) when the Government decided to use brass in the minting of coins. The alloy composition of the copper coins in the past dynasties in China is described as follows :

### *1.1. Alloy Composition of Bronze Coins*

The Pre-Qin period (before 221 B.C.) marked the initial stage of copper coins in China. Coins began to appear after currency in kind. The coins minted in different regions differed not only in shape but also in their alloy composition. For instance, in the central plain area the coins were called spade coins. In the eastern and northern areas the coins took the shape of a knife. In the western area the coins were round, while in the southern area *yibi* coins were minted. The alloy contents were not identical. The following table shows the alloy composition[1].

TABLE I. ALLOY OF COINS OF ZHOU DURING THE SPRING AND AUTUMN PERIOD, WARRING STATES (CENTRAL PLAIN AREA).

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn |
| 1 | Flat-shoulder arch-foot big hole head spade | 59,01 | 33,40 | 6,19 |
| 2 | Flat-shoulder arch-foot big hole head spade | 60,96 | 21,60 | 13,27 |
| 3 | Flat-shoulder arch-foot small-hole head spade | 58,20 | 28,76 | 8,26 |
| 4 | Flat-shoulder arch-foot «An-zang» hole head spade | 62,22 | 27,72 | 6,29 |
| 5 | Slanting-shoulder arch-foot «Wu» hole head spade | 63,14 | 21,16 | 12,73 |

* Beijing.

1 Due to limited space, the article does not give all the data obtained. The list contains only the parts of a representative nature. The same applies also to the other lists.

TABLE II. ALLOY OF COINS OF ZHAO DURING THE WARRING STATES PERIOD (CENTRAL PLAIN AREA).

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Anyang small square foot spade coin | 61,42 | 23,98 | 9,76 | 0,18 |
| 2 | Anyang small square foot spade coin | 62,21 | 28,75 | 6,14 | 0,27 |
| 3 | Anyang small square foot spade coin | 58,19 | 35,39 | 5,07 | 0,32 |
| 4 | Pingzhou small square foot spade coin | 71,98 | 15,72 | 4,96 | 0,37 |
| 5 | Pingzhou small square foot spade coin | 45,57 | 47,48 | 4,77 | 0,06 |
| 6 | Lin small square foot spade coin | 41,33 | 53,09 | 3,56 | 0,02 |
| 7 | Knife coin | 55,79 | 42,89 | 2,87 | 1,05 |
| 8 | Knife coin | 42,08 | 53,33 | 2,20 | 0,18 |
| 9 | Knife coin | 63,04 | 31,31 | 5,10 | 0,14 |
| 10 | Bairen knife coin | 56,73 | 36,74 | 4,17 | 0,12 |
| 11 | Bairen knife coin | 56,70 | 33,05 | 5,97 | 0,09 |
| 12 | Non-inscription knife coin | 58,58 | 33,16 | 6,83 | 0,35 |

TABLE III. ALLOY OF COINS OF WEI DURING THE WARRING STATES PERIOD (CENTRAL PLAIN AREA).

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Lianggzheng shangjindang lu spade coin | 75,12 | 16,67 | 3,78 | 0,07 |
| 2 | Lianggzheng shangjindang lu spade coin | 71,55 | 11,43 | 6,96 | 0,04 |
| 3 | Lianggzheng shangjindang lu spade coin | 70,96 | 23,25 | 2,78 | 0,05 |
| 4 | Lianggzheng shangjindang lu spade coin | 76,93 | 14,88 | 3,16 | 0,08 |
| 5 | Lianggzheng shangjindang lu spade coin | 78,26 | 10,11 | 4,03 | 0,21 |
| 6 | Lianggzheng shangjindang lu spade coin | 76,19 | 16,18 | 3,85 | 0,12 |
| 7 | Anyi 2jin spade coin | 81,44 | 11,76 | 0,91 | 1,43 |
| 8 | Anyi 2jin spade coin | 73,60 | 22,51 | 0,62 | 1,11 |
| 9 | Anyi 2jin spade coin | 84,84 | 10,16 | 0,88 | 1,03 |
| 10 | Anyi 2jin spade coin | 75,36 | 18,54 | 0,92 | 1,42 |
| 11 | Anyi 2jin spade coin | 73,18 | 19,82 | 1,14 | 0,96 |
| 12 | Anyi 1jin spade coin | 72,45 | 22,18 | 3,76 | 0,07 |
| 13 | Anyi 1jin spade coin | 82,58 | 9,76 | 4,03 | 0,11 |
| 14 | Yu 1 Jin spade coin | 84,78 | 7,12 | 3,78 | 0,07 |
| 15 | Yu 1 Jin spade coin | 80,12 | 8,76 | 5,10 | 0,05 |
| 16 | Ying 1 Jin spade coin | 70,69 | 21,78 | 5,74 | 0,08 |

TABLE IV. ALLOY OF COINS OF QI DURING THE WARRING STATES PERIOD (EASTERN AREA).

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Qizhi Fahua knife coin | 69,74 | 16,79 | 10,88 | 0,30 |
| 2 | Jiemozhi Fahua knife coin | 69,59 | 16,75 | 11,01 | 0,18 |
| 3 | Jiemozhi Fahua knife coin | 73,89 | 12,14 | 12,72 | 0,12 |
| 4 | Jiemozhi Fahua knife coin | 68,17 | 14,86 | 12,78 | 0,14 |
| 5 | Qi fahua knife coin | 54,82 | 40,01 | 4,15 | 0,01 |
| 6 | Qi fahua knife coin | 42,17 | 41,28 | 2,03 | 0,12 |
| 7 | Qi fahua knife coin | 44,35 | 36,97 | 6,20 | 0,27 |
| 8 | Qi fahua knife coin | 55,10 | 30,67 | 4,28 | 0,56 |
| 9 | Qi fahua knife coin | 50,44 | 43,68 | 3,66 | 0,24 |
| 10 | Qi fahua knife coin | 53,24 | 41,12 | 3,48 | 0,12 |
| 11 | Qi fahua knife coin | 58,45 | 36,17 | 3,43 | 0,25 |
| 12 | Qi fahua knife coin | 59,72 | 29,46 | 7,86 | 0,30 |

TABLE V. ALLOY OF COINS OF YAN DURING THE WARRING STATES PERIOD (NORTHERN AREA).

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Sharp top knife coin | 55,16 | 32,33 | 9,52 | 0,03 |
| 2 | Sharp top knife coin | 40,93 | 52,50 | 2,22 | 0,26 |
| 3 | Sharp top knife coin | 45,64 | 48,94 | 3,96 | 0,07 |
| 4 | Sharp top knife coin | 51,69 | 36,82 | 5,82 | 0,14 |
| 5 | Sharp top knife coin | 42,55 | 50,39 | 1,54 | 0,02 |
| 6 | Sharp top knife coin | 40,26 | 49,07 | 4,01 | 0,03 |
| 7 | Ming knife (huzhe) coin | 46,20 | 46,65 | 2,69 | 0,08 |
| 8 | Ming knife (huzhe) coin | 43,10 | 50,67 | 1,47 | 0,07 |
| 9 | Ming knife (huzhe) coin | 48,31 | 43,98 | 2,40 | 0,02 |
| 10 | Ming knife (huzhe) coin | 42,85 | 52,72 | 1,82 | 0,21 |
| 11 | Ming knife (huzhe) coin | 45,86 | 46,20 | 2,06 | 0,02 |
| 12 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 35,04 | 58,20 | 2,87 | 0,50 |
| 13 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 36,36 | 57,47 | 0,82 | 0,46 |
| 14 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 37,19 | 56,29 | 0,00 | 0,43 |
| 15 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 41,02 | 51,96 | 2,65 | 0,48 |
| 16 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 44,54 | 49,02 | 2,69 | 0,44 |
| 17 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 38,45 | 55,93 | 1,60 | 0,58 |
| 18 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 28,57 | 67,29 | 1,14 | 0,33 |
| 19 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 38,52 | 52,03 | 2,27 | 0,47 |
| 20 | Ming knife (qingzhe) coin | 53,52 | 41,00 | 0,51 | 0,54 |

TABLE VI. ALLOY OF COINS OF QIN DURING THE WARRING STATES PERIOD (WESTERN AREA).

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ban Liang coin | 73,74 | 16,86 | 7,57 | 0,07 |
| 2 | Liang zi coin | 75,43 | 16,13 | 4,36 | 0,22 |

TABLE VII. ALLOY OF COINS OF CHU DURING THE WARRING STATES PERIOD (SOUTHERN AREA).

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Yibi coin | 73,50 | 10,01 | 9,95 | 0,90 |
| 2 | Yibi coin | 69,01 | 2,25 | 24,15 | 0,85 |
| 3 | Yibi coin | 71,99 | 16,35 | 6,87 | 1,36 |
| 4 | Yibi coin | 60,11 | 5,76 | 30,78 | 1,59 |
| 5 | Yibi coin | 68,78 | 10,15 | 14,12 | 0,96 |

The above data show clearly that in the period of the Warring States the coins minted at different regions had very great different alloy proportions. The average (%) of hole head spade coin in the Spring and Autumn period and the early days of the Warring States (8th century B.C. to 5th century B.C.) was Cu 60.71, Pb 26.35, Sn 9.35. In the Warring States period (475 B.C. to 221 B.C.), in the bridge foot spade coin of Wei, the alloy proportions were : Cu 76.73, Pb 15.31, Sn 3.22; the square foot spade and knife coins of Zhao were : Cu 56.14, Pb 36.24, Sn 5.09; the knife coin of Qi : Cu 58.31, Pb 29.99, Sn 6.87; the knife coin of Yan : Cu 42.79, Pb 49.97, Sn 2.60; Qin coin : Cu 74.59, Pb 16.50, Sn 5.97; the *Yi-Bi* coin of Chu : Cu 68.68, Pb 8.90, Sn 17.17. This state of affairs shows that there were no standards for coin minting, nor were there strict rules on alloy proportions. The different regions carried out coin minting in the light of the local mineral resources, economic situation and relative political and military conditions and in the light of needs to meet local conditions.

Several things must be pointed out. First, in the northern area the copper content of the coins of the State of Yan was generally low, usually only around 40%-50%. Correspondingly, the lead content was as high as over 40%. According to the analytical data of 133 Yan coins available to us, there were 66.2% samples of which the contents of lead were well over copper. Such copper coins actually formed a specific phenomenon. It was an alloy coin with lead as the main component. This also happened in the coinage of the state of Zhao in the central plain area (See Table II). Secondly, on the basis of the coins which are available, we have found nearly pure lead coins in the State of Yan in the north, the State of Chu in the south and in the central plain area along the Yellow River. We shall not insist more on this subject, because it does not fall within the scope of our article. Thirdly, there were big fluctuations in the tin content. The tin content of the coins of Yan was higher than 4% only in exceptional cases. In ninety percent of the samples, the tin proportion was below 2%-3%. In twenty percent of the samples, the tin content was below 1%. This low content of tin was, perhaps, not added intentionally, but a natural mixture in the copper raw material or the use of small amounts of scrap tin-bronze. This situation also happened in the Anyi 2 Jin spade coin of the State of Wei (See Table III). Fourth, in the coins of the earlier days the proportions of copper and tin were high, but the lead content was comparatively low. In the coins minted later, the copper and tin proportions were low, and there was a tendency toward increased lead proportions. The average copper content of the coins *Qifahua* and *Jiemozhifahua* knife coins were 70.35%, tin 11.85% and lead 15.14%. In the *Qizhifahua* coinage of the later period, the average copper content dropped to 52.29%, tin to 4.39%, but lead rose to 37.42%. This situation was not exceptional either in Yan, Chu or the central plain area. The difference is found only in the degree of change.

In 221 B.C., Emperor Qin Shi Huang unified China. In line with the unification of the country, there appeared for the first time in Chinese history the *Ban Liang* round coins with a square hole in the centre. Since then round coins with a square hole had been the main form of Chinese copper coins. According to records in documents, the coins minted in the Qin Dynasty came under uniform provisions in regards to the name and shape. There were also requirements that the *quality must be like Zhou coin* and the weight must be as inscribed[2]. The requirement for the coin like the Zhou coin in quality means that the quality must be similar to that of the coin of Qin of the Warring States. The actual things we have mastered substantiate exactly this point. Please read the following table.

TABLE VIII. ALLOY OF BAN LIANG COIN IN QIN.

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Ban Liang coin | 85,72 | 6,20 | 5,74 | 0,37 |
| 2 | Ban Liang coin | 64,24 | 23,81 | 9,22 | 0,70 |
| 3 | Ban Liang coin | 86,89 | 7,54 | 4,26 | 0,32 |
| 4 | Ban Liang coin | 72,98 | 22,44 | 4,63 | 0,70 |
| 5 | Ban Liang coin | 75,53 | 3,15 | 17,38 | 0,16 |
| 6 | Ban Liang coin | 71,51 | 15,87 | 10,01 | |
| 7 | Ban Liang coin | 61,35 | 26,79 | 9,77 | |

The average of the alloy composition of the Qin Ban Liang coin was : Cu 74.03%, Pb 15.11%, Sn 8.72%. The figures indicate that they were surprisingly similar to those of the coins of Qin of the Warring States. It can be seen that the remark on the quality like the Zhou coin was substantiated by the facts. On the basis of the figures in the above table, we can also find that the uniform Qin coin had the same names, uniform shapes and weights, but there were no uniform standard like the practice of the Pre-Qin, concerning the alloy proportions of the copper coins. Therefore, there were large range fluctuations in respect to the alloy proportions. The copper content generally fluctuated around 60%-85%. The lead content fluctuated around 3%-26%. The tin content

2 *Book of Han* - Food Section, Vol. 24.

fluctuated around 4%-17%. In addition, as shown by actual facts, due to technical reasons of manual work, the actual weight of the Qin coins did not trully match the requirements that the *weight must be inscribed.*

The Han Dynasty in more than 400 years (206 B.C.-200 A.D.) first followed the Qin system of Ban Liang coins. As the Qin coin is heavy and difficult to use, people are ordered to mint coins[3]. Thereafter, coins were minted in regions close to the mountains which were rich in copper ore, leading to very big fluctuations in the metallic proportions of the coin; the copper content varied from around 60% to over 90%. The fluctuations of the lead and tin contents were obviously bigger, from 1% to 38% and 0% to 18%. Obviously, some were pure copper coins.

TABLE IX. ALLOY OF BAN LIANG COIN OF WESTERN HAN.

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Ban Liang coin | 74,28 | 7,66 | 16,16 | 0,31 |
| 2 | Ban Liang coin | 78,46 | 10,85 | 6,21 | 0,96 |
| 3 | Ban Liang coin | 85,02 | 5,80 | 7,82 | 1,66 |
| 4 | Ban Liang coin | 81,77 | 5,74 | 10,16 | 0,74 |
| 5 | Ban Liang coin | 74,03 | 16,73 | 5,94 | 0,70 |
| 6 | Ban Liang coin | 74,14 | 18,18 | 5,30 | 0,56 |
| 7 | Ban Liang coin | 64,16 | 28,14 | 5,02 | 0,64 |
| 8 | Ban Liang coin | 96,33 | 1,47 | 0,00 | 1,92 |
| 9 | Ban Liang coin | 96,78 | 1,76 | 0,00 | 1,29 |
| 10 | Ban Liang coin | 59,46 | 37,05 | 4,33 | 0,74 |
| 11 | Ban Liang coin | 61,23 | 25,49 | 9,83 | 1,54 |
| 12 | Ban Liang coin | 92,66 | 2,82 | 0,27 | 0,28 |
| 13 | Ban Liang coin | 83,97 | 3,85 | 0,16 | 0,05 |
| 14 | Ban Liang coin | 70,77 | 12,50 | 8,79 | 3,80 |

In 118 B.C. Emperor Wu Di of Western Han carried out a currency reform, «abolishing the Ban Liang coin and introducing the Wu Zhu coin»[4]. Thereafter, the emperor concentrated the coin minting power in the central government. Three officials were appointed to take charge of minting work. The weight of the Wu Zhu coin was about 4 g. The diameter was around 2.5 cm. This became the standard of Chinese coins later. We have made an analysis of the Wu Zhu coins found in the tombs of Prince Zhong-Shan of Western Han and his spouse unearthed at Ling-Shan of Man-Cheng in He-Bei, as shown by the following table.

TABLE X. ALLOY OF WU ZHU COIN UNEARTHED FROM HAN TOMBS AT MANCHENG.

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Wu zhu | 78,72 | 12,31 | 3,34 | 0,67 |
| 2 | Wu zhu | 71,27 | 20,81 | 2,21 | 0,78 |
| 3 | Wu zhu | 74,70 | 19,57 | 2,86 | 0,37 |
| 4 | Wu zhu | 80,99 | 15,66 | 2,94 | 1,32 |
| 5 | Wu zhu | 80,71 | 15,38 | 2,36 | 1,23 |
| 6 | Wu zhu | 80,54 | 16,16 | 2,55 | 0,92 |
| 7 | Wu zhu | 88,04 | 9,43 | 2,19 | 0,19 |
| 8 | Wu zhu | 82,55 | 12,04 | 3,55 | 1,07 |
| 9 | Wu zhu | 84,67 | 10,86 | 2,21 | 0,47 |
| 10 | Wu zhu | 78,89 | 17,40 | 2,51 | 0,93 |

The information derived therefore furnishes quite valuable data, because the Prince Liu Sheng died in 113 B.C. It was exactly the time when Emperor Wu Di of Han had enforced the concentration of the coin minting power in the central government. The

3 Historical Record - Ping Zhun Section.

4 *Book of Han* -Wu Di Record.

analytical data substantiated the fact that the alloy proportions of the coins in circulation there were comparatively stable and the quality was high.

In the last days of Western Han, Wang Mang seized the throne and set up the Xin Dynasty (9-25). The dynasty was short-lived, but it occupied a special position in the history of Chinese coins. During this period, the first large-scale policy of currency inflation was realized for the first time since the Qin and Han Dynasties. Coins of big denominations were put into circulation. Since «big coins» were minted for the first time, Wang Mang «does care for the copper used and for the meticulous work involved». Fine minting work was done and efforts were made to enhance the quality. Excellent calligraphy was required for inscription on the coin. The use of alloys in the coins was also stable. The result of an analysis showed that the average of the three elements were : copper 82-86%, lead 5-9%, tin 3- 4.5% (See Table XI). At the same time, it was also the first time that alloy proportions in coin minting appeared in books of history. *The Book of Han-Food Chapter* recorded that Wang Mang changed the Han system, copper was used for the minting of coins, with some lead and tin mixed to the alloy.

TABLE XI. ALLOY OF MANG COINS.

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Daquan Wushi | 82,14 | 6,37 | 4,51 | 0,30 |
| 2 | Daquan Wushi | 86,78 | 5,63 | 4,00 | 0,47 |
| 3 | Huoquan | 86,82 | 8,45 | 3,65 | 0,20 |
| 4 | Huoquan | 86,93 | 8,80 | 3,35 | 0,47 |
| 5 | Huoquan | 84,88 | 8,98 | 4,04 | 0,21 |
| 6 | Huoquan | 85,68 | 6,72 | 3,69 | 0,44 |

The coins of Eastern Han followed generally the Western Han system. Nothing new occurred. This situation is not described here.

The Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) began to introduce coins inscribing the title of the emperor's reign, and called circulating coins as «Tungbao» or «Yuanbao». However, in the whole of Tang Dynasty the main coin was the «Kai-Yuan Tungbao». *The Book of Tang-Food Chapter* recorded that during the time of Emperor Xuan-Zong «there were 99 furnances in the country ... each furnance minting 3,300 *min* coins a year. (Each *min* was equal to 1,000 cash, according to the author), ... copper 21,200 catties, la (tin and lead alloy, according to the author) 3,700 catties and tin 300 catties». On this basis, it is deduced that the alloy proportions of the Kai-Yuan Tungbao coin should be : Cu 83%, Pb + Sn 17%. This is considerably at variance with the data resulting from the actual analysis.

TABLE XII. ALLOY OF KAI-YUAN TUNGBAO OF TANG.

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 61,02 | 29,43 | 7,08 | 0,48 |
| 2 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 72,76 | 14,50 | 9,46 | 2,40 |
| 3 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 79,92 | 10,16 | 8,30 | 0,36 |
| 4 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 64,87 | 26,36 | 6,88 | 1,76 |
| 5 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 68,16 | 22,33 | 6,28 | 1,58 |
| 6 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 80,82 | 10,86 | 7,46 | 0,58 |
| 7 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 70,24 | 23,19 | 3,72 | 1,64 |
| 8 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 68,90 | 18,16 | 9,02 | 1,12 |
| 9 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 65,34 | 27,01 | 4,01 | 2,36 |
| 10 | Kaiyuan Tungbao | 57,44 | 34,38 | 5,45 | 1,95 |

Analytical results of the coins show that the alloy proportions of the Tang coin Kaiyuan Tungbao generally were : copper 60-75%, lead below 30% and tin 4-9%.

Although big fluctuations existed in the alloy proportions, they tended to be stable as compared with those in the Han Dynasty.

In the Song Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), bronze coins started a high degree of technical proficiency. Though numerous in kinds and in large amounts, the alloy proportions of the Song coins were considerably stable, particularly for the coins during the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127 A.D.), as can be seen in the following table.

TABLE XIII. ALLOY OF COINS OF NORTHERN SONG.

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Songyuan Tongbao | 74,42 | 11,01 | 14,91 | 1,49 |
| 2 | Taiping Tongbao | 65,96 | 24,68 | 10,02 | 0,08 |
| 3 | Chunhua Yuanbao | 62,44 | 24,82 | 12,51 | 0,00 |
| 4 | Zhidao Yuanbao | 66,15 | 21,72 | 10,50 | 0,00 |
| 5 | Xianping Yuanbao | 64,12 | 26,12 | 9,87 | 0,06 |
| 6 | Jingde Yuanbao | 65,98 | 20,23 | 9,40 | 0,06 |
| 7 | Xiangfu Yuanbao | 65,43 | 24,91 | 9,13 | 0,05 |
| 8 | Tinagxi Tongbao | 65,72 | 23,11 | 8,71 | 0,00 |
| 9 | Tiansheng Yuanbao | 68,71 | 19,61 | 8,94 | 0,00 |
| 10 | Mingdao Yuanbao | 63,85 | 26,30 | 9,65 | 0,00 |
| 11 | Jingyou Yuanbao | 67,48 | 23,24 | 8,45 | 0,00 |
| 12 | Huangsong Tongbao | 64,11 | 24,61 | 8,58 | 0,00 |
| 13 | Zhihe Yuanbao | 63,15 | 27,18 | 7,27 | 0,00 |
| 14 | Jiayou Tongbao | 68,56 | 22,46 | 6,20 | 0,00 |
| 15 | Xining Yuanbao | 60,36 | 25,00 | 10,72 | 0,00 |
| 16 | Yuangfen Tongbao | 67,32 | 21,54 | 9,53 | 0,00 |
| 17 | Chongnong Zhongbao | 62,84 | 28,51 | 9,47 | 0,01 |
| 18 | Daguan Tongbao | 63,17 | 28,59 | 7,05 | 0,00 |
| 19 | Zhenghe Tongbao | 69,63 | 22,41 | 6,86 | 0,30 |
| 20 | Xuanhe Tongbao | 61,47 | 30,22 | 5,23 | 0,30 |

*The History of Song-Food Chapter* records that *coin-minting consumes 3 catties and 10 taels of copper, 1 catty and 8 taels of lead and 8 taels of tin.* According to this record, the alloy proportions of song coins should have been : copper 64.44%, lead 25.57% and tin 8.89%. On the basis of the above list and the data we have obtained, the actual proportions in Song coins were : copper 62-68%, lead 20-29% and tin 6-10%. The actual composition and the government provisions then were identical. We have found that the alloy proportion were nearly controlled at the lowest melting point of the three elements of Cu-Pb-Sn[5]. Such coins not only had a higher degree of hardness and a strong reistance to abrasion, but were very easy to melt and cheap to production. It is also seen that during the Northern Song period the technology in bronze coin minting reached its new peak.

During the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279 A.D.), the alloy proportion in the bronze coins showed a tendency of decline, as can be seen from the table XIV.

According to an analysis based on the above table, the average of the alloy composition of Southern Song coins were : copper 50-60%, lead 30-50% and tin below 5%. This situation is attributed, apart from economic and political reasons, to the situation of the mining industry, perhaps, as the direct cause. In a book on miscellaneous events after Jian-Yan edited by Li Xinchuan, it is said : *The minting of coins in the east and south began in the third year of Xianping at the four prefectures of Jiang, Chi, Rao and Jian; turning out 1,350,000 min a year. There was a surplus of copper and lead ... In the middle years of Daguan, ten places in jiangsu, Hubei, Fujian and Guangdong minted 2,890,400 min, consuming 10,115,000 catties of copper. Since the time of crossing the Yangzi river, coin minting was only 80,000 min a year. As compared with the past, the*

5 DAI ZHI QIANG *et al.*, *Premilinary Analysis of Metal Proportions of Northern Song Copper Coins*, in *China Numismatics*, 3, 1985, p. 7-16.

TABLE XIV. ALLOY IN SOUTHERN SONG COINS.

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Jianyan Tongbao | 55,03 | 34,50 | 5,67 | 2,03 |
| 2 | JJianyan Tongbao | 59,77 | 33,00 | 6,05 | 0,21 |
| 3 | Shaoxing Tongbao | 60,23 | 29,31 | 10,22 | 1,2~ |
| 4 | Qiandao Yuanbao | 52,17 | 41,05 | 4,52 | 1,42 |
| 5 | Qiandao Yuanbao | 54,00 | 40,42 | 4,99 | 1,20 |
| 6 | Chunxi Yuanbao | 57,21 | 38,51 | 2,38 | 1,05 |
| 7 | Qingyuan Tongbao | 55,15 | 37,91 | 2,75 | 1,00 |
| 8 | Jiatai Tongbao | 58,69 | 34,80 | 6,17 | 0,92 |
| 9 | Kaixi Tongbao | 57,54 | 38,82 | 2,57 | 1,74 |
| 10 | Jiading Tongbao | 50,54 | 43,50 | 0,45 | 1,31 |
| 11 | Jiading Tongbao | 59,03 | 34,71 | 0,96 | 1,59 |
| 12 | Shaoding Tongbao | 51,18 | 42,92 | 2,66 | 1,40 |
| 13 | Shaoding Tongbao | 56,46 | 41,32 | 2,95 | 1,03 |
| 14 | Duanping Tongbao | 63,25 | 32,21 | 1,53 | 1,67 |
| 15 | Duanping Tongbao | 59,98 | 35,41 | 3,49 | 0,79 |
| 16 | Jiaxi Tonbao | 55,83 | 39,62 | 1,99 | 1,28 |
| 17 | Chunyou Yuanbao | 54,66 | 43,41 | 1,90 | 1,12 |
| 18 | Chunyou Yuanbao | 51,38 | 45,70 | 1,63 | 1,10 |
| 19 | Jingding Yuanbao | 53,74 | 35,94 | 5,20 | 1,06 |
| 20 | Xianchung Yuanbao | 55,62 | 41,21 | 2,11 | 1,03 |

*use of copper, iron, lead and tin was only one-twentieth.* In a book on the Song currency, it is recorded that *in times of the Emperors Tai Zu and Tai Zong, ... the annual production of tin was 760,000 catties. After crossing the river, the amount was on the decline ... At the end years of the reign of Shaoxing, four prefectures in Hu Guang, the tin production was 20,458 catties and 6 taels.*

In the Yuan Dynasty (1206-1368 A.D. ) paper money was mainly in circulation. A very small amount of bronze coins was in circulation. According to the samples we have analyzed, the quality of the coins was better than that of the coins of Southern Song. The alloy proportions were comparatively stable.

TABLE XV. ALLOY OF COINS OF YUAN DYNASTY.

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Fe |
| 1 | Zhida Tongbao | 75,61 | 13,55 | 8,37 | 0,28 |
| 2 | Zhida Tongbao | 74,28 | 16,10 | 7,51 | 0,00 |
| 3 | Dayuan Tongbao (in Mongolian) | 71,28 | 18,74 | 6,85 | 0,05 |
| 4 | Dayuan Tongbao (in Mongolian) | 70,38 | 21,29 | 7,44 | 0,44 |

The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) continued to issue paper money. A major reform was also made in the minting of coins. Since Emperor Jiajing, brass was used for the minting of coins. Before Jiajing (1522 A.D.), the Yuan system was retained and bronze was used for coin minting. The alloy composition generally were : copper 70-80%, lead 10-20% and tin 6-8%.

TABLE XVI. ALLOY IN BRONZE COINS IN FIRSTS DAYS OF MING DYNASTY.

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Zn | Fe |
| 1 | Hongwu Tongbao | 75,80 | 14,56 | 8,27 | 0,02 | 0,53 |
| 2 | Hongwu Tongbao | 73,39 | 19,20 | 6,47 | 0,03 | 0,03 |
| 3 | Hongwu Tongbao | 75,80 | 16,28 | 7,90 | 0,02 | 0,12 |
| 4 | Hongwu Tongbao | 71,46 | 14,08 | 14,20 | 0,02 | 0,20 |
| 5 | Hongwu Tongbao | 77,90 | 15,59 | 6,19 | 0,02 | 0,18 |
| 6 | Yongle Tongbao | 70,60 | 19,84 | 8,47 | 0,04 | 0,08 |
| 7 | Yongle Tongbao | 72,94 | 18,22 | 6,76 | 0,02 | 0,00 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Yongle Tongbao | 74,01 | 16,18 | 6,38 | 0,02 | 0,05 |
| 9 | Xuande Tongbao | 74,49 | 17,82 | 7,01 | 0,13 | 0,25 |
| 10 | Xuande Tongbao | 72,78 | 19,44 | 6,03 | 0,14 | 0,14 |
| 11 | Hongzhi Tongbao | 79,78 | 9,34 | 8,51 | 0,06 | 0,06 |
| 12 | Hongzhi Tongbao | 84,94 | 4,43 | 8,64 | 0,06 | 0,06 |
| 13 | Hongzhi Tongbao | 72,91 | 16,72 | 6,51 | 2,48 | 0,04 |
| 14 | Hongzhi Tongbao | 81,91 | 11,41 | 6,21 | 0,13 | 0,08 |
| 15 | Hongzhi Tongbao | 69,85 | 17,31 | 0,35 | 9,77 | 0,53 |

*2. Alloy composition of brass coins*

Beginning with the reign of Emperor Jiajing (1522-1566 A.D.) of the Ming Dynasty, the Chinese government explicitly stipulated that brass was to be used for the minting of coins. Both the documentary records and the analytical data of the actual coins show that there was no particular intention to use brass for coin minting at first. Firstly, the government stipulated that while using brass, a higher percentage of tin should be used as before, and, secondly, the brass used came from the smelting of copper put into zinc ore (calamine $ZnCO_3$)[6]. It was used as copper material. The book *Ming Hui Dian* records that : *The practice in the middle years of Jia-Jing was : for six million cash of the Tongbao coins 47,272 catties of er-huo brass and 4,728 catties of tin were used.* The ratio between brass and tin was 10:1. By the term «er-huo brass» is meant the brass obtained from the smelting copper treated twice with zinc ore. The zinc content was around 20%[7]. For the alloy composition of the coins minted during the reign of Emperor Jiajing, the result of an analysis of the real coins : copper 60-70%, lead 2-13%, tin 5-9%, zinc 13-19%. This situation continued till the earlier stage of Wanli, or after 1573.

Another record in the *Ming Hui Dian* substantiates this point : *A practice in the middle years of Wanli was that for 10,000 cashes of the golden reverse coins, 85 catties 8 taels 6 qian of si-huo brass ..., 5 catties 11 taels and 2 qian of tin were used.* Our analysis of the coins in the early years of Wanli was : Copper 70%, lead 9%, tin 4% and zinc 13-17% (See Table XVII). It can thus be seen that in the first days when the Ming Dynasty used brass for coin minting there existed obviously a transitory period in the change from bronze to brass for the minting of coins. This transitory period lasted from the years of Jiajing to the middle of Wanli, about more than half a century. As far as the composition is concerned, the coins in this transitory period should have been half brass and half bronze, or neither bronze nor brass.

TABLE XVII. ALLOY OF COINS IN BRONZE-BRASS TRANSITORY PERIOD.

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Zn | Fe |
| 1 | Jiajing Tongbao | 61,62 | 13,33 | 8,00 | 15,16 | 0,17 |
| 2 | Jiajing Tongbao | 68,77 | 7,13 | 9,51 | 13,01 | 0,32 |
| 3 | Jiajing Tongbao | 63,51 | 12,12 | 8,15 | 14,34 | 0,58 |
| 4 | JJiajing Tongbao | 64,98 | 11,54 | 7,68 | 15,56 | 0,21 |
| 5 | JJiajing Tongbao | 68,07 | 2,56 | 8,10 | 9,24 | 0,21 |
| 6 | Jiajing Tongbao | 73,26 | 2,26 | 4,76 | 18,22 | 0,27 |
| 7 | Jiajing Tongbao | 60,07 | 11,00 | 7,38 | 19,48 | 0,07 |
| 8 | Longqing Tongbao | 70,39 | 2,58 | 4,76 | 21,27 | 0,03 |
| 9 | Longqing Tongbao | 69,90 | 2,70 | 5,02 | 20,95 | 0,16 |
| 10 | Wanli Tongbao | 69,92 | 8,44 | 4,05 | 17,00 | 0,39 |
| 11 | Wanli Tongbao | 70,10 | 9,80 | 4,59 | 13,81 | 0,31 |

Till the last years of Wanli, following people's enhanced knowledge of the property of the brass casting, there was no more tin proportion. In Volum 7 of a handbook compiled by He Shijin of Ming is recorded : *Under the regulations governing coin*

6 ZHOU WEI-RONG, *A Brief Research of Brass Coins in Ancient China*, in *A Collection of Chinese Numismatic Theses*, 2nd Edition, published by China Financial Publishing House, 1992.

7 ZHAO KUANG-HUA *et al.*, *An Analysis of Chemical Contents of Copper Coins of Ming Dynasty*, in *Studies in the History of Natural Science*, 5, 1, 1988.

*minting, for the minting of every 10,000 cash 90 catties of copper (brass according to the author) and 5 catties 11 taels 2 qian of tin are used. Now (43rd Year of Wanli or 1615 A.D.) tin dos not apply.* The results of the analysis of the coins also show that the tin and lead proportions obviously dropped, while zinc increased. Generally it was like follows : Cu 60%, Zn 30%, Pb 2-3% and Sn <1% (See Table XVIII). In this period, although lead and tin were not added any more and the alloy contained 30 to 40% zinc, but considering that the brass still came from the smelting of copper and zinc ore and element zinc was not used, the casting could not be regarded as ripe brass casting. In this technology, there were bigger fluctuations in composition and the coins were mixed too much with miscellaneous substances.

TABLE XVIII. ALLOY OF BRASS COINS OF MING DYNASTY.

| N° | Name | Alloy Composition | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Zn | Fe |
| 1 | Wanli Tongbao | 59,79 | 2,34 | 0,06 | 36,74 | 0,21 |
| 2 | Wanli Tongbao | 63,27 | 2,33 | 0,00 | 32,33 | 0,23 |
| 3 | Wanli Tongbao | 69,80 | 2,27 | 0,48 | 26,60 | 0,44 |
| 4 | Taichang Tongbao | 63,43 | 2,56 | 0,15 | 31,91 | 0,22 |
| 5 | Tiancqi Tongbao | 62,34 | 4,00 | 1,00 | 31,46 | 0,08 |
| 6 | Tiancqi Tongbao | 59,46 | 5,94 | 1,78 | 32,66 | 0 18 |
| 7 | Tiancqi Tongbao | 63,51 | 6,23 | 1,54 | 27,86 | 0 11 |
| 8 | Tiancqi Tongbao | 61,07 | 8,05 | 0,77 | 29,54 | 0,11 |
| 9 | Tiancqi Tongbao | 56,98 | 9,20 | 1,07 | 32,06 | 0,08 |
| 10 | Chongzhen Tongbao | 62,25 | 2,68. | 0,65 | 32,57 | 0,25 |
| 11 | Chongzhen Tongbao | 63,79 | 0,59 | 0,00 | 34,85 | 0,27 |
| 12 | Chongzhen Tongbao | 60,80 | 0,78 | 0,09 | 37,20 | 0,17 |
| 13 | Chongzhen Tongbao | 62,34 | 0,65 | 0,00 | 35,67 | 0,14 |
| 14 | Chongzhen Tongbao | 60,46 | 1,44 | 0,15 | 65,64 | 0,42 |

After Tianqi of Ming (1621 A.D.), metallic zinc was used to mint coins, and the minting of brass coins tended to be mature. Then, the coins of China registered a new leap. The cheap zinc replaced lead and tin and even part of copper material, while the good properties of brass enabled the quality of the coins to be better safeguarded. The alloy proportions of the coins were stable in the period from Tianqi to Chongzhen (1628-1644 A.D.). The composition was on the average as follows : copper 60% and zinc 30-35%.

During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.), brass coins were basically in circulation in a stable manner. In the earlier period, the copper content was high. It is recorded in the *Qing Shi Gao Food-Chapter* that the Shunzhi Tongbao coin should be composed of 70% copper and 30% zinc in minting. The analytical results of the actual coin show : copper 65.75%, zinc 24.15% and lead 6.53%. This is agreeing with documentary records. After Qianlong (1736 A.D.) the copper content registered a drop, with a corresponding rise of the zinc content. Generally, the proportion was copper 50-60% and zinc 35-40%. After the 6th year of the reign of Qianlong (1741 A.D.), the Government decided to add a little amount of lead and tin, the proportions being lead 3-6% and tin 1-2 %[8].

This provision indicated that there was a new enhancement of the recognition of the brass coins, because as far as brass coins a little amount of lead could effectively improve the process of cutting and the degree of luster of the processing work. A little amount of tin could effectively intensify the resistance of the coin against erosion. Analytical results of the actual coin showed that the lead content conformed with the record. As regard to the tin content, this has to be further verified in the absence of a quantitative analysis.

8 PENG XI-WEI, *History of Chinese Currency*, Shanghai, 1988, p. 157.

TABLE XIX. ALLOY OF COINS OF QING DYNASTY.

| Nº | Name | Alloy Composition | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cu | Pb | Sn | Zn |
| 1 | Shunzi Tongbao | 65,75 | 6,53 | 0,100 | 24,15 |
| 2 | Kangxi Tongbao | 65,49 | 0,95 | 0,003 | 31,65 |
| 3 | Kangxi Tongbao | 62,15 | 0,53 | 0,001 | 36,11 |
| 4 | Yongzhen Tongbao | 61,15 | 0,51 | 0,001 | 37,18 |
| 5 | Yongzhen Tongbao | 65,01 | 0,36 | 0,001 | 33,15 |
| 6 | Qiantong Tonbao | 65,75 | 4,41 | 0,030 | 37,45 |
| 7 | Qiantong Tonbao | 56,81 | 5,15 | 0,030 | 35,19 |
| 8 | Qiantong Tonbao | 53,51 | 3,95 | 0,300 | 40,15 |
| 9 | Jiaqing Tongbao | 57,95 | 1,95 | 0,010 | 38,12 |
| 10 | Jiaqing Tongbao | 56,94 | 3,75 | 0,010 | 38,74 |
| 11 | Daoguang Tongbao | 55,01 | 3,75 | 0,001 | 39,12 |
| 12 | Daoguang Tongbao | 51,65 | 3,92 | 0,010 | 42,76 |
| 13 | Xianfeng Tongbao | 56,71 | 3,75 | 0,010 | 37,95 |
| 14 | Xianfeng Tongbao | 54,76 | 3,92 | 0,001 | 40,25 |
| 15 | Tongzhi Tongbao | 58,14 | 5,17 | 0,010 | 34,76 |
| 16 | Tongzhi Tongbao | 55,92 | 4,29 | 0,010 | 38,75 |
| 17 | Guangxu Tongbao | 55,14 | 3,15 | 0,003 | 40,19 |
| 18 | Guangxu Tongbao | 53,96 | 1,01 | 0,001 | 44,19 |
| 19 | Xuantong Tongbao | 56,76 | 5,28 | 0,010 | 37,31 |
| 20 | Xuantong Tongbao | 57,61 | 4,95 | 0,010 | 36,45 |

*3. Analysis of three alloy elements in bronze coins*

The three alloy elements in bronze coins were copper, lead and tin. Among these elements, copper was the main body in the bronze coins. Its role and position were naturally self-evident. Lead and tin were subsidiary ingredients, but their amounts directly affected the quality of the bronze coins. In order to facilitate the observation of Chinese bronze coins from the viewpoint of alloy constituents, it is necessary for us to discuss the role and quantity of lead and tin in bronze coins.

The role of lead (Pb) in coin-minting was mainly :

a. The castaing properties of the alloy will be improved. Lead has a low melting point and is a metal of high density. Its melting point is 327.4°C and density 11.68 g/cm$^3$. When mixed with lead, the bronze will have a lower melting point, and the mobility of the melting fluid can be enhanced.

b. The abrasion coefficients are lowered and the functions of cutting in the coin minting can be improved.

c. As a subsidiary material, it can be substituted for copper, which is higher in cost, in order to lower the costs of production. As far as we can find out, when the lead content is 4-7% it is possible to satisfy the requirements of the first and the second points[9]. Therefore, when the lead is over 7%, it is considered as a substitute raw material. Seen from the data available now, the lead content of the bronze coins in the past dynasties in China was basically above the proportion required by the first two points. Lead production was rich in ancient China. It is a cheap metal, lead-bronze has favorable functions for the minting of coins. The use of a large amount of lead in coin minting in China was only natural and reasonable. However, in coin minting, lead should not exceed 36%. Otherwise, the alloys in the course of melting might separate in two layers, forming an independent lead layer and thus affecting the quality of the coin[10]. As a result, the first of the requirements on the quality of bronze coins should be Pb < 36%. To ensure the processing functions and technological quality of coin minting, it was possible that there was a further requirement that : 4-7% ≤ Pb < 36%.

9 *Foundry Worker's Handbook*, Editorial Department, Handbook on Non-ferrous Metal Foundry Work, Machine Industry Publishing House, 1978, 392.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 403.

Tin (Sn) has a role in coin minting not only to improve the minting properties of the alloy, but also to enhance greatly the hardness, strength, lustre and anti-erosion functions, making it possible for the coins to stand abrasion and erosion and to keep a lustre in appearance. Based on the character of bronze alloy, once the tin content is increased, the hardness, strength, lustre and anti-erosion property of bronze also become higher. When the tin content is higher than 6-7%, in the cast structure alpha + delta eutectoid is derived from around the alpha phase, making it possess a very high anti-abrasion property. But if the tin content exceeds 20%, as a large amount of delta phase is produced in the cast structure, the strength and elasticity become very low and the alloy may become fragile, thus affecting the quality of coin[11]. Therefore, to ensure the quality of the coins, the first thing is to keep Sn < 20%. Considering the need to have a higher degree of strongness against abrasion, there is the need to demand 6-7% ≤ Sn < 20%.

According to above analysis, Pb < 36%, Sn < 20% is the first condition for the quality of the coins. To appraise the bronze coins in the past dynasties from this angle, it is possible to find that almost all of the coins fulfilled this condition except for some of the Pre-Qin and Southern Song's coins. Of course, this does not cover the poor coins minted privately.

4-7% ≤ Pb < 36%, 6-7% ≤ Sn < 20%. This was the further condition which improves the quality of the coins. Observing the bronze coins in the past dynasties in China from this viewpoint, it can be found that the coins after Tang generally reached this condition. This indicates that in the history of Chinese coins the Tang Dynasty crossed a new step.

*4. An analysis of iron mixed in copper coins*

Iron was the main element in the foreign substances of copper alloy coins. It was included in coins usually following the copper raw materials, so its content reflects the quality of the copper raw material and also the kind of copper ore and the level of the metallurgical techniques.

Seen from the composition of the coins of the different dynasties covered by the foreign tables, in the coins of Pre-Qin and Qin Dynasty the Iron content was low, generally below 0.5%. The higher contents did not exceed 0.7-0.8%. This was because copper then came mainly from oxygenated copper ore. In the coins of Han and Tang Dynasty the iron content was oviously higher, as high as 1-3%. This was, perhaps, because sulphur copper ore had been adopted widely and the metallurgical techniques were raw, so the iron content was high. Down to the times of Northern Song, the Chinese metallurgical skills for sulphur copper ore became mature, the Iron content of the coins of Northern Song dropped obviously, generally below 0.5%. In some case, it dropped to 1/10,000. Southern Song adopted the wet method of copper metallurgy through the adoption of Fe and $CuSO_4$ for reaction to obtain copper. Consequently, the iron content of the copper raw material again rose, reaching 1-2%. After Yuan and Ming, this wet method declined. The iron content of the coins again dropped sharply. Therefore, the changes of the iron proportion in the coins of the past dynasties reflected in one aspect the pace of progress of the Chinese metallurgical techniques.

*5. Traces of evolution of alloy proportions in copper coins of past dynasties in China*

Now, we can make a general observation concerning the evolution of the alloy proportions in copper coins in the past dynasties of China.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 391.

*5.1. General tendency of development of casting coins*

For the purpose of reflecting in a simplified manner the proportions of the coins at different historical periods, so as to master the traces of changes in the proportions of bronze coins in China, we list the average on the basis of the analytical data available up to now (not confined to the figures already disclosed in this article) as follows :

| Composition<br>Time | Cu | Pb | Sn | Remark |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-Qin | 59,71 | 28,75 | 6,71 | Data based on regional average |
| Qin, Han | 83,01 | 12,12 | 4,02 | Average of 149 sampies |
| Tang | 72,18 | 20,10 | 6,15 | Average of 130 samples |
| Song | 64,75 | 25,40 | 8,70 | Average of 405 samples |
| Yuan | 72,89 | 17,42 | 7,54 | Average of 4 samples |
| Ming | 75,54 | 14,74 | 8,22 | Average of 29 samples |

There were many factors that influenced the proportions of coins, but the main ones were : (1) political, military, economic and cultural factors; (2) natural resources such as mineral; (3) production technology; (4) the value demanded by people of the coins. These factors played different roles in different historical periods. In times of social turbulence, the first and second factors played a decisive role, whereas the third and fourth factors had a higher role in times of social stability.

Pre-Qin was the initial stage of coin minting. The primitive coins originated from currency in kind. At that time people had an obscure view of coins and currency. Therefore, the initial coins were bound to bear the features of payment in kind. The proportions of coins were distincly restricted by the first and second factors. Qin and Han marked a period of great unification. The influence of the third and fourth factors rose. People began to pay attention to the value of the coins. As a result, the copper content of the coins was generally high. Even pure copper coins appeared, ignoring the proportions of lead and tin. In the Tang Dynasty people's knowledge about coins was enhanced. They began to pay attention to the technical factors. Consequently, the copper content dropped and the proportions of lead and tin begin to rise. The proportions of coinage alloy tended to be steady. During Northern Song, there was a flying leap as regards recognition of coins. The mastering of coin minting skills became mature. For this reason, the copper content dropped to a new low, while the contents of lead and tin rose to the peak, forming the most reasonable and scientific proportions of the alloys for coinages. The changes during Yuan and Ming were only confined to a lowered amount of lead and a higher amount of copper.

The content of tin basically remained unchanged. This was after people became familiar with the bronze coin minting technique and sufficiently recognized the relations between the proportions and quality of the coins they paid attention to the value of the coins.

*5.2. Analysis of dynastic coins*

Some general traces of the evolution of coins can be found in each historical period or each dynasty.

Firstly, as far as the coins of a dynasty, the copper content was high in the early days and tended to drop in later days.

Secondly, during the bronze coin period, for each dynasty's coins, lead was used at a low rate and tin at a high rate in the early days, but they were contrary in later days.

Thirdly, during the bronze period when the copper content was high, tin was also high. On the contrary, when copper dropped the tin content also dropped, at the same time, the lead content increased.

Fourthly, during the period of brass coins, generally the zinc content was comparatively low in the early days but it tended to increase in later days.

In a word, during the flourishing days of each dynasty, with social stability and economic prosperity, the quality of the coins was fastidious. At times of social turbulence and economic depression, the quality of the coins dropped accordingly. Take Song and Qing for example. The results of our analysis are given in the two charts below, the data being arranged in the order of the ruling Emperors.

Curves showing changes in proportions of Song copper coins

Curves showing changes in metal proportion of Qing coins

*6. Conclusions*

Through the discussion of this article, it is known that :

At the beginning of coin minting, China adopted bronze alloy as the raw material, and did not use copper. Now we know that pure copper not only has a high melting point but also inferior properties for the minting of coins. Moreover, it is not strong, does not stand abrasion, and changes its shape easily. So it is not suitable for coin minting. It can thus be seen that the Chinese ancestors knew this and that this experience came from the prosperous Shang-Zhou bronze culture.

The use of brass for the minting of coins in China appeared with some incidental factors. It was not that people had enough awareness of it to substitute it for bronze, but in the course of practice they gradually found out and realized its properties as a material for coin minting. This process started from the first half of the 16th century and lasted more than half a century. The change caused a transitory period in which the coins were made of half bronze and half brass. After about the 17th century, brass coins matured in China.

In China's history of more than 3,000 years of coin minting, the use of copper for the minting of coins was merely incidental, or it was only a temporary phenomenon in a certain district within a certain period of time.

# *The History of Money.* The Earliest Catalogue of Coins

YAO SHUOMIN*

Writings on Chinese numismatic began very early. In his work *Record of History*, the reknown Chinese historian Sima Qian had a chapter devoted to economic questions, in which he made a comparatively detailed account of the origin and evolution of the currency. Historians of the dynasties in the past made use of such an editing and compiling method. Of course, their works were not special numismatic works. The focal point of their works was the history of money, not a study of the coins themselves as a sort of medium.

In the *Book on Sui Dynasty* of the 7th century, some chapters recorded the catalogues of books, of which one was entitled *Catalogue of Coin*. The writer was Gu Xuan, who was a man of the Liang Dynasty of the 6th century. His catalogue of coins does not exist any longer. However, in the books published in the 12th century, Gu Xuan's work was quoted. The only thing Gu could do, was to refer to a book on coins entitled *Liu's Coin Catalogue*. However, we have no idea who was this Liu, and yet, the books of Liu and Gu Xuan written before the 6th century may be the earliest numismatic works. After then, several numismatists were mentioned, especially in works on money during the role of the Tang & Song Dynasties. Unfortunately, these works have not survived. What is still available to us are quotations from them.

Since long before, the numismatic circles have considered that the earliest work on money preserved to the present is *The Annals of Coins*, of which the author was Hong Zun, who lived in the Southern Song Dynasty, in the 12th century. In his book, Hong Zun described 348 kinds of coins of the past, divided into nine categories. Each of them was named after a coin. After the name of the coin, the book recorded its size, weight and the characters inscribed on it. It quoted the historical documents showing the name of the mint and the time when the coin was issued. In the case of some coins, the views of the author himself were given. This was the way often followed in catalogues of coins in ancient China. After *The Annals of Coins* was completed, it was not printed, but was circulated for long among numismatists in handwritten copies up to the first years of the 17th century when it was engraved for wood-block printing. Illustrations were made of the coins at the time of engraving. At any rate, some errors and unscientific manifestations occurred both in the conceptions of the original authors and in the attached illustrations. Nevertheless, very valuable data have been left behind.

In recent years, I have discovered a new catalogue of ancient coins named *Huo Quan Yan Ge* or *History of Money*, which was written around the first years of the 12th century, or over twenty years before Hong Zun's *The Annals of Coins*. It was engraved and printed in the thirties of the 14th century i.e. 270 years before Hong Zun's book. It deserves our attention.

When I use the word «discovery», it does not mean an archaeological discovery, but a discovery from ancient books, because this book *History of Money* was not published *as a* monograph, but was incorporated in the ancient encyclopedia *Shilin Guangji (Extensive Record of Events)*, which was often consulted by people in their daily life. The book, which was completed in the last years of the Song Dynasty, included such subjects as history, geography, law, food and beverage, clothing and amusement. Many parts were reprinted from books in circulation then. The book was extensively circulating during the Yuan Dynasty under the rule of the Mongols. It was reproduced by people up to the Ming Dynasty. After the Qin Dynasty, however, it gradually disappeared. As far as I know, only five copies of the book are existing in the

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* Beijing.

world, two of them being copies printed during the Miung time in the 15th century. They are now kept in Japan and in the Cambridge Library of Britain. A third copy was reproduced in Japan in the 17th century. These three copies were printed later. There were two earlier versions. One of the two was printed in the thirties of the 14th century. It was once kept at the Imperial Palace in Beijing. After World War II, it was transported to Taiwan. Now being kept on the continent is a copy collotyped before the war. The other copy was printed in 1740, now being kept at the Beijing University Library. As the *History of Money* is only found in *Shilin Guangji* and this ancient encyclopedia can hardly be seen by people, the numismatic circles almost have no knowledge of the *History of Money*. That is why I use the word «discovery».

Now, I am going to investigate on the author of the book and the time when it was published. The *Shilin Guangji* was edited by Chen Yuan-Liang of the Song Dynasty, but he did not give the sources of the data he collected. Thus, the name of the author of the *History of Money*, reproduced in the *Shilin Guangji*, was not given. The copy of the *Shilin Guangji* seen in Japan was reproduced in 1699 from a copy printed in 1325. This is the earliest copy we know. However, this edition did not incorporated the *History of Money*, but both the Taiwan copy and the Beijing University Library copy, printed several years later, incorporated the *History of Money*. Book dealers in ancient China often reproduced works with their own alterations, additions or deletions. However, this book was not written by Chen Yuan-Liang, author of the encyclopedia, but was incorporated into it by those reproducing the book in the Yuan time. We have no knowledge about this author, but we can presume from its contents as to when it was written.

At the first, the *History of Money* quoted some books. It quoted over 30 works in its contents on different coins, of which the earliest were books on the Period of the Warring States in the B.C. years. The latest was one edited in the Northern Song Period, including works on Numismatics and History. There were 13 books on the Song Dynasty used in this book. Yet, in the Southern Song Period, the most famous work on coins was Hong Zun's *The Annals of Coins*, but it was not quoted at all.

Secondly, we can see which coins were reproduced in these books. In the *History of Money*, comments were made on every coin. Some comments were extremely simple, but for others, books on coins or history were quoted. Generally speaking, there were more comments on coins before the Northern Song Dynasty, but comments on most of the coins after the Southern Song Dynasty were comparatively simple, neither did they quote any book.

The third aspect is that the coins of the Southern Song Dynasty were described as a separate chapter in the book. Eighteen Emperors occupied the throne in the Song Dynasties, nine each in the Northern Song and the Southern Song. In the chapter on Song coins, the first coin listed was minted during the reign of Emperor Huizong, the eighth ruler. It was a «Sheng Song Yuan Bao». Thereafter, all coins of the Song Dynasty were listed in proper order of reigns of Emperors, beginning with the first Emperor Song, Tai Zu. This kind method of listing is some special purport.

For above reason, I consider that the book *History of Money* was completed during the reign of Huizong, the 8th Emperor of the Northern Song Dynasty. It is still unknown when the first edition was printed. It seems that it was supplemented during the Southern Song Dynasty. In the period from the thirties to the forties of the 14th century, when book dealers in the last years of the Yuan Dynasty reproduced the encyclopedia *Shilin Guangji*, they also incorporated it and added some Yuan coins in it.

Now, let us introduce the book itself. The *History of Money* included in the encyclopedia is not a complete edition, but an abridged version, wich took ten pages in the encyclopedia. *The History of Money* contains eight chapters. The first chapter is a preface, describing briefly the origin of money. The remaining seven chapters are on coins. Chapter II has 20 items, starting with the Ban Liang Coin of the Qin Dynasty up to

the coins of the Southern and Northern Dynasties in the 6th century. Chapter III contains nine items, beginning with the Kai Yuan Tung Bao coin of the Tang Dynasty to the days prior to the Song Dynasty. Chapter IV, with 16 items, covers the coins of the separate regimes after the Tang Dynasty. Chapter V relates coins of the Liao and Jin Dynasties under the Khitan and Nuzhen nationalities in the north. The items on the Jin Dynasty coins were obviously added later. Chapter VI, with five items, describes Korean coins. Chapter VII, with 56 items, related Song coins. Chapter VIII, with two items, refers to two kinds of paper money of the Yuan Dynasty. The seven chapters cover 120 coins and paper money. Each item is headed by the name of the coin. Descriptions are made of the diameter and weight of the coin, the name of the mint where it was made and the year it was minted. Some items also reveal the history of a coin. However, the items are not accompanied by illustrations. The *History of Money* available to us is an abridged version but the coins recorded in it were those in circulation. Some are not found in Hon Zun's *The Annals of Coins*. Some are not clearly recorded in other books of history. They have a definite scientific value when we study them today. They are valuable, as they are the earliest ancient books of history on coins still existing.

By the way, a doubt still remains concerning the history of Chinese numismatics. The book *Shuo Fu*, completed in the last years of the Yuan Dynasty, collected a *Catalog of Money*. As this book was very much simplified, with some errors or even some coins issued later than the Yuan and the Ming Dynasties, people engaged in the study of money in the later generations considered that the book was fabricated by people after the Ming Dynasty, but was incorporated by book dealers in the Qing Dynasty. In fact, after we have studied the *History of Money*, we can see that the original type of the *Catalog of Money* was the encyclopedia version of the *History of Money*. Thanks are expressed to the British Museum, to the Cambridge Library and to Mr Kamiyama Noboru of Osaka (Japan), enabling me to look at the encyclopedia *Shilin Guangji* kept in Great Britain and Japan. The editions kept in Great Britain and Japan were reproduced during the Ming Dynasty in the 15th century. Following the practice of book dealers, their contents were modified. The coins of the Ming Dynasty are included. Some errors have been found in these two editions. When the book *Shuo Fu* was published in the Qing Dynasty, it was quite possible that the copy of the encyclopedia of the Ming Dynasty was followed, but further alterations and deletions were made, the genuineness or phonyness concerning the *Catalogue of Money* and the name of its author have become a riddle. Now, we have found the original type of the so-called fabricated book. Thus, an answer has been found to the riddle lasting for more than two hundred years.

# The Early Chinese Chu Gold Plates (5th-3rd Cent. B.C.)

Nina V. IVOTCHKINA*

In the monetary system of China, from the earliest times up to the end of the 19th century, coins were made of copper, which was the base metal in China during thousands of years. The attempts to issue coins in precious metals were exceptionally rare.

The first metallic money in China were bronze coins in the shape of tools. The time itself – the Bronze Age – determined the most valuable material satisfying the needs of society. Different tools were made of it – spades, knives and arms also – knives and swords. As the most valuable for society copper tools became the criterion of value and consequently the first coins.

In the Chou period, China was divided into a number of economically independent states : Gi, Chu, Yan, Han, Zhao, Wei, Gin, Lu and Song, which lead to the rise helped a lot of an unusual variety of coin types, which never again occurred in the history of Chinese money. In the Gin, Han, Zhao and Wei states situated in the middle stream of Hwang Ho, spade coins of several shapes were put into circulation. The shape of the coins was much in keeping with the main occupation of the population, agriculture.

Along the coastline, the coins of the states Gi and Yan were made in the shape of knives. Not less than three types of sword-shaped coins are known. This fact is associated with fishing and hunting activities of the residents.

Numerous copper imitations of cowry-shells were in circulation simultaneously with tool-shaped coins. Round coins with a hole in the middle already existed, but their type had not been unified yet, therefore the hole could be either round or square.

In spite of the abundance of shapes copper coins were essentially the same. All of them were recognized by the state power as a legal tender and therefore they bore certain definite insignia : denomination of the state (for example, Gi knives, Liang hoes) or town (e.g. Anyang hoes) and nominal value, expressed as a rule in weight-monetary units (gin, liang, shu). These inscriptions were combined in legends in any combinations, but even only one of them was sufficient too.

Except copper coins, a lot of other intrinsic values were in the circulation : silk cloth and grain; exotic objects like horns of rhinoceros or tortoise-shell, jasper, cowries and others. However, the range of these commodities has never been outlined firmly. They appeared as a consequence of various factors, replacing each other, with the historical perspective to disappear from the circulation.

The Southern State of Chu was the only one which was using gold as currency. Gold plates of Chu are rectangular flat plates with row of die impressions, almost square in form, placed, as a rule, close to each other. The size of one die is about 20 x 20 mm, the weight about 15 g, but in some cases 0.86 g. The largest plate bears 54 stamps, its weight is 610 g. But more often small specimens with only one die impression can be found, and even specimens with half die impressions are known.

They have no images (that is traditional for Chinese coinage) and bear only legends of 7 types : *Ying yuan, Chen yuan, Zhuan yuan, Ying, Tan jin, Ge yuan, lu jin. Ying, Chen, Zhuan, Ying, Tan* and *Ge* are toponyms on the territory of Chu. Until recently, the

* Numismatic Department. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

meaning of *yuan* was «monetary weight unit». But this opinion is debatable now and needs additional research. The last legend *lu jin* means «gold of the superior quality».

The date of Chu gold plates are based upon their legends. Ying is the name of the capital of Chu from 689 B.C. to 504 B.C. In 278 B.C. the capital was transferred in Chen and it remained there up to 253 B.C. only. The peculiarity of denomination of the Chu capital was preserving the name Ying for all subsequent places. Often Ying and Chu, as denominations, alternated and therefore, Ying yuan means not only «gold money issued in the capital of Ying», but also «gold money circulating in Chu».

Not only gold plates circulated in Chu state. Parallel to them copper imitation of cowries, so called «Ant Nose» or «Devil's Head» coins, were in circulation here. Traditionally they are considered to have had the role of change money for Chu gold plates.

The legends of bronze coins, when compared with the Chu gold plates legends of the same period, prove to be identical : geographical denominations and substituting face value. So, the Chu plates legends contain a set of elements necessary to recognize them as legal tender, i.e. they must be acknowledged as gold coins of the State of Chu.

In numismatic literature however, the Chu gold plates have never been called «coins». One of the reasons might be their unusual shape or the opinion that they were used as weights. But spades and knives are called coins, and it is known that the circulation by weight of coins made of precious metals is rather a rule than an exception for the ancient world.

The most disputable is their name «ingot». An ingot occupies a much lower level in the hierarchy of currencies in comparison with a coin which belongs to the top of this hierarchy. Coins are recognized and issued by the state as legal means of both circulation and payment and the state is responsible for them. The ingot in its development has not reached the level of the coin. It appears either in the sphere of private production and is not issued by the state, as it happened in China up to 1933, or it is issued as a means of payment and hoarding but not for circulation, as it happened all over the world.

The presence of state insignia on Chu gold plates distinguishes them radically from the rest of Chinese ingots and brings them closer to coins. In our opinion, the small specimens of Chu plates bearing one and even half impression of a die, are clear facts pointing to their circulation as coins.

The problem of definition of Chu gold plates goes beyond the level of purely terminological debate and turns into the exploration of their status in monetary circulation.

Thus, the very fact of existence of hierarchy of metals in circulation demonstrates the stable, elaborated and complicated monetary system of Chu, which is amazing for such antiquity. In any case many scholars mark the existence of complicated multimetallic monetary system in Chu.

Although Chu adds to the monetary system, enriched by various means of circulation, only one new material – gold, but this fact opposes Chu radically to the rest of Chinese states, as the distinction concerns the fundamental choice – the monetary metal. There is no economic objective determination for choosing a metal as a monetary one, i.e. as universal equivalent of value. This choice is arbitrary. It is made consciously by every state during the period of acquaintance with various monetary metals. The reasons of choice are beyond the sphere of monetary circulation and show the philosophical peculiarities of every state, making this proper decision. Chinese culture and the monetary traditions have created a system of monetary circulation based on copper coins. Therefore the monetary system of the State of Chu represents a completely exceptional fact in the history of Chinese money. The Kingdom of Chu differs from

contemporary Chinese states by its particular ethno-cultural tradition,which can be found not only in the sphere of monetary system.

It is mentioned in the literature that Chu plates were the first gold money in China. Moreover, they exerted influence over gold circulation during the period of succeeding Chinese dynasties Gin (221-207 B.C.) and Western Han (206 B.C.-8 A.D.).

But absence of the state insignia and the nature of legends take Han gold ingots away from the tradition of Chu gold coins and bring them closer to ordinary Chinese ingots made of precious metals.

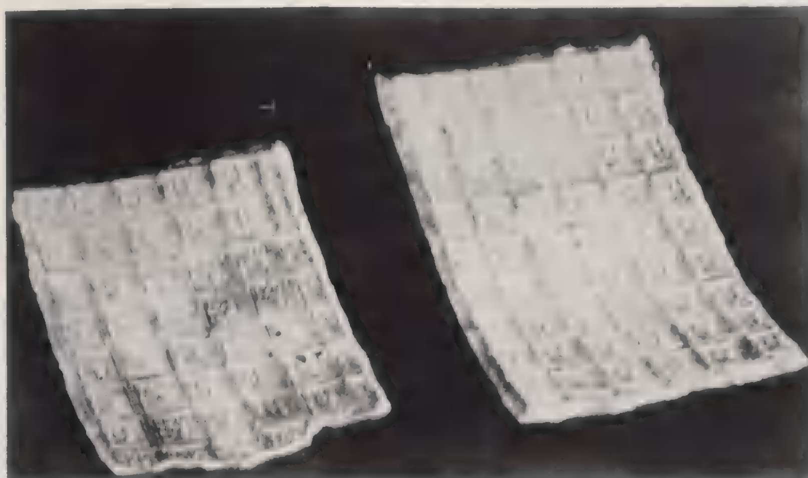


*Fig. 1. The largest gold plate bears 54 stamps.*

The Chinese monetary system has always been open for the dialogue with neighbouring states. It was the intervention of foreign countries that periodically enforced the role of precious metals, i.e. their conversion in base metal. From this point of view the Chu gold plates are chronologically the first episode.

The second case were the silver coins issue by Han Wu-di in 118 B.C. It might have been the echo of stilling up the trade contracts with the West based on the exploration of «Silk Road».

The third case were the state silver ingots «Cheng-an bao-ho» Jin Dynasty in 1197 A.D. The Yuan Dynasty, originating from Mongolia, almost neglected the copper coins issue soon after seizing power and introduced silver in circulation in the form of silver ingots. Silver served even as a basis for Mongolian assignats.

Many peoples inhabiting the basins of the Hwang-Ho and the Yangtze and not from Han origin, introduced their own attitude to gold or silver as universal equivalent of value.



*Fig. 2. Small specimen with only one die*



*Fig. 3. Copper imitation of cowries.*

The Chinese monetary system is as multinational as the population of the country. Many peoples introduce their specific features in the all-China monetary regime. To clear up the essence of different phenomena in the field of monetary circulation it is necessary to investigate the ethno-cultural origins of these phenomena, then the historical reconstruction of the general development of the Chinese monetary system during all its history may become extremely authentic.

Therefore, it appears to be interesting and useful to explain the extraordinary episode in the history of Chinese monetary system-circulation of gold coins in ancient State of Chu, a fact that radically contradicts Chinese monetary tradition, but reflects the originality of the State of Chu.

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# Éléments pour l'étude des *Wuzhu* de Wudi des Han (Jun-guo, chice et San Guan, 118-113 av. J.-C.)

François THIERRY*

*1. Modifier la vision traditionnelle du monnayage de Wudi entre 118 et 113 av. J.-C.*

La vision traditionnelle tant en histoire qu'en numismatique, découpe cette période en trois parties, avec un type de monnaies pour chacune d'elles : de 118 à 115, les *jun-guo wuzhu*, de 115 à 113, les *chice wuzhu*, et à partir de 113, les *wuzhu* des *San Guan*. On note que ces dénominations, issues de l'historiographie classique et de la tradition numismatique, ne sont pas de même nature : *jun-guo* désigne des émetteurs partiels, les commanderies, *jun*, et les royaumes, *guo* ; *chice* une particularité typologique, un bord dénudé; et *San Guan*, l'émetteur monopolistique, l'atelier du parc Shang Lin, contrôlé par les Trois Offices, *San Guan*. L'archéologie et l'étude des textes conduisent à nuancer sérieusement cette vision.

La fonte monétaire n'est pas, en 118 av. J.-C., un monopole d'État, mais un droit que se partagent trois autorités, l'Administration impériale, avec deux niveaux, central et local, les provinces (*jun*) et les royaumes (*guo*). La population fond aussi, mais illégalement, puisque, depuis 144 av. J.-C., la fonte lui est interdite.

La politique de Wudi a pour but l'unification du numéraire; la centralisation de la fonte par le monopole en sera le moyen. Cette politique repose sur les principes légistes et doit beaucoup à l'équipe d'hommes d'état qui entourent Wudi, Sang Hongyang, ancien marchand qui deviendra responsable des Finances, Dongguo Xianyang, ancien magnat du sel, et Kong Jin, ancien industriel fondeur de fer, qui deviendra également responsable des Finances.

En 118 av. J.-C., on «demande» aux *jun* et aux *guo* de fondre des *wuzhu* avec un revers muni d'un rebord circulaire, c'est ce qu'on appelle les *jun-guo wuzhu*, «*wuzhu* des commanderies et des royaumes»[1]. Mais cela ne signifie pas que l'Administration Centrale avait, à cette date, arrêté sa production. Au contraire, comme l'ont prouvé les fouilles faites à Gaodi, sur le site du parc Shang Lin à l'ouest de l'ancienne Chang'an[2], l'atelier métropolitain était en activité et fondait des *wuzhu* en très grande quantité dès 118 av. J.-C. Le texte du *Han shu* le dit d'ailleurs tout à fait clairement[3] et ce n'est que parce que la glose a imposé l'idée de l'instauration de l'atelier du parc Shang Lin en 113 av. J.-C., à partir d'une interprétation erronée du *Shiji* de Sima Qian, que l'on a considéré que la date donnée dans le *Han shu* était due à une erreur de scribe. Il y avait donc également des *jun-guo wuzhu* de la capitale, comme l'ont montré les trouvailles de Gaodi à Chang'an (Pl. XXII, 1 et 2).

En 115 av. J.-C., on ordonne à l'Office de Fonte des Cloches (l'un des Trois Offices) de mettre à nu (*chi*) le bord (*ce*) des monnaies des ateliers impériaux[4], ce sont les *chice wuzhu*, «*wuzhu* au bord dénudé» (Pl. XXII-XXIII, 19 à 31); les monnaies ainsi identifiées sont les seules acceptées dans les transactions avec l'État : taxes, impôts, capitation, achats aux ateliers impériaux ou à l'administration. La valeur de ces pièces ébarbées est fixée à 5 *jun-guo wuzhu*, que les *jun* et les *guo* continuent à fondre, mais qui

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* Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

1 *Shiji*, XXX, 1429 ; *Han shu*, XXIVb, 1165.

2 DANG SHUOMIN, *Han Chang'an Xizhenmen wai chutu junguo- chice wuzhu de tantao*, dans *Shenxi Jinrong*, 1987, VII, p. 8-15 et ID., *Cong Xi Han Jianzhanggong yizhi ji fujin chutu qianfan tantao wuzhu qian de yanbian*, dans *Shenxi Jinrong*, 1989, XII, p. 6-18.

3 *Han shu*, XXIVb, 1177.

4 *Shiji*, XXX, 1434.

ne peuvent circuler que pour les usages privés. On sait par les textes que ces *chice wuzhu* sont devenus de plus en plus «vils», en raison de leur imitation par les *jun*, les *guo* et le peuple[5], et cela est confirmé par le monnayage qui nous est parvenu (Pl. XXIII, 23 et 24). On voit donc que dans cette période de 115 à 113 av. J.-C., non seulement les *chice wuzhu* ne sont pas fabriqués uniquement par l'Office de Fonte des Cloches (Pl. XXIII, 19 et 20), mais aussi par les provinces et les royaumes (on pourrait appeler ces pièces des «*jun-guo chice wuzhu*») (Pl. XXIII, 21 et 23), et encore que ces mêmes provinces et royaumes (ou certains d'entre eux seulement) continuent de fondre des *jun-guo wuzhu*, qui sont la monnaie de base du système.

En 113 av. J.-C., le monopole de fonte est instauré et la fabrication est centralisée dans les ateliers des Trois Offices du Shang Lin, à Chang'an[6]. Les Trois Offices sont l'Office d'Approvisionnement en Cuivre, l'Office de Triage du Cuivre et l'Office de Fonte des Cloches. Comme les ateliers de ces trois Offices fondaient déjà des *wuzhu* depuis 118, il serait donc étonnant que les monnaies de ces ateliers, qu'elles soient fondues avant ou après 113, n'aient pas quelques caractéristiques communes (Pl. XXIII, 32 à 36).

## 2. *Quels sont les critères pertinents pour distinguer les* Wuzhu*?*

Plusieurs critères sont utilisés actuellement pour distinguer ces différents *wuzhu*; certains de ces critères sont parfaitement non pertinents. La graphie a été souvent présentée comme un critère d'analyse et de différenciation. Ce critère n'est pas pertinent, car d'une part, il y a une grande disparité de graphie d'une région à l'autre, et d'autre part, on a trouvé des moules de cette période à l'intérieur de chacun desquels il y avait des graphies différentes, pour les caractères *wu* et *zhu* [7], c'est-à-dire que des monnaies sortant d'un même moule n'avaient pas forcément la même graphie. La graphie ne devient un critère pertinent que pour les *wuzhu* des San Guan, en raison de l'unification de la fabrication, liée à l'utilisation, à une grande échelle, du procédé des matrices à moules.

Les marques, barre au-dessus ou au-dessous du trou, pointes aux quatre angles du trou, pointe en haut du trou, demi étoile en dessous du trou, etc., ont été longtemps considérées comme des marques d'identification d'atelier, des éléments de classification ou des critères de datation. Ces marques ne sont pas des critères pertinents, car il existe, comme pour les graphies, des cas de marques différentes dans un même moule[8], et que l'on a des marques similaires pour des pièces de type différent, par exemple, nos n°1, 2, 6, 7, 25 et 34.

Le métal a parfois été considéré comme un bon critère de différenciation. Mais on n'a aucun renseignement sur la composition de l'alliage monétaire de quelque atelier que ce soit et de quelque époque que ce soit pour la période qui nous intéresse. Par ailleurs, les méthodes de fonte (cuivre pris au sortir des mines, métal monétaire composé sans règle et établi selon les nécessités et approvisionnements du moment, refonte périodique des anciennes monnaies en circulation, etc.) font que les analyses paraissent bien vaines. Les tentatives faites n'aboutissent à aucune conclusion pertinente[9].

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5 *Ibidem.*

6 *Ibidem*, 1434-1435.

7 ZHENG JIAXIANG, *Wuzhu zhi yanjiu (II)*, dans *QB*, III, Nov. 1940, p. 5-20, 6; JIANG RUOSHI, *Tanxun «chice» yu «chice» jianding*, dans *Shenxi Jinrong*, 1989, XII, p. 29-34; MI SHIJIE, *Luoyang faxian Henan-jun junguo wuzhu qian fan*, dans *Zhongguo Qianbi*, 1987, IV, p. 70-71; CHEN ZUNXIANG, *Gudu Chang'an chutu liang zhong qian mu de wuzhu qian fan*, dans *Shenxi Jinrong*, 1987, VII, p. 4-7 ; CENG ZELU, *Xi Han Wudi jun-guo wuzhu, chuan xia ban xing, dong fan*, dans *Qianbi Shijie*, 1990, VI, p. 2-3.

8 JIANG RUOSHI, *op. cit.* et ID., *Xi Han wuzhu qian leixing jizheng*, dans *Shenxi Jinrong*, 1991, 15, p. 16-34, 25-26; Fr. THIERRY, *Les collections monétaires VII, Monnaies d'Extrême Orient*, Administration des Monnaies et Médailles, Paris 1986, 2 vol, vol I, n° C543 et C544.

9 DAI ZHIQIANG et ZHOU WEIRONG, *Studies on the Alloy Composition of Past Dynasties Copper Coins in China*, dans *XIe Congrès international de Numismatique. Résumés des Communications*, Bruxelles, 1991, p. 121.



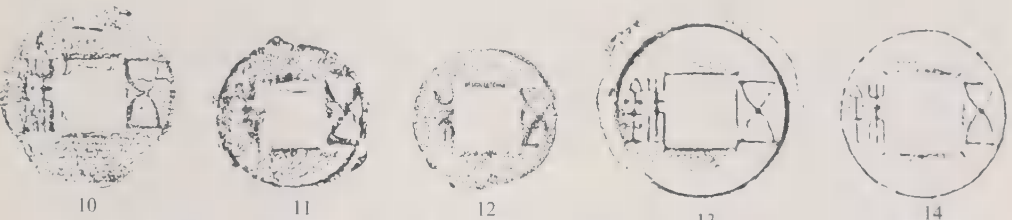
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6 7 8 9





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15 16

Le poids n'est pas, lui non plus, un critère pertinent car il n'y a pas d'unification de la production avant 113 av. J.-C. Les *wuzhu* trouvés dans la tombe du Prince de Zhongshan, à Mancheng au Hebei, nous donnent une idée assez juste de l'écart de poids entre des monnaies qui sont manifestement de la même période : de 2,5 à 7,5 g avec une grosse majorité entre 2,9 et 5,2 g[10].

Le seul critère pertinent est celui de la typologie, dans ce qu'elle a de proprement lié à la technologie mise en œuvre. On voit par les textes que la politique conçue par Wudi et ses conseillers légistes s'appuie sur un dispositif législatif combiné avec un dispositif technique : il ne doit pas être techniquement possible de faire ce qui est légalement interdit.

En 118 av. J.-C., la véritable innovation n'est pas l'apparition du rebord circulaire au revers, c'est la nécessité qui en découle de faire un moule de revers, et surtout la capacité de l'utiliser et de l'adapter au moule de droit. Auparavant, les monnaies avaient un revers plat parce qu'on obturait le moule de droit avec une plaque de terre, de brique ou de pierre; or les *jun* et les *guo* ne maîtrisent pas la nouvelle technique[11]; c'est ce qui explique les balbutiements, les *wuzhu* sans rebords (Pl. XXII, 9 et 10), les *wuzhu* à revers plats (Pl. XXII, 1, 11 et 12), les *wuzhu* à revers à peine marqués (Pl. XXII, 5), au rebord ne correspondant pas au bord du trou (Pl. XXII, 3 et 7), etc., mais qui explique aussi les *wuzhu* dont le revers est aussi profond que le droit (Pl. XXII-XXIII, 13 à 17), car le moule de revers a été fait comme un moule de droit. Toutes ces pièces ont un caractère commun, comme les *banliang* et les autres monnaies rondes antérieures, elles sont brutes de fonte et ont un bord avec une barbure plus ou moins importante, d'où le nom qui leur est souvent donné, *maobian wuzhu*, les «*wuzhu* à barbe». On notera que cette appellation désigne une particularité typologique et fonctionne corrélativement avec *chice wuzhu*, «*wuzhu* à bord nu».

En 115 av. J.-C., le second obstacle technique est justement l'ébarbage des monnaies. Pour cela, on fait appel à la technicité de l'Office de Fonte des Cloches, *Zhongguan*, qui doit procéder à une finition, l'ébarbage des monnaies sortant des ateliers du parc Shanglin, dont il a, avec les deux autres Offices, la responsabilité. La technique d'ébarbage n'était sans doute pas assez sophistiquée et complexe pour éviter longtemps les imitations : les provinces et les royaumes ont imité les *chice wuzhu* en ébarbant leurs propres monnaies. Si la qualité n'est pas la même (certaines caractéristiques propres aux *jun-guo wuzhu* sont encore perceptibles, comme le rebord interne légèrement courbe, par exemple (Pl. XXIII, 27 à 30) que celle des *chice wuzhu* de l'Office de Fonte des Cloches, il n'en reste pas moins que toutes ces monnaies ont une certaine unité typologique : bord ébarbé, rebord circulaire en haut relief, mince au droit, manque de décision dans le tracé du rebord du trou.

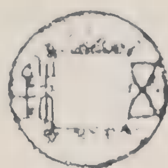
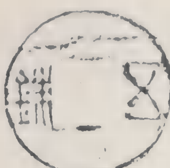
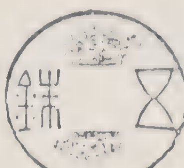
En 113 av. J.-C., la centralisation de la fonte dans les ateliers métropolitains des Trois Offices a permis la concrétisation matérielle et technique du monopole légal ; elle permet également une grande homogénéisation de la production (Pl. XXIII, 32 à 36). Le caractère technique de cette production centralisée est attesté par le texte du *Shiji* qui dit qu'à partir de cette date, seuls les forbans qui avaient une grande connaissance technique pouvaient faire de la fausse monnaie[12]. La principale caractéristique est un revers net, régulier, moins profond, des rebords plats et plus larges, similaires au droit et au revers. En raison de l'usage de la technique des matrices à moules, la graphie devient

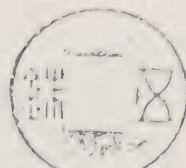
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10 Institut d'Archéologie de l'Académie des Sciences Sociales de Chine, *Mancheng Han mu fazhan baokao*, Wenwu chubanshe, Pékin, 1980, 2 vol, vol. I, p. 213.

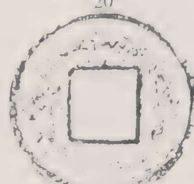
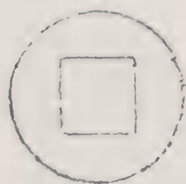
11 Voir le matériel de fonte découvert dans les ateliers officiels, locaux ou centraux : DANG SHUOMIN, *Cong Xi Han Jianzhanggong yizhi ji fujin chutu qianfan tantao wuzhu qian de yanbian*, dans *Shenxi Jinrong*, 1989, XII, p. 6-18 ; Association culturelle du Shenxi et Équipe culturelle de Chengcheng, *Shenxi Potoucun Xi Han chu qian yizhi fajue jianbao*, dans *Kaogu*, 1982-I, p. 23-30.

12 *Shiji*, XXX, 1435.

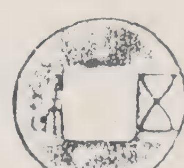
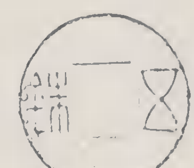

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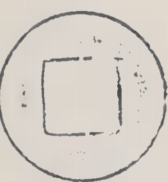
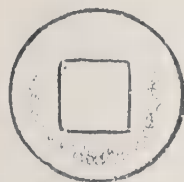
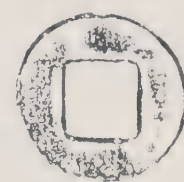
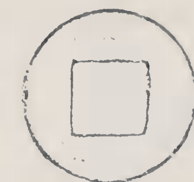



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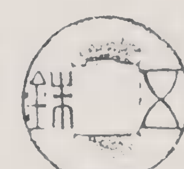
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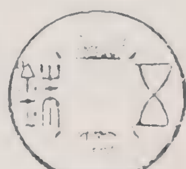
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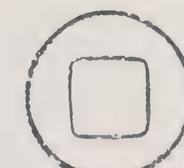


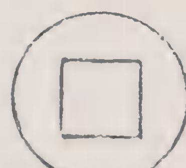
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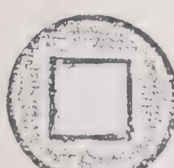
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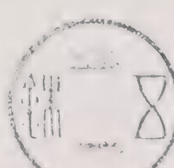
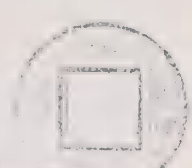
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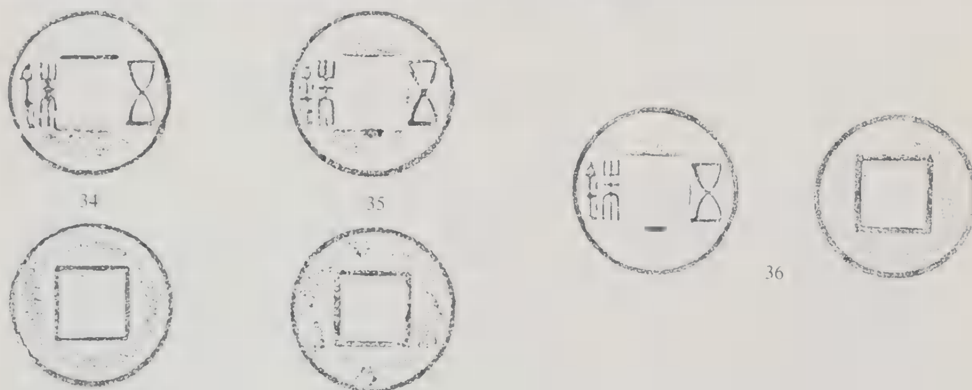

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régulière et doit être prise en cause comme un élément pertinent de différenciation des émissions. Certaines monnaies du *Zhongguan* émises avant 113 av. J.-C. doivent avoir au droit certains points communs avec ces pièces et ne s'en distinguent que par le revers et leur graphie.

On retiendra donc les conclusions suivantes : de 118 à 115, des *jun-guo wuzhu* ont été fondus également à la capitale; de 115 à 113, les provinces et les royaumes continuent à fondre des *jun-guo wuzhu*; de 115 à 113, les provinces et les royaumes imitent les *chice wuzhu* officiels. Les *wuzhu* émis par l'atelier du parc Shanglin, sous l'autorité des Trois Offices, que ce soit avant ou après 113, doivent avoir des éléments communs.

Pour différencier les *wuzhu* de cette période, c'est surtout l'analyse des revers qui est utile, car comme on l'a vu, les principaux éléments du droit, graphie et marques, ne sont pas pertinents et en revanche, c'est le revers qui permet de mettre en évidence la typologie dans ce qu'elle a de lié avec la technologie mise en œuvre. Cette analyse des revers permet de dire que la seule caractéristique des *jun-guo wuzhu* est, dans une extrême hétérogénéité typologique, d'être presque bruts de moule, d'avoir le bord extérieur non ébarbé ; le rebord intérieur, lorsqu'il existe, ayant souvent des angles ronds et non droits.

La principale caractéristique des *chice wuzhu* est d'avoir un rebord extérieur ébarbé et haut, plus épais au revers qu'au droit ; dans bien des cas, le rebord interne a également des angles ronds et non pas droits. La principale caractéristique des *San Guan wuzhu* est un revers au relief assez faible et des rebords plats et larges.




Légende des illustrations

*A.Wuzhu des Commanderies et des Principautés*

*1. Fouilles de Gaodi, 4 g.*
*2. Fouilles de Gaodi, 3,5 g.*
*3. BN 1992-8, 3,86 g.*
*4. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1398, 3,30 g.*
*5. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 654, 4,30 g.*
*6. BN 1990-1045, 3,74 g.*
*7. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 652, 5,21 g.*
*8. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1397, 4,98 g.*
*9. BN Y6831, 3,70 g.*
*10. Estampage relevé à Suzhou, RPC, 1991.*
*11. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 939, 3,41 g.*
*12. BN Y3396, 3,45 g.*
*13. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1103, 5,77 g.*
*14. BN 1991-156, 4,09 g.*
*15. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1019, 4,30 g.*
*16. Collection Jürgen Möller, 4,32g.*
*17. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 700, 4,59 g.*
*18. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1102, 4,74 g.*

*B.Wuzhu au bord dénudé, 115-113 av. J.-C.*

*19. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1007, 4,83 g.*
*20. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 726, 3,83 g.*
*21. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1185, 3,55 g.*
*22. BN AF H3, 2,9 g.*
*23. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1186, 4,28 g.*
*24. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1387, 2,5 g.*
*25. BN 1990-120, 4,48 g.*
*26. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1388, 3,26 g.*
*27. BN 1990-2930, 3,74 g.*
*28. BN 1990-122, 4,90 g.*
*29. Collection Jürgen Möller, 4,37g.*
*30. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1005, 4,18 g.*
*31. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 1200, 2,77 g.*

*C.Wuzhu des San Guan, à partir de 113 av. J.-C.*

*32. BN 1990-2932, 3,63 g.*
*33. BN 1990-1051, 3,37 g.*
*34. BN 1990-202, 3,49 g.*
*35. BN 1991-226, 3,78 g.*
*36. Collection Chan Meng-Tou 766, 3,52 g.*

# Liang Zao Xin Quan Coin Excavated in Wuwei City on the Silk Road

ZHANG ZHONGSHAN*

Liang Zao Xin Quan coins are famous for their rarity in the circles of the recent Chinese numismatics. Liu Qingyuan, an epigrapher in the Qing Dynasty, first found three coins of Liang Zao Xin Quan, excavated in Wuwei in Northwest China. Before 1949 (the date of the founding of the People's Republic of China), about thirty coins of this kind found their way to foreign or Chinese collectors. About one century has passed since the discovery of these coins, although a good deal of critical research on texts had been done by the Chinese coin researchers towards the end of the Qing Dynasty and the beginning of the Republic of China, but no final conclusion has yet been reached on the matters of the order in which the coins are made, on the coins designs, and on the administrative officials who authorized the coin casting. There are still two questions. First, more than four hundred years lasted between the Xin Dynasty of Wang Mang (from 9 to 23) and the Five Liang Period (301-444), the historical records about the separatist regimes caused by the establishment of the four prefectures, as Jiuquan, Wuwei, Zhangye and Dunhuang, in the Hexi area have been scattered and lost, and no new traces can be found in the available historical records. Secondly, the existing coins are very few, and the new excavations are also hard to come by.

However, along with the development of Chinese numismatic research in recent ten years, the study of these coins too offered new results.

*Part 1*

- In 1983, in the first annual conference of the China Numismatic Society, a news was announced that a piece of Liang Zao Xin Quan had been recognized among the excavation finds of the Tang Dynasty's cellar-store coins in Hejiacun near the city of Xi'an. This caused a sensation throughout the world of numismatics. Since then, the new other excavations in and outside the area of Wuwei offered the material pieces for the study of the coinage of Liang Zao Xin Quan.

- In March 1983, the construction of drainage at Dongguanjie in the city of Wuwei happened to unearth some cellar-stored coins of the Qian Liang Period (301-376), out of which nine pieces of Liang Zao Xin Quan were identified. Those coins can be divided into two groups according to their order.

- In February 1986, an amateur of coins found a piece of Liang Zao Xin Quan among more than fifty kilograms of ancient coins unearthed in Wuwei. This coin is thick and heavy, the character's handwriting is very special.

- In August 1988, a peasant discovered a coin of Liang Zao Xin Quan inside the ruins at the outer suburbs of Dunhuang, and subsequently he sent the coin to the Museum of Dunhuang.

- In the summer 1989, two members of the Ninxia Numismatic Society got a coin of Yanchi in the Ninxia Hui Autonomous Region.

In short, the number of the unearthed coins of Liang Zao Xin Quan in and outside the Wuwei area amounts to 12. Through comparison and analyses, those coins are not large sized, and they can be divided into two groups as smaller plate making of the coins and as middle plate making of the coins. Now the introduction of those two different orders of coins and coin formats are as follows :

1. The coin characters of Liang Zao Xin Quan are the hand-writing of seal character and the reading order of the characters is vertical, as above, below, right, left. Its features are, the line of the inscription are slender and mild, the composition of each part of the

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* Beijing.

character is harmonious, the corners of most characters tend to evolue from square shape to round shape. The handwriting of the inscriptions looks dignified and clear, similar to the features of the lines of printed characters on the face of eaves tile, current in the Qin Dynasty and the Han Dynasty as a kind of building material. The handwriting on some coins is different and special. The characters «Liang» of Liang Zao Xin Quan has the part looking like two rivers in the meaning of the Chinese pictographic characters, and the square shape in the middle of the character «jing» has two handwritings. One looks like and is much more popular; the other looks like, and is rare. And you could see in the character «quan» no break on the line in the middle part.

2. Six coins of Liang Zao Xin Quan belong to the category of small plate making of coins. They have a diameter of 1.80 cm, the coin hole has a diameter of 0.65 cm and the weight of the coin is 1.40 g. The comparisons between those six coins show that those coins have no difference in the aspects of inscription, format and the technique of coin manufacturing. Their characteristics are regular, but the edge of the coin and the edge of the hole and the lines of inscriptions are all of poor workmanship. And there is nothing on the reverse. The other six coins can be put into the category of middle size plate making of coins, they have a diameter of 1.95-2.10 cm, their holes have the diameter of 0.65-0.70 cm, and their weight is 1.50-2.30 g. The comparison between the six coins shows the difference in the aspects of their characters, their formats and techniques of manufacturing. The style of the inscriptions is as follows : two characters of «Liang Zao» are in square shape and the other two characters of «Xin Quan» are in long and narrow shape. The coinages of Liang Zao Xin Quan in those two categories feature thin and smaller coins and there are edge lines and hole's edge lines on both the obverse and the reverse of the coin. The inscriptions are not very clear, the dregs of bronze can be found among the lines of the inscriptions.

3. Looking from the existing number of coins of Liang Zao Xin Quan, the coins in the category of big plate making of coins are very rare, the coins in the middle category are hard to come by, and the coins in the smaller category are common. The number of available coins can prove that use and manufacturing of the coins covered three stages though the time was very short. The coins in the category of big plate making were trial-manufactured at the early stage. The middle size coins were manufactured at the middle stage and the smaller size coins were manufactured at the later stage. Those three stages evolved in proper order which displayed the reduction of the coin weight and the lessening of the coin shape as its main features. The coins went through a process of evolution from standardization to non-standardization.

*Part 2*

Wuwei is located at the Eastern end of the Hexi Corridor of the Gansu Province in China. The Emperor Wu Di of the Han Dynasty (140-88) installed the four prefectures in the Hexi area, namely Jiuquan, Wuwei, Zhangye and Dunhuang, and opened the Silk Road. Wuwei not only had been the flourishing trade city in which the exchanges of the Oriental and Occidental cultures and goods were carried out, but also was the important post leading the ancient China to touch the outside world. The long-standing disputes, on who is the administrative official when the coins were manufactured and used, can be merged into two viewpoints. The first one holds that the coins were made during the period when the Hexi area was authorized by Dou Rong, the period covered is 24-38. The other viewpoint holds that the manufacturing of the coins took place during the regime period of Zhang Gui of Qian Liang (301-376). In 1976, the excavation of a number of Han Dynasty's bamboo slips related with the economic affairs during the period when the Hexi area was under the rule of Dou Rong, offered more records for the research of the coinage of Liang Zao Xin Quan. These records on bamboos slips refuted the possibility of Dou Rong as the administrative official when the coins of Liang Zao Xin Quan were made.

Towards the end of the Western Han Dynasty (206-25), the peasant uprisings became growing in size and in number. The main reasons were that the Wang Mang ruled

with tyranny and the reckless regulations of currency. Since then, coins, cloth, silk, gold and millet, all could be used in the circulation as money. During this period, Dou Rong was one leader of the separatist regime. In 23, Dou Rong was ordered to guard the Hexi area. Dou Rong guarded the Hexi area for 14 years in the transitional period of the Western Han Dynasty and the Eastern Han Dynasty. This served as a link between the past and the future of the Silk Road. During the time of the authority of Dou Rong over the Hexi area, he could not get enough supply of pay and food for his troops and people, so his regime was almost on the wane. According to the above bamboo slip records, Dou Rong then did not promote the similar reckless regulations of money as Wang Mang did, he ordered his troops to open up waste land and to grow food grain and he set up the low wage system in which in fact the officials and troops were entirely paid with rough grains as wage.

So his military regime was strengthened and maintained. In the period of his authority, Dou Rong promulgated a number of laws and decrees favourable to the development of the local society and mobilized the minority nationalities to resume the normal productions, the society of the Hexi area took on a new look in a short time. Especially, the publishing of the law prohibiting the casting of coinage, according to which non-standardized coins of thin and small size could not be put into circulation as money, balanced the prices of goods and the markets.

Those facts make clear that no new coins were made and used during the period of Dou Rong's rule over the Hexi area. The weight of the coin of Liang Zao Xin Quan is 1.4 - 2.3 g, the weight of the Wu Zhu coin is nearly twice as heavy as the Liang Zao Xin Quan coin. It is usually believed that the weight of the Wu Zhu coin in the Han Dynasty is 4 g. The coins of Liang Zao Xin Quan have the characteristics of thinness, small size and non-standardization, so they are just in the list of coins prohibited by above law, on these grounds Dou Rong could not be the official who authorized the making and use of the coins of Liang Zao Xin Quan.

The excavation finds of Liang Zao Xin Quan are grouped in the area under Wuwei's jurisdiction, only two pieces were discovered in Dunhuang and Yanchi which were both famous towns along the Silk Road in ancient times. So that circulation of such coins was only inside the extent of the Hexi section, the Qinlong section (now the eastern part of Gansu Province) and the Ninxia section on the Silk Road. Therefore, the thorough research about Liang Zao Xin Quan is very important to study the development of the monetary economy along the Silk Road.

The writer of this article tends to hold the viewpoint that the coin of Liang Zao Xin Quan was being manufactured and used during the period of Qian Liang, the archaeological materials have proved that in the Hexi area, most of the coins in circulation were Wu Zhu coins during the period of the Western Jin Dynasty (25-317).

In 301, the Government of the Western Jin ordered Zhang Gui to go to the post of the Governor of Liangzhou Prefecture. After he arrived at Liangzhou, Zhang Gui adopted a series of measures to develop the trade between China and the foreign countries. The economy of the Hexi area saw an unprecedented development. Since the Western Jin Dynasty was finished in 317, the family with the sumame of «Zhang» had received the regime of Liangzhou as a heritage, in fact, which evolued to be a separatist regime step by step. Untill the rule of Zhang Jun (324-346), the borders of Qian Liang reached Qinlong (now Gansu and especially Shanxi) towards the east and Congling (now the area of Kunlun mountains and the Pamirs in Xinjiang) towards the west. The Silk Road during the period of Qian Liang was in great prosperity. The trade markets were installed in every big city and town where were attracted many traders, emissaries, monks and priests. Many countries in the western regions (including what is now Xinjiang and parts of Central Asia) frequently came to present tributes to the Emperor Qian Liang.

The recovery of the monetary economy is the outstanding phenomenon of the economic development during the period of Qian Liang. Along with the development of

the economy of this period, obsolete coins in circulation, business and activities could not be allowed to exist any longer, because that had brought a lot of malpractices. Therefore, Zhang Gui's decree of allowing the use of Wu Zhu coins was welcomed by his people. The analyses, according to the excavated coins and other materials accumulated in many years, have proved that Wu Zhu were really manufactured and used in about thirty years (313-349). The coins of this kind are small and not very heavy. Finally, who authorized the manufacturing and use of the coins of Liang Zao Xin Quan and when was the time of the manufacturing and use? The author of this paper thinks that Zhang Chong-Hua was the first to authorize the manufacturing of the coins, and the manufacturing and the use of the coins did not last quite until the regime of Zhang Lingyao and Zhang Zuo, the time was confined from 349 to 355, that is six years in total. Because Zhang Chong-Hua won the wars with the Hou Zhao (274-351) repeatedly after he ascended the throne, he tried to set a separatist regime up. In 349, the Government of the Eastern Jin Dynasty sent Yu Gui, an envoy specially appointed by the Emperor, to go to Liangzhou where Zhang Chong-Hua was the Governor of Liangzhou Prefecture. But Zhang was angry at such an official rank and refused to go to the post, then he was chosen as «King of Liang» by the officials in the Prefecture of Liangzhou. So the nature of this Prefecture of Qian Liang changed greatly, from the local Government left over by the Western Jin Dynasty to a separatist regime. Since then Zhang began to authorize the manufacturing and the use of the coins Liang Zao Xin Quan as a symbol of the renewal of Qian Liang.

# Chaghatayid Coins from Sinkiang : Tri-lingual Coins

Tjong Ding YIH*

*Introduction*

At the end of the 19th century and during the first quarter of the present century, a number of expeditions to Eastern Turkestan, the present Chinese province of Xinjiang by western explorers brought to light the ancient culture of this part of the Silk-Road (for a summary of these expeditions, see Hopkirk, 1980). A large number of books and papers has been published on the architecture, paintings and manuscripts found during these researches. Little attention, however, has been paid to the coins with the exception of the detailed reports of the British explorer Sir Aurel Stein.

Besides large quantities of Chinese coins mostly from the Han and Tang dynasties, also Arabic-inscribed coins are reported to have been found during the various expeditions. The majority of them have been issued by Qarakhanid rulers, a Turkish dynasty that dominated this region around the 10th and 11th centuries during which domination the area was islamized. Arabic-inscribed pieces from the period thereafter are relatively scarce.

As compared with the numerous numismatic papers dealing with the Qarakhanids, especially by the famous Russian numismatist Davidovitch, numismatic information on Arabic-inscribed pieces from later periods is limited, especially from the Eastern Turkestan region.

In the framework of a study on the coins collected during the Finnish Eastern Turkestan expedition early this century led by the later marshal Mannerheim, it was surprising that besides a large number of Qarakhanid coins, there was a considerable number of silver pieces from a later period. These were attributed to Genghiz Khan. Similar coins found by Stein had been attributed to a local 14th century Mongol dynasty.

Recently, a number of coins of the same type were illustrated in a book on the Silk-Road entitled *La Route de la Soie* and referred to as «Islamic coins from Kucha» without numismatic information and in a recent paper by Wang Lin (1987) in the Chinese numismatic journal *Zhongguo Qian bi* also without details except the mention of the cities of Kashgar and Turfan as finding places and attributing them as issued by Chaghatayid rulers. The descendants of Genghiz khan's second son Chaghatay received this part of Central Asia when the Mongol realm was divided after his death. Although the number of Chaghatayid coins is small (until now), they represent a very interesting and intriguing group of coins.

This paper will deal with some tri-lingual Chaghatayid coins from Xinjiang.

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* Grave, The Netherlands.
The following persons are acknowledged for providing translation proposals : Type 1a : Mr. S. Album and Mr. Jiang Qixiang; type 1b : Prof. Dr. P. Zieme (former DDR) and Prof. Dr. M. Weiers (Bonn); types 2 and 3 : Mr. S. Album (USA).
The following persons are acknowledged for providing protographs : Mrs M. Yaldiz (Berlin); Mrs. V. Porter and Mr. J. Cribb (London); Prof. Dr. D. Smith (Oxford) and Mr. F. Thierry (Paris).
The author is grateful to Mr. P. Varjola, curator of the Helsinki Museum for providing the data on the coins of the Mannerheim expedition, that initiated this research.
Mr. J. Bressers and Mr. P. van Keulen are acknowledged for photographical assistance.

*Description and inventory*

The pieces under study are tri-lingual in the sense that besides the main legends in Arabic, there are some types that apparently have on the obverse and sometimes also on the reverse a single-lined legend in a non-Arabic language.

The pieces are characterized by bearing on the obverse the name of Allah (see also later) in the centre and on the reverse side the legends *el urdu el a'zam* الاردو الاعظم (= the very mighty camp/city).

Table I summarizes the various expeditions during which the coins were collected or the present location of the pieces.

TABLE I. SUMMARY ON XINJIANG EXPEDITIONS AND COLLECTIONS[1]

| Source | Expedition/ Collection | No. of pieces | Finding place | Attribution/ date | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S 1 | Le Coq/Berlin | 1 | Gift | - | Yaldiz |
| S 2 | Oldenburg (1909-10) | 4 | Kucha | Genghizid (1263-64 A.D.) | Ivochkina |
| S 3 | Stein/London | 11 | Kucha | 14th century | Stein |
| S 4 | Mannerheim/ Helsinki | 13 | Idygotshahr | Genghizid | Varjola |
| S 5 | Album/USA | 3 | - | Alughu 662 A.H. | Album |
| S 6 | China | 11 | Kucha | - | *La route de la soie* |
| S 7 | China | 4 | Kashgar/Turfan | Chaghatayid | Wang Lin |
| S 8 | China | 2 | Almaligh? | 1252-64 A.H. | Jiang Qixiang |
| S 9 | Paris | 3 | - | - | Thierry |
| S10 | China | 19* | Changji | Chaghatayid | Dong Qingxuan |

Based on the obverse, two main types can be distinguished :

Type 1 Obv. : the name of Allah above a single-lined legends.

Type 2 Obv. : the name of Allah within a square, containing at the 4 sides the word *Malik*. ملك (= king) or a stylized form of the word *Li-'llah*. لله (= for God). Above the word *Allah* is a circle with a dot.

Type 2 is important since in contrast to type 1, the reverse contains also a stylized circular legend that consists in the letters for the date 662 A.H. This is situated during the reign of Alughu (about 1261-1266 A.D.).

Three variants can be distinguished until now :
variant 2a : 3 dots below and one at the right side of *Allah*;
variant 2b : 3 dots below *Allah* only;
variant 2c : a semi-circle with a dot below and a dot at the right side of *Allah*.

Type 1 can be divided into 3 subtypes according to the single-lined legends below the name of *Allah* :
subtype 1a : the single-lined legends in Arabic;
subtype 1b : the single-lined legends in Uighur;
subtype 1c : the single-lined legends in Phagsba (Mongol square script).

Sometimes there is on the reverse of type 1a a third line (Pl. XXIV, 1b), possibly the word *ghalb* غالب (= triumphant) or *adil* عادل (= righteous), whereas on type 1b the Uighur word is repeated (Pl. XXIV, 1d).

For type 1a also variants can be distinguished :
variant 1a - 1 no dot at the right side of *Allah*;
variant 1a - 2 a dot (•) at the right side of *Allah*;
variant 1a - 3 a bar (|) at the right side of *Allah*;
variant 1a - 4 a coil (ς) at the right side of *Allah*.

1 - = unknown or unidentified; * = illustrated.

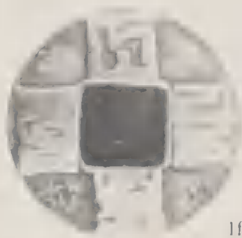

1a


1c


1e


1b


1d


1f


1g


2a


2c


1h


2b


2d


2e


2f

Table II summarizes the number and quantity of the various types known until now. The majority of the sources, if there is any indication for the metal composition, consider them as silver pieces. Peculiarly, the British Museum mentions that 5 of the type 1 pieces belonging to the Stein collection are made of copper (Porter, 1990).

TABLE II. SUMMARY OF COIN TYPES AVAILABLE[2]

| Type | Source | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | S1 | S2 | S3 | S4 | S5 | S6 | S7 | S8 | S9 | S10 | Total |
| 1a Arabic | 1 | | 4 | 4 | | 4 | 2 | | 2 | 2 | 19 |
| 1b Uighur | | | 3 | 3 | | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| 1c Phagsba | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 4 |
| unknown* | | | | 6 | | | | | | | 6 |
| Total | 1 | | 7 | 13 | | 5 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 39 |
| 2 | | 4 | 4 | | 3 | 6 | | 1 | | 1 | 19 |
| 3 | | | 8** | | | | | | | 13*** | 13 |

*Translation proposals*

Subtype 1c

Until now I only succeeded in translating the subtype 1c legends. The occurrence of the Phagspa legends has been confirmed by Mr. Yao Shuomin, a Phagsba expert from Beijing (1986). The Phagsba word consists of the two letters «B» (ꡎ) and «W» (ꡓ) which corresponds with the Chinese word *bao* meaning «currency» or «treasure». The Mongol word is usually written vertically, but on coins the accompanying Arabic inscriptions make it necessary to write it horizontally from right to left in the Arabic way.

For comparison, see the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty coin inscribed *Ta Yuan tong bao* (1310 A.D.) that at the right side also shows the Phagsba word (Pl. XXIV, 1f). One would expect that the single-lined legends in subtypes 1a and 1b would have a similar meaning.

Subtype 1a

The single-lined legends in subtype 1a consists of several isolated Arabic letters. The first letter might be either و ( = «U» or «W»), ف (= «F») or ق (= «Q»)), since on coins often the dots belonging to letters are omitted. The second letter might be either «H» (ح), «J» (ج), «KH» (خ) or «CH» (چ). The last letter(s) are less clear and vary in the several specimen available (ﮋ or س).

Until now, for the Arabic version, different suggestions have been made, ranging from «only letters without meaning» to a corrupt version of *wahdahu.* وحده (= alone).

Subtype 1b

The second letter is certainly the letter ᠣ («O» or «U»), whereas the first letter might be an «N» (ᠨ) or combined with the second an initial «U» (ᠣᠤ); the letter(s) thereafter has a hook pointing downwards. Hence these might be the letter «M» (ᠮ) or «L» (ᠯ); the last letter might be a final «N» or «A» (ᠠ).

Some specimens from the British Museum have two hooks pointing downwards. The translation of the Uighur legends of subtype 1b is also not completely known. In any case, it does not resemble the Uighur word *deledkeguluksen* (= coinage). Proposals for translation varies from the words *KWCYN*, *KWS* or *KWSL*. The latter should be the

2 * only reverse illustrated or corroded; ** British Museum, not from the Stein expedition; *** reported to be part of a hoard of 1370 pieces.

Uighur name of the Yuan emperor Ming Tsung (1329). Another suggestion is the word *noyan* or *noyon* a special title of honour or governor.

Also the name of the city of Kucha, one of the finding places, has been considered.

After the submission of the abstract, the author came into the possession of illustrations of a third type of silver Chaghatayid coins bearing on the obverse centre the word *Almaligh* (الملغ). This resulted in the inclusion of a rather provoking section into the poster entitled *Allah versus Almaligh*. Almaligh, near present Yi-ning in the upper Ili valley, is the name of the eastern capital of the Chaghatayid realm.

Based on the translation of the Phagsba legends, the complete translation of the type 1c reverse legends should be *Coinage of Allah*.

One should take into account that at the end of the 13th century, the Mongols were not yet converted and especially in the eastern part were still hostile to Islam. Apart from the short-reigning prince Mubarak Shah (1266/67 A.D.) Tarmashirin (1326-1334 A.D.) was the first moslem Chaghatayid khan. The wars between the Shi'it-moslem Chaghatayids from the south with the eastern Chaghatayids ended with the separation of the south (Transoxania) in 1346/47. Hence the afore-mentioned translation is not satisfying. Moreover, there is no precedent known of such legends as *Coinage of Allah* in Islamic numismatics.

In plate XXIV, 2 are illustrated a type-1a piece and some other pieces with various styles and corruptions of writing the name of the city of *Almaligh*. The piece shown in pl. XXIV, 2b (Yesun Timur 1339-42 A.D.) and the type 3 pieces clearly indicate that the letter «M» of Almaligh can be pointing downwards or upwards, whereas the tail of the «Q» can be long and situated below the name (Pl. XXIV, 2c and 2d) or remain curled at the left side of Almaligh.

The obverse of a similar piece has been illustrated with a clear first digit without further translation of the legends in a Chinese paper on excavations in the ruins of Almaligh (Huang, 1979). The obverse legends reads *sikkah Almaligh* and is dated 740 A.H.

In pl. XXIV, 2c, the letter «M» pointing upwards has even become isolated. Also some corruptions can be seen. In pl. XXIV, 2e and 2f the «M» has been shifted to the left and the letter «Q» is closed, respectively.

The type-1a piece from Berlin illustrated in pl. XXIV, 2a clearly shows a short hook at the left side (possibly a relict of a «Q»?).

The central reverse legends of type 3 *Almaligh la el a'zam.* الملغ لا لا اعظم (= there is no mightier than Almaligh) shows the «Q» attached to the «L» with the tail at the left pointing upwards (Pl. XXIV, 2d). In addition, the circular reverse legends ضرب هذ (الدرهم) الملغ سنة احدى و ثمانين و ستمائة (= *zuriba haza (ed dirhem?) almaligh sanat ihda wa themanin sitt miat* = 682 A.H.) shows at about 10-11 o'clock the name of Almaligh in various states of corruption.

During the Brussel congress I received on behalf of the Chinese numismatic society from Mr. Yao Shuomin the book entitled *Xinjiang Numismatics* (*XN*). Surprisingly, in the chapter devoted to the Chaghatayids also a large number of silver Chaghatayid pieces (type 1, 2 and especially type 3) were illustrated. Most interestingly, there was a type-1b specimen with at the obverse two large dots after the «L» (*XN*, 155) and there was also a type 3 piece with two dots between the «L» and «A» of the central Almaligh (*XN*, 143). The type 3 obverse has an outer circular stylized legends that reads : ا هذا الملغ سنة هذ ا لد (= ... *haza ed dirhem sikkah Almaligh sanat* etc.; reconstructed from several pieces). Remarkable is the very stylized form (ollo ll ) of Almaligh.

The inner circular legends reads : لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله (= *la ilah illah Allah Mohammed rasul Allah...*).

Possibly it is followed by the sentence الناصر لدين الله *el Nasir li-din Allah*, a reference to the Caliph Nasir (575-622 A.H.) whose name is mentioned on many Chaghatayid pieces until about 700 A.H.

In the book *Xinjiang Numismatics*, for the central 2-lined reverse legends the reading العادل الاعظم *el adil el a'-zam* has been suggested. In view of the fact that the central letter on the coins is not triangular (ع) but round (ه) and the last letter is not a decorated «L» (ل), but at least on the majority of the coins consist of two separated letters (.لا), I prefer the translation mentioned earlier. Table III summarizes the style and corruptions of the name of Almaligh observed thusfar.

TABLE III. SUMMARY OF CORRUPTIONS/VARIATIONS OF THE NAME OF ALMALIGH[3]

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BM 1<br>Rev.<br>centre* | BM 5<br>Obv.<br>margin | BM 6<br>Obv.<br>centre | BM 6<br>Rev.<br>centre* | BM 7<br>Obv.<br>centre | BM 7<br>Obv.<br>margin | BM 8<br>Rev.<br>centre* |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| XN 138<br>Obv.<br>centre | XN 138<br>Obv.<br>margin | XN 139<br>Obv.<br>centre | XN 141<br>Obv.<br>centre | XN 143<br>Obv.<br>centre |

*Conclusion*

Based on the afore-mentioned data it is concluded that the word in the obverse centre of the type 1 and type 2 does not represent the name of *Allah* but is a stylized or corrupted form of the name of the city of Almaligh. The circle between in the word is not part of a decoration, but is the isolated letter «M». In type 2, this letter has been placed on top of the name.

The translation of the type 1 and 2 pieces is most likely *Coinage of Almaligh* instead of *Coinage of Allah*.

At least there is an intended confounding of Allah with Almaligh. A similar ambiguity might be the case with the central reverse legends of type 3 confounding *el adil* with Almaligh.

The author looks forward with most interest to comments, criticism and suggestions on this paper.

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3 BM = British Museum, XN = *Xinjiang Numismatics*, * also read as *el adil*


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